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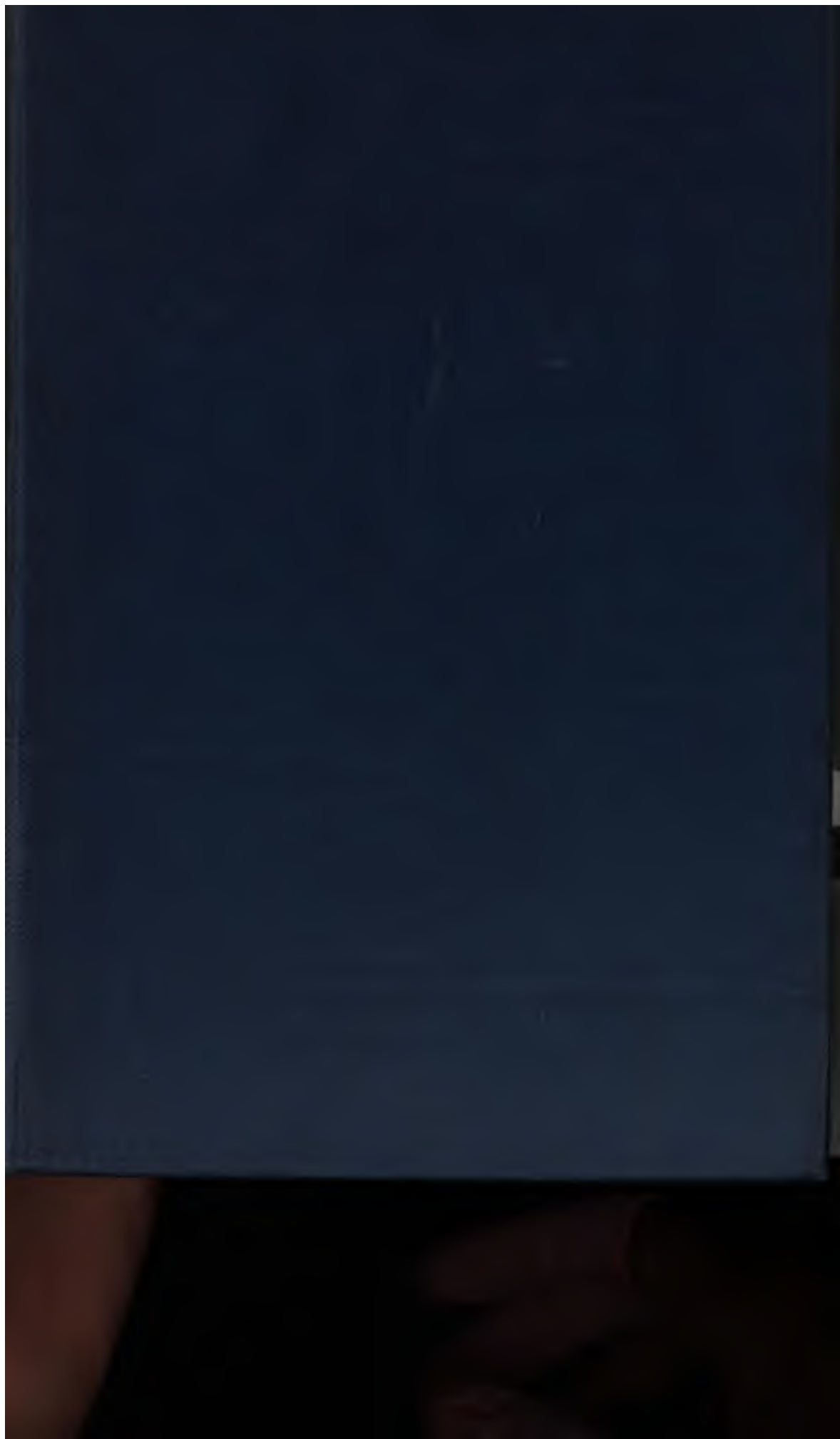
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VOL. XIV.

y Cymmrodor.

The Magazine

Of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

*PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.*

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1901.

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VOL. XIV. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1900.

English Law in Wales and the Marches.

By HENRY OWEN, D.C.L.Oxon., F.S.A.

I.

THE history of the administration of English law in Wales and the Marches may be divided into three periods:—(1) during the gradual conquest of the country by the Anglo-Norman kings and their barons; (2) after the completion of that conquest, when "Wales" was governed by the Crown through the English Prince of Wales and the Marches were self governed and merely owned feudal subjection to the king; and (3) from the time of the union of Wales and the Marches to England until the abolition of judicial "Wales."

It has been the custom of writers on English history, so far as they think it worth while to refer to the Principality of Wales, to state that Wales was conquered by Edward I. But what Edward conquered was the dominion which was left to the last prince of the Welsh blood royal: the greater part of Wales had been conquered long before,

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and remained for centuries under its peculiar jurisdiction quite apart from the realm of England and from the new created Principality of Wales. The effect of the Norman Conquest of England was soon felt in Wales. Norman adventurers, especially after the encouragement of the winning of Glamorgan in the early years of William Rufus, obtained grants from the English king of such lands as they could acquire in Wales; the Welsh historian took occasion to remark "the king was very liberal of that which was not his own."

It has been alleged that these grants were made on the ground of some claim of forfeiture of the Principality to the English crown; but although Edward could show some reason for his claim of feudal superiority over the dominions of Llewelyn, the earlier charters to the invaders granted to them in plain terms such land as they had acquired or should thereafter acquire "from our enemies the Welsh."

These lands came, early in the thirteenth century, to be called the Marches, and the holders of them Lords Marcher. The words "March" and "Marcher" appear in various forms in several European languages. The March was the boundary, and many writers have been led astray by the supposition that the Welsh Marches meant the lands on the borders of England and Wales (that is to say as at present constituted); but as the limits of the old Principality shrunk, the Marches followed them, so that we find Lordships Marcher in the farthest parts of Wales. After the prerogatives of the Lords Marcher were vested in the crown by Henry VIII, it was often difficult to decide which were or had been Marches; none could have arisen after Edward had annexed the remnant of the

¹ See *Rot. Chart.*, 63 and 66b.

Principality. Some (called Lordships Royal) had been acquired by the king at his own charges, and many were from time to time forfeited to the Crown, especially after the Wars of the Roses ; in these he exercised jurisdiction, not as king, but as *dominus Marchiæ*. Although the laws of Henry IV, which deprived Welshmen of their rights and liberties, were directed against the inhabitants of the Principality and not those of the Marches, it was the latter which, after the union with England, continued to be more disorderly.

Some few lordships had been granted to Welshmen who were content to hold their lands of the King of England ; for example, the Lordship of Powys, which became subject to the crown "by submission and not by conquest," retained the Welsh divisions of land and had courts baron and courts leet for each commote, in the same manner as the district afterwards included in the Statute of Rhuddlan. It is worth noting that the only Lordship Marcher in Wales in which some of the old prerogatives survive is that of Kemes in North Pembroke-shire, which was conquered by Martin de Tours in the reign of William Rufus ; and it is to a Lord of Kemes in the time of Queen Elizabeth, one George Owen, to whose writings we are indebted for the greater part of our knowledge of the rights and privileges of these sovereigns of the land of Wales, for owing to the wholesale destruction of the local records, and the scanty reference to the subject in those of the Crown, the material for the historian is small.

The extent of the territory of the Marchers may be estimated by that of the dominions of Llewelyn annexed by Edward I, for the government of which were framed, in 12 Edward I, a set of regulations called the Statute of Rhuddlan, or the Statute of Wales. By it were ap-

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pointed sheriffs for Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth, the old inheritance of the Princes of Gwynedd, for Flint, parcel of the Palatinate of Chester which was finally annexed to the Principality of Wales *temp.* Edward II, and for Carmarthen and for Cardigan and Lampeter, *i.e.* Llanbadarn, by Aberystwyth. To Carnarvon, Merioneth and Flint, certain cantreds and commotes were assigned, of the others it was merely stated that they should have their present metes and bounds. The three South Wales districts included a part of West Carmarthenshire which had been obtained by the princes of North Wales after the extinction of the Welsh princes of the South, and nearly the whole of the present county of Cardigan, the only Welsh county which represents an ancient territorial division, and the only part of Wales in which the Welsh had succeeded in driving back the Lords Marcher. The territory comprised in this Statute remained for centuries what was known to English law as "Wales", ruled by English law as modified by the Statute, and was, until the death of Arthur Tudor, the son of Henry VII, granted by Charter (as was the Earldom of Chester) to each heir apparent "and to his heirs Kings of England"; nevertheless, the charters to towns were granted by the king and not by the Prince of Wales. The Prince was solemnly invested with the chaplet ring and sceptre; to this day the eldest son of the sovereign is born Duke of Cornwall, but he is created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. All the rest of Modern Wales not subject to the Statute was the "Marches", over which the King was, by 3 Edward I, cap. 17, proclaimed Sovereign Lord, and which, by 28 Edward III, cap. 2, was declared to be attendant on the Crown of England as heretofore, and not on the Principality of Wales, and under the same term were included the forty-four Lordships which were

added to English counties by the Act of Union (27 Henry VIII, cap. 26), besides the Lordships east of Chepstow Bridge, which were added to Gloucestershire. The Lordships mentioned in the Act amount to over one hundred.

II.

The way for the Statute of Wales had been prepared by the Commission which Edward had issued four years previously¹ (that is to say, after the submission of Llewelyn and before his final revolt), to enquire into the laws and customs of the Welsh districts then held by the King. His father had granted to him in 1254 the palatinate of Chester, *una cum conquestu nostro Wallie in finibus illis, ita tamen quod nunquam separentur a Corona*, and Edward had shown a characteristic desire to set in order his possessions, which were practically the later Principality, with the exception of Anglesey and the land of Snowdon, which remained with Llewelyn. The Commissioners were the Bishop of St. David's and two Norman barons. They sat at five places and summoned one hundred and seventy-two witnesses; it appears from the evidence that even then Welsh law and custom had been affected by those of England. It was the object of the ambition of the Welsh princes to emulate the position of the English kings, and some of their chief nobles had assumed the state of English barons.

The Statute of Wales recites that the Principality, as then remodelled, "the land of Snowdon and other our lands in Wales," which had hitherto been subject to the Crown *in jure feudali*, had then fallen *in proprietatis dominium*; it was thenceforth to be a distinct portion of the realm of England, over which the Courts of West-

¹ *Rot. Wall.*, 9 Edw. I, M. 5.

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minster had no jurisdiction, but justice was to be administered in accordance with the King's original writs and the provisions of the Statute. It is stated that the laws and customs of Wales had been examined by the King, of which, some he had abolished, some allowed, and some corrected, others he had added. The editor of Reeves' *History of English Law*, points out in a note that although the object of the Statute was to assimilate the Welsh laws and institutions to the English, there was not found much in the former which required alteration, and draws the inference that the laws of the conquerors and the conquered were alike derived from the Roman law; he gives instances where the laws of the "Romanized Britons of Wales" could show a marked superiority over those of the Anglo-Normans. In civil actions the Welsh procedure was made by the Statute substantially the same as the English; the Welsh equivalent for gavelkind was allowed to remain, but bastards were debarred from a share in the inheritance; women were to be entitled to dower, in the sense of the endowment of the wife by the husband; and the coheiresses were to share equally.

The itinerant justiciary of Snowdon appointed by the Statute afterwards gave place to the Justices of North Wales and West Wales, who held their courts of Chancery and Exchequer at Carnarvon and Carmarthen respectively, in which all pleas of the Crown and the most important causes were heard and determined, and from which there was no appeal to the courts of Westminster. At these superior courts were granted the *misses*, being payments to every new prince on his creation for the allowance of their laws and ancient customs and for the pardon of offences. No shires were appointed by the Statute, but the several groups of commotes were in North Wales, in time, welded into a county, and the Sheriff held his County Courts

after the English manner. In West Wales courts baron were held in each commote by the "stewards of the Welsh Courts". The county, properly the district governed by an Earl, became the shire, the division of a kingdom, and Anglesey, Carnarvon and Merioneth were afterwards called the three ancient shires of North Wales, and together with Flint were soon divided into hundreds, which usually took their form and name from the Welsh commote—the Norman lawyers, here, as elsewhere, applying their own rules to the old Welsh divisions of land. The provisions of the Act of Union for dividing Wales into hundreds is limited to "South Wales" and the Marches.

The Sheriff, who was appointed during pleasure by the Crown, had in each commote a bailiff who later held his Hundred Court. In the monthly County Court the Sheriff heard questions of contract, trespass against the peace, and detainer of cattle, and there was an appeal "at the coming of the justice". In his biennial turn in each commote he tried, with a jury of twelve, usurpations of franchises and certain classes of crime, he could admit prisoners to bail or keep them for the assize, lesser offences he could dispose of. One Coroner at least for every commote was to be chosen in full County Court; his principal duties were to enquire as to death by misadventure and as to the chattels of felons to be answered at the coming of "the justice of our lord the king". There are elaborate provisions in the Statute as to the form of writs according to the English law and as to civil business which could be determined by the Sheriff and jury or referred to the Justice. Questions as to realty were to be tried by a jury, and as to personalty by the Welsh custom, that is to say, "in some cases things may be proved by those who have seen and heard, but where this is not possible the defendant is to be put to his

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purgation with a greater or less number of purgators, according to the gravity of the matter in hand." In criminal matters the law of England was to prevail. The object of Edward was to adapt the then form of English local government to the Principality, and it is to be noticed that the administration soon fell for the most part into the hands of Welshmen. From the *Record of Carnarvon*, which has been called the Domesday of Wales, and which contains the extents of Carnarvon and Anglesey in the reign of Edward III, and of part of Merioneth in that of Henry V, it is evident that many Welsh customs had survived the Statute; but the work of assimilation went on. There were no mesne lords among the Welsh, the chieftains' rights were transferred after the conquest to the Prince of Wales. Manors grew up, and the *maenol*, a division of a commote, became in Law Latin the *manerium* and in English the manor, the free tribesmen the manorial freeholders, and the *tæogs* or *villani* the copyholders; the food rents were commuted in time for each class into the tunc pound of silver, which was paid to the Prince of Wales and is still paid in the form of crown rents. The quasi-feudal services of the free Welshmen were continued, but in many cases Welsh landowners had adopted the rule of primogeniture instead of the entail of family land, which, however, like the joint holdings of the *tæogs*, lingered on in many places. The tenure by the *gwely*, or family group (associated originally for jurisdiction and tribute), of land partible among heirs male, was adapted to the tenure by knights' service, and although it was formally abolished by the Ordinances for Wales, both gavelkind and borough-English are still to be found in some Welsh manors. The revenue of the Principality in the time of the Black Prince was over £4,000 a year, but this had greatly decreased in Tudor times.

III.

The law of the Marches, except in such as were in the King's hands, was not so well ordered. It is obvious that in these petty principalities, in a disturbed state of the country, justice and good government were not the first consideration, and in 1472 the Commons, in view of the grievances of the King's subjects in the lands adjoining "Wales", sent a petition to the King, which resulted in the formation by Edward IV of the Court of the Marches, which sat by royal commission with an extensive jurisdiction of no clearly defined limits, and became a powerful instrument in the hands of the Crown, which resisted its abolition until long after the prerogatives of the Marches had been absorbed and Wales had been annexed to England, and when the word "Marches" had become of doubtful meaning.

The members of this court, the head-quarters of which were at Ludlow Castle, and which was the Star-Chamber of Wales, were nominated by the Crown. They consisted of a Lord President (until the Reformation always a bishop) and of divers personages, spiritual and lay, the "Justices of Wales", who, after the institution of the Court of the Great Sessions, were the Chief Justice of Chester and the Justices of the three circuits of Wales, "and such others as are learned in the Lawes and are to be called to Councell when the Lord President shall think requisite." They were empowered to deal with all causes and matters comprised in the letters of instruction from the Crown to the Lord President of the Council. It was in its origin a Court of Equity, but it encroached upon the province of the Courts of Common Law, probably in a great measure owing to the inability of these courts to enforce their decrees. In the time of Elizabeth it had grown

8 *English Law in Wales and the Marches.*

purgation with a greater or less number of purgators, according to the gravity of the matter in hand." In criminal matters the law of England was to prevail. The object of Edward was to adapt the then form of English local government to the Principality, and it is to be noticed that the administration soon fell for the most part into the hands of Welshmen. From the *Record of Carnarvon*, which has been called the Domesday of Wales, and which contains the extents of Carnarvon and Anglesey in the reign of Edward III, and of part of Merioneth in that of Henry V, it is evident that many Welsh customs had survived the Statute; but the work of assimilation went on. There were no mesne lords among the Welsh, the chieftains' rights were transferred after the conquest to the Prince of Wales. Manors grew up, and the *maenol*, a division of a commote, became in Law Latin the *manerium* and in English the manor, the free tribesmen the manorial freeholders, and the *tæogs* or *villani* the copyholders; the food rents were commuted in time for each class into the tunc pound of silver, which was paid to the Prince of Wales and is still paid in the form of crown rents. The quasi-feudal services of the free Welshmen were continued, but in many cases Welsh landowners had adopted the rule of primogeniture instead of the entail of family land, which, however, like the joint holdings of the *tæogs*, lingered on in many places. The tenure by the *gwely*, or family group (associated originally for jurisdiction and tribute), of land partible among heirs male, was adapted to the tenure by knights' service, and although it was formally abolished by the Ordinances for Wales, both gavelkind and borough-English are still to be found in some Welsh manors. The revenue of the Principality in the time of the Black Prince was over £4,000 a year, but this had greatly decreased in Tudor times.

to be an ordinary Court of Justice, and besides mitigating the rigour and supplying the deficiencies of the Common Law, it dealt with all manner of misdemeanours, examined the title to lands, and gave possession thereof, held pleas of debt and detinue, called to account evil-dealing "Tutors", examined witnesses "to remain of record", and punished the vices of incest, adultery, and fornication. It also took upon itself to deal with such questions as the apprehension of Jesuits and Seminarists, the assize of bread, ale and beer, unreasonable excess of apparel and the preservation of game. There were four terms during the year, each of which lasted a month. The Court brought law and order into the Marches; in a report as to the state of Wales immediately before the Act of Union, to be found among the *Miscellanea* of the Exchequer, it is stated that no inquest in Wales would find a gentleman guilty of the murder of a poor man, and that if it were not for the Council of the Marches the crime would go unpunished; also that the council was daily besieged by those whose cattle had been stolen and driven off from one petty Lordship to another. "All the thieves in Wales quake for fear", said Bishop Rowland Lee, the strongest of the rulers of the Marches. The process was speedy, and the fees (at first) were light, but to a litigious people the delight of summoning their adversary to Ludlow, which for many parts of Wales was nearly as inaccessible as Westminster, led to many frivolous suits and much oppression. The easy method which the Council had provided for poor suitors, of bringing cases before the Court by bill and answer without witnesses, encouraged this spirit of litigation, and had attracted a swarm of lawyers who defeated the original object of the Court. But the Court was too useful to the Crown to permit of its abolition, although the creation of the

itinerant Justices of the Great Sessions had rendered it no longer useful to the people.

The "Act for re-continuing the liberties in the Crown (27 Henry VIII, cap. 24), a general act for this realm, Wales and the Marches of the same," had discredited the Marchers by enacting that no one could pardon treason and felony or appoint justices but the King, and that all "original and judicial writs" were to be in the King's name ("the Justice of the County Palatine of Chester and Flint" was excepted from the Act). The Act of Union of the same year had annexed their Lordships to the different Shires, yet by the Act for the "Ordinances for Wales" (34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 26), the President and Council of the Marches were retained, with power "to hear and determine such causes and matters as shall be assigned to them by the King's Majesty as heretofore hath been accustomed."

In the troubles after the Reformation, Wales, from the nature of the country and the multitude of its jurisdictions, had become the refuge for the disaffected. Various criminal acts were passed, but shortly afterwards the whole country was incorporated with England, "it being thought a better policy to adopt that people into the same form of government as the English, than by keeping them under more severe and strict laws to hazard the alienating of their affections." The same troubles had caused the establishment of the President and Council of the North and the President and Council of the West, both of which were even in those times objected to as illegal. A subsidy act of 32 Henry VIII, cap. 50, provides for the "raising a President and Council in the Western Parts having like authority with the Council of Wales and the North".

By the like stretch of the royal prerogative which had

created these unconstitutional councils, it was provided in the "Ordinances for Wales" that the King's most royal majesty might alter anything contained in that statute, and make new laws and ordinances for Wales "as to his most excellent wisdom and discretion should be thought convenient," and that these alterations and new enactments, if made in writing under his Highness' great seal, should have the same force and effect as if they had been made by authority of Parliament. It was afterwards argued that this power was limited to Henry VIII, and that the most excellent wisdom and discretion did not descend with the Crown; but the Tudors wore that crown pretty firmly on their heads, and the clause was not repealed until 21 Jac., cap. 10, which recites that the laws ordained for Wales are for the most part agreeable to those of England, and are obeyed with "great alacrity", and that after so great a quiet any further change or innovation might be dangerous.

James I yielded to the petition of the Commons on this point; but another grave constitutional question was not so easily settled. So far as Wales was concerned the Court of the Marches claimed, and was allowed, a concurrent jurisdiction with the newly appointed Court of Great Sessions, but it also claimed jurisdiction over the four bordering counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford and Shropshire, as parcel of the ancient Marches of Wales, and this brought them into collision with the Courts of Westminster. These counties had been subjected to the Court before the Act of Union and were afterwards included in the letters of instruction from which certain places were from time to time omitted on petition to the Crown, but by 26 Henry VIII, cap. 11, the three last counties, as then constituted, were clearly distinguished from the Marches. These letters were

addressed, as before, to the Council of Wales and the Marches. "Wales" had been defined, and it was contended by the Crown that the "Marches" were now represented by the English shires, to which some of them had been added, that it was expedient that the inhabitants of both sides of the border should be subject to the same civil law, and that the powers of the Council rested not on statute but on the royal prerogative. It was alleged on the other side that the extraordinary powers vested in the Council were intended to supplement and not to supersede the Common Law, that they had no definite rules of procedure, that they put prisoners to torture in cases of treason and felony, and that they were in great measure dependent on fines imposed for offence and contempt of court and upon fees ascertained by custom, of which custom the lower officials were the interpreters. In Trin. Term, 2 Jac., one Farley sued for a habeas corpus in the King's Bench; Lord Zouch (then President of Wales and the Marches) submitted the case to the King in council, who referred it to the judges, who decided that the four counties were not within the jurisdiction. Lord Zouch resigned, "and yet" says Coke (who was one of the judges) "the commission was not reformed at all points as it ought to have been."

In the instructions to Lord Eure, the President in 1607, the extraordinary criminal powers were confined to Wales, but the Council was empowered to hear and determine matters of debt and trespass on the English and Welsh side under £10, for such of the poorer sort as were not fit to be compelled to go to Westminster. In 1608 the question again came before the Privy Council; the decision was not published, but was apparently not in favour of the Crown. In the instructions to Lord Compton, the President in 1617, the civil jurisdiction on

the English and Welsh side in purely personal actions was limited to £50, concurrently with the Common Law courts, but extended to any amount when the poverty of the plaintiff was certified. Full equitable jurisdiction was also granted, and the salaries remained charged on the fines and fees. The agitation to release the "four shires in the Marches of Wales" continued during the next year, and a bill was brought in upon a report of a committee of the Commons in 16 Car., and passed both houses, but never received the royal assent. The matter dropped during the Commonwealth and was not revived at the Restoration, but immediately after the Revolution the movement against the Court was renewed, and a petition for its abolition from ten thousand inhabitants of the towns and parishes in Wales was presented to Parliament. In it was given a new suffrage to the litany, "From plague, pestilence, and the name of Ludlow Court, good Lord deliver us." In the evidence taken by the Lords' Committee in 1689, it was stated that the Court cost the Crown £3000 a year, that the judges were judges of the law as well as of the fact, that the trial was not by jury but by "English bill", that there was no appeal from its decisions, that the costs in the abundant small actions were excessive, that actions of trespass, damage and small debt were usually brought there, and that several counties had got released by Charles II from "pertaining to the Court". Sir John Wynne gave it in evidence that land in Wales was two or three years' purchase the worse because of the Court. Evidence was also given in favour of the continuance of the Court. But the result was that 1 Will. and Mary, cap. 27, abolished altogether "the Court before the President and Council of the Marches in Wales", as contrary to the Great Charter, the known laws of the land, and the birthright of the subject, and declared that the

matters determinable in that Court could have sufficient redress in the ordinary courts of justice.¹

IV.

Yet it was not in the Court of the Marches but in the courts of the Lords Marchers themselves that justice was for many centuries administered for the greater part of Wales. Of the power of the Lords Marcher, many of whom sat in Parliament, no better evidence can be given than the ostentatious way in which their liberties were reserved in various Statutes, even in some in which those liberties were practically taken away. Some of the greatest of the English nobles held Lordships in the Marches; in the reigns of Edward II and III, twenty-one Lords Marcher sat among the Barons in Parliament.

Even under Mary they were still strong enough to obtain the passing of the "Act to confirm the liberties of the Lords Marcher of Wales" (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 15), which provided that the moiety of the forfeiture by their tenants "for every common mainprise, recognisance of the peace or appearance", which had been by the Act of Union reserved to the lay lords then in existence (the other moiety going to the Crown) should be payable also to "bishops and other ecclesiastical persons being Lords Marchers", and to the heirs and successors of the lay lords, and also that they should have such "mises or profits of their tenants, keep their courts baron, courts leet and law-days, and should have waifs, strays, infangthef and outfangthef, treasure trove, deodands, chattels of

¹ The original documents appended to Mr. Lleufer Thomas' *Further Notes on the Court of the Marches (Y Cymmrodor, xiii, pp. 125-163)*, contain a store of valuable information on the subject of this chapter.

felons, wrecks, wharfage and customs of strangers as before the making of the said Statute."

The Statute-book throws much light on their powers. The "Bill concerning Councils in Wales" (26 Henry VIII, cap. 6), after reciting that the people of Wales and the Marches had been guilty of "scelerous deeds and abominable malefacts", commands the inhabitants thereof upon due summons to appear before the justice, steward, lieutenant or other officer of the court in any castle, fortress, or other place, and gives the right of appeal to the Council of the Marches from the unlawful exactions and false imprisonment of these same officers, to which the Statute explains they are somewhat prone. It also empowers the justices in the English shire, "where the king's writ runneth", next adjoining any Lordship Marcher, to try certain felonies committed in such lordship, and this was especially confirmed in the "Ordinances for Wales."

The Act "for the abuses in the Forests of Wales" (27 Henry VIII, cap. 7) declares that the customs and exactions in the forests of Wales and the Marches are "contrary both to the law of God and man", and instances that if any one is found on a path in a forest without the forester's token, and not being a "yearly tributer or chenser",¹ he has to pay a grievous fine, and if twenty-four feet out of the path, he may lose all the money he has about him and a joint of one of his hands; also that "all beasts and quick cattle" found straying in the forest are confiscated to the Lord. All these customs are to be held for naught after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1536.

The powers of the Earls Palatine were so great that the Crown, when it was sufficiently strong, annexed their

¹ L.L. *censarius*, a farmer at a fixed rent.

earldoms, but the powers of the Lords Marcher were greater. The Counties Palatine were parcel of the realm of England and derived therefrom. Wales was not. *Brevis domini regis non currit in Wallia*, i.e. Wales and the Marches, save only in the county palatine of Pembroke. A writ of error lay from a county palatine to the King's Bench; if any "foreign plea or voucher" arising in a county palatine was pleaded, the record was sent to that county to be tried and returned to the King's Bench for judgment. The Lord of Kemes tells us that the Lords Marcher were sworn to perform covenants as full and absolute princes are, whereas Earls Palatine tied themselves by covenants and bonds as subjects do.

The Palatinates were governed by the laws and customs of England, the Marches by the "*Lex et consuetudo Marchiae*". The invader, we are told, when he won his Lordship, was "forced to devise and execute laws of himself to keep his people in quiet and peace, for there was no higher court which could minister justice unto them". These laws were a mixture of English law and will of the Lord, and in earlier times the latter predominated. The law and custom of the Marches may be summarised as follows:—1. The Lordships were held of the crown of England *in capite*, and the lords appointed sheriffs, coroners, constables of the castle, chamberlains, chancellors, escheators, and other officers. The writs ran in the name of the Lord and not of the King, even in those held by the Crown; it was the Lord's peace, and not the King's, which the people of the Marches were bound to keep. 2. The Lords granted charters of incorporation to boroughs, founded abbeys and churches, and gave lands in mortmain. 3. They had *bona intestatorum* and forfeiture of goods of felons (including everything found in their possession), stolen goods wherever found, goods of

outlaws, deodands, and wrecks. They had the rights of wardship and marriage in respect of their tenants-in-chief, levied scutages and reliefs, all the lands of the lordship were held immediately or mediately of them. By 24 Henry VIII, cap. 9, they were given the forfeiture from butchers who killed "wainlings" under two years old. 4. They had judgment of life and limb, pardoned felons and murderers, "set them to fine or hanged them at their pleasure". 5. They held in their own names pleas of the crown, of land, of fresh force, and pleas personal and mixed to any amount. 6. Such of them as were maritime were admirals of the coast, with the prerogatives of the old *custodes maris*. 7. They could grant out any of their privileges to subordinate lords. 8. They made war and peace with their neighbours at their pleasure. In 1291 Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, complained to the King that Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was also lord of Glamorgan and Morganwg, had with the men of his Welsh lordship invaded the complainant's lordship of Brecon. The proceedings are given at length in Ryley; the defendants set up the law and custom of the Marches, under which they claimed rights which were not to be found *extra Marchiam*, and were told that for the public good, the King was *per prerogativam suam in multis casibus supra leges et consuetudines in regno suo usitatas*. The result shows that even Edward I thought it prudent to deal leniently with the invaders. 9. They had rights of forest as above mentioned. 10. The more important of the lords were summoned to parliament as barons by tenure, and it is to be noted that the King's writs for men and munition of war were sent only to the Marchers; those to the new formed principality were sent by the Prince of Wales. 11. The form of conveyance of land was in general as was used in England; in some lordships there

were copyholds after the English manner, and in others, especially in those adjacent to the mountainous district, there was, besides the English court, a Welsh court, in which lands were partible among brothers and were surrendered in court in accordance with the old Welsh custom, and in which the rents and services differed from those in the Englishry. These Welsh courts appear to have become more frequent after the English plantations of the first settlers had died out; many of these had married Welsh women, and their children became Welsh, and more Welshmen came in. The Lords, following the example of Edward I, permitted "certaine pointes of the old Welsh lawes which were nothing noysome to the lords nor repugnant to the lawe of Englande"; these "pointes" were afterwards held to be particular customs of the manors. 12. The division of land was into knights' fees, ploughlands and oxlands, although the forms of the old Welsh cantred and commote were sometimes maintained. The dimensions of the acre in the Englishry and Welshry were not the same.

The high court of the Lord was usually held in the castle, a necessary adjunct to a March, and the seneschal or other presiding officer was the judge and not the suitors as in the old county courts and courts baron. It was a court of record, and transacted all the criminal and civil business of the Lordship; in it were collected all the fines and dues to the Lord, and from it there was no appeal.

The tenure of the Lords Marcher was to guard their castles (this was enforced by 2 Henry IV, cap. 18), and also in some cases the sea coast, and to supply the King with "men and munition" against his enemies.

After the death of a Lord Marcher the King's writ was sometimes sent to the escheator of the shires of Glou-

cester, Hereford, Salop, and Worcester, who was also escheator of the Marches, who held an *inquisitio post mortem* locally as to the tenure and value of the lordship. We do not find any enquiry, as in England, as to the dues to the Crown; the object usually was to ascertain whether the King might take the lordship. That the King had no right of wardship in the Marches, *ubi brevia Regis non currunt*, was recognised in the Statute *Prerogativa Regis* (17 Edward II, Stat. 1). The King's court also tried any question as to the title of the lordship itself, which was for this purpose supposed to be within the English county next adjoining (much as in a famous case *Minorca* was presumed to be in the ward of Cheap), also "for want of a superior" it tried any dispute between two Lords Marcher and sometimes enquired by *quo warranto* as to the claims of the Marchers. In ecclesiastical matters, as the court of the Lord could not make process to the bishop, the King's Bench issued a writ to send the record up, and the matter was then dealt with.

The Welsh bishops, so far as their dioceses lay in the Marches, were also Lords Marcher, as were also other ecclesiastical personages, especially the Knights Hospitalers, who held much property in Wales. These spiritual Marchers did not obtain their rights by conquest but from the necessity of the case, "for otherwise their tenants and people must have lived lawless and without government"; but they were in many cases confirmed by grants from the Crown, and the invaders respected the lands of spiritual men, even if they were Welshmen. The bishops of St. David's led their "subjects" to war with the shrine and relics of the patron Saint at their head; they had the power of life and death; their stewards, constables, and recorders, were noblemen and men of high position; they had garrisons in their city and castle; and as their statutes

show, regulated the price of labour and victuals upon pain of fine and imprisonment.

We have accounts written in the reign of Elizabeth of two Lordships Marcher at either end of South Wales, the Lordship of Kemes and the Lordship of Glamorgan, which give us some idea of their state and position.

The Lordship of Kemes, which was conquered by Martin of Tours in the reign of William Rufus, consisted of the Domain and the Service. The Domain included the Lord's castle at Newport with four manors annexed, divers farms and houses, rents and suit of tenants, mills, fishings, woods and forests, perquisites of court and casualties and patronage of churches. The Service was divided into the High Fee, eight knights' fees and seventeen ploughlands held immediately of the Lord, and the Mean Tenure of the same number of fees and ploughlands held as sub-ordinate manors; there were also annexed to the Lordship four other manors as "ornaments and for the more dignity thereof," and four corporate towns; the whole was under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Kemes.¹

The great lordship of Glamorgan, the lowland portion of which was conquered by Robert Fitzhamon in the reign of William Rufus, consisted of—1, the *Corpus Comitatus*, some thirty-six knights' fees which did suit to the castle of Cardiff, where the Sheriff held his monthly court and the Chancellor his court on the day following for "matters of conscience." 2, The Members, the twelve chief lordships, which had like regal jurisdiction, except that a writ of error lay to the Chancery of Glamorgan, and that the suitors, and not the presiding officer, were judges. In the hill districts the Welsh laws remained until the end, and

¹ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, i, 495.

the customs varied as they did in most Lordships Marcher. 3, The Boroughs, both in the Corpus and the Members, which held their liberties by Charter from the Lord of Glamorgan and were governed by mayors and bailiffs or by stewards; and 4, the possessions of the Cathedral of Llandaff and the religious houses. The bishops had *jura regalia*, but *sede vacante* the Lord of Glamorgan claimed the temporalities of the see and the right to appoint to preferments. The chronicler rejoices that after the Act of Union life and death, land and goods, were no longer at the pleasure of the Lords or dependant upon uncertain laws, customs, and usages, of which some part "rested in memory" and were not written.¹

After that Act the Lords Marcher were practically reduced to the position of lords of manors; many customs and usages lingered on, but the law was to be found in the English Statute Book. It will be seen that the Lords Marcher were in theory and in practice sovereign princes. Their powers rested on no grant from the crown but gradually grew up from force of circumstances, and for practical purposes they might have boasted, like the Udalers of Shetland, that they held of God Almighty. Living in a warlike state they were of the greatest service to the English kings in their wars against the Welsh princes, while their castles (of which there were in Glamorganshire forty-six and in Pembrokeshire nineteen) made their position almost impregnable. There is only one instance of their endeavouring to act in a corporate capacity, they (*Marchiones de Marchia Walliæ*) claimed in 1236, against the Barons of the Cinque Ports, to bear the canopies over Henry III and his Queen at their marriage, but their claim *quodam modo frivolum putabatur*.

¹ Rice Merrick's *Morganæ Archæiographia*.

Stephen, in his *History of the Criminal Law*, says, in reference to a *quo warranto* brought against Thomas Cornwall in Term Mich., 44 and 45 Elizabeth, as to his claim to *jura regalia* in two lordships, notwithstanding that they had been annexed to Herefordshire by the Act of Union: "The pleadings come to this, that so much of Wales as had not been brought under the Statute of Wales, continued until 1535 to be governed by a number of petty chiefs called Lords Marcher, who may be compared to the small rajahs to whom much of the territory of the Punjab and North West Provinces still belong."

V.

The Statute Book already contained divers Acts intended to bring the Welsh into more complete subjection, and after the insurrection of Owen Glyndwr in the reign of Henry IV a series of enactments deprived the inhabitants of the Principality of all rights of citizenship.

The Act of Union (27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26) 1, united Wales to England; 2, created the new shires of Monmouth, Brecon, Radnor, Montgomery and Denbigh, and made the Marches shire ground; 3, abolished the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Lords Marcher, saving to them courts baron and courts leet, certain seignorial rights and a moiety of forfeiture and fees; 4, extended the benefit of English laws to Wales and directed that justice should be administered in the English tongue (by 4 Geo. II, cap. 26, it was enacted that all proceedings in the courts of England and Wales should be in English); and 5, gave the Welsh people representation in Parliament. Wales and the Marches had, like the Counties Palatine, been hitherto unrepresented, although in 1322 and 1327 certain representatives had been summoned from Wales.

The Act for the Ordinances for Wales (34 and 35 Hen. VIII, cap. 26) 1, divided Wales into twelve shires, *i.e.* the four recently created and the eight "of long and ancient time"; 2, abolished the Welsh tenure of land; 3, appointed yearly sheriffs (they had previously been appointed for life), who held courts as in England and who by 1 Edward VI, cap. 10, were directed to have deputies in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas at Westminster, coroners, escheators (to hold inquisitions on the death of crown tenants and to take charge of forfeited lands and goods for the crown), and other shire officers and a limited number of justices of the peace; 4, confirmed the hundreds made by royal commission; 5, continued the Court of the Marches; and 6, established a new court of itinerant justices.

This was "the King's Great Sessions in Wales", of which the judges were the Chief Justice of Chester and three other justices, each of whom had three shires in his circuit. They had the powers of the judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas and of assize, had a Chancery jurisdiction and held sessions in each shire twice in the year, each of which was to last six days. There are various regulations for their "original seals" for original writs, "judicial seals" for judicial process, and for the officers and proceedings of the Courts. A writ of error lay from the Great Sessions in pleas real and mixed to the King's Bench, and in personal pleas to the Court of the Marches, and after the abolition of that Court, also to the King's Bench. (A *custos rotulorum* and justices of the peace were also appointed as in England for each shire, the number of the latter, beyond those who were *ex officio*, was limited to eight, and this was not altered until after the Revolution. The Act of 27 Henry VIII, cap. 5, had already appointed justices of the peace for the County

Palatine of Chester and the then existing Welsh counties.) The business of the Court of Great Sessions having much increased, and many important cases having to be decided there, an additional justice was, by 18 Elizabeth, cap. 8, appointed for each circuit. The two justices sat together, and when the court was not unanimous the inconvenience was obvious. There was at first much doubt whether the Courts of Great Sessions had any equitable jurisdiction, but the point was decided in their favour by the King's Bench in 19 Car. II. The courts at Westminster claimed concurrent jurisdiction, and in time obtained it. In the case of *Lampley v. Thomas* (21 George II) it was decided that *brevis Domini Regis de latitat* (and *semble* other mesne process between subjects) *non currit in Wallia*, notwithstanding that it was admitted that all judicial process could go, and that it was contended that the High Court had a general jurisdiction, although there was a sufficient court to try the case in Glamorgan, where the cause of action arose. This case forms the text of "A discourse against the jurisdiction of the King's Bench over Wales by process of latitat," in which the author enters at length into the history of the courts of Wales and the Marches and inveighs against the "*custodia marescalli*", the great engine of the encroachments of the King's Bench, which had usurped civil business from other courts by the fiction that the defendant had committed a breach of the peace in the County where the court sat and was in the custody of the Marshall of the court. The editor of the report suggests that it was the interest of the officials of the King's Bench to bring Welsh litigants into their net, and their efforts were attended with success, for the case was over-ruled by *Lloyd v. Jones* (9 George III), where it is stated that actions are every day brought in the King's Bench against a defendant in Wales; and in the same

year, in *Rex v. Lewis et al.*, it was decided that a *certiorari* lies to move an indictment from the Glamorgan Quarter Sessions *per saltum* to the King's Bench, without going through the Great Sessions. Lord Mansfield, in his judgment in *Mostyn v. Fabrigas*, a case before alluded to, said: "If an action is brought here for a matter arising in Wales, you must show the jurisdiction of the Court in Wales. If there is no other mode of trial, that will give the King's Court jurisdiction." The Courts of Westminster were much sought after by Welsh litigants, who preferred them in important matters to the local tribunal, but they were also largely used in small matters where the plaintiff entered his action to be tried in the nearest English county. In 1773, by the 13 George III, cap. 51, entitled "An Act to discourage the practice of commencing frivolous and vexatious suits in his Majesty's Courts at Westminster in causes of action arising within the Dominion of Wales, and for further regulating the proceedings in the Courts of Great Session in Wales," the defendant in such an action tried at the assizes in the next English county was entitled to judgment if the plaintiff did not recover £10 debt or damages. This Act, which has been called "the Welsh Judicature Act", contained various regulations as to the deputies of the Welsh judges, the striking of juries, the return of original writs, and other matters. It also empowered the judges of Great Sessions to appoint commissioners to take affidavits to be used in their courts, and to nominate persons (other than common attorneys or solicitors) to take recognizance of bail; it also provided that certain penalties, given by statute and directed to be recovered in the courts of Westminster, should be recoverable at the Great Sessions.

But notwithstanding this Act, efforts were still made to reform or abolish the Welsh Judicature, the reason of

whose existence had in the opinion of many passed away. Among the five bills in Burke's projected plan of economical reform in 1780 was one "for the more perfectly uniting to the Crown the Principality of Wales and the County Palatine of Chester, and for the more commodious administration of justice within the same"; and in 1798 a select committee of the House of Commons on finance in courts of justice recommended the amalgamation of the four Welsh courts of Great Session.

Another Select Committee was appointed by that House on the administration of justice in Wales, who made an interim report in 1817. Owing to the death of the chairman of the Committee their proceedings had been checked, but they stated that some of the points which called for amendment were—1, the long period of the year during which no recovery could be suffered or fine levied, and the magnitude and uncertainty of the expense thereof; 2, the inability of each Court of Great Session to compel the attendance of witnesses outside its own particular jurisdiction; 3, the necessity of moving for a new trial before the same judges immediately at the close of the first trial; 4, the security of funds directed to be paid into Court depending on the personal solvency of the officers of the Court; 5, the diversity of practice in the different circuits with regard to writs of *certiorari* (by which the proceedings were removed to the court above); and 6, the necessity of judges and counsel remaining the same time at each place on the circuit whether there was business for them or not.

In 1820 the Committee submitted further evidence, but offered no opinion, and in 1821 issued their third and final report. In this, some of the points mentioned in the report of 1817 are repeated, and the Committee bring forward further defects. Each Court being supreme had

in the course of years established its peculiar standard of justice, so that there were in Wales four independent jurisdictions, each containing three counties (one circuit including Chester). The Court could not enforce its own decrees, and defendants frequently and easily withdrew from the jurisdiction. When the two judges differed there was no decision, and there was no appeal except to the House of Lords, and by writ of error to the King's Bench. Writs of *certiorari* were used for purposes of delay, and the trial in the next English county was a denial of justice to the poorer suitor. As the Court was only open for three weeks twice in the year it was not possible to conduct the necessary proceedings in a suit of equity, which was stated to have been "more dilatory and prolix" than in the High Court of Chancery itself. The encouragement to the attorneys, who were easily admitted and were attached to each circuit, the Committee consider to be "highly disadvantageous". The Committee state that the judges, who hold office during the pleasure of the Crown, received no pension, but a salary of £1,150 each (with the exception of the Chief Justice of Chester and his *puisne*, who were more highly paid), and they gave it as their opinion that "minor difficulties might be removed by new regulations, but no right administration of justice could be obtained without such fundamental changes as would amount to a new jurisdiction."

How the Court employed the six days which they were obliged by the Act of Ordinances to spend in each assize town may be gathered from the evidence of Sir William Garrow, a Baron of the Exchequer and formerly Chief Justice of Chester (this last office was always considered a stepping-stone to preferment in England). On Monday the Court was opened, but no business was done; Tuesday,

the Grand Jury Day, the judges went to Church and the Grand Jury was charged: Wednesday, the trial of adjourned issues, the amount of business may be judged from the fact that this was known as "nothing at all day"; Thursday, crown business; Friday, new issues; and on Saturday the court left for the next town.

How far the proceedings in equity had become a farce may be estimated from the fact recorded that with a view to an increase of costs the ancient ballad of *Cherry Chase* was copied into a Chancery Bill and escaped detection.

The Welsh Judicature was the subject of a long and heated controversy and of many debates in both Houses of Parliament. Lord John Russell, in a debate in 1820, said that as the Welsh judges were eligible for seats in that House their posts were looked upon as retainers or rewards for the support of ministerial measures. It was also objected to them that they used their abundant leisure to practice at the bar of the English Courts, and that as twelve judges were then deemed sufficient for England, eight were a superfluity for Wales. We also hear many complaints of the County Courts in Wales, where small debts were then recovered, and which were presided over by the under-sheriff, who was a judge one year and an advocate the next, in the same Court.

The time was not yet ripe for the fundamental changes which the Committee of 1821 had suggested, but a last effort was made in 1824 to continue the Courts and to establish one uniform course of procedure, in which, as may be seen from the books of practice for various circuits, many discrepancies had arisen. This was the 5 George IV, cap. 106, "An Act to enlarge and extend the powers of the judges of the several Courts of Great Sessions in Wales, and to amend the laws relating to the same." By this the business of the Great Sessions was

increased by a provision non-suiting a plaintiff who obtained less than £50 debt or damages in a Court outside the Principality. The Courts were given various powers to extend their jurisdiction and were empowered to hear motions and petitions in law and equity in London when the Courts were not sitting in Wales.

After the Act of Union several statutes were passed as to the administration of law in Wales, others were especially extended to Wales, until, by 20 George II, cap. 42, it was declared that the word "England" in any future Act of Parliament shall be deemed to comprehend the Dominion of Wales. At length the opponents of the local judicature gained their cause; by the 11 George IV, and William IV, cap. 70, the Court of Great Sessions was swept away, two new circuits of the English judges for Chester and Wales were established, Wales became entirely subject to the courts of Westminster, and the Act of Union was completed.

It was reserved for another generation to undo the work of Edward Plantagenet and Henry Tudor, and to inaugurate an era of separate legislation by the Welsh Sunday Closing Act, 1881.

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Warrington, *History of Wales*, Book V.

Wilson's *Reports*, i, 193.

Worcester, *Calendar of Quarter Sessions' Records*, Part I, p. 684.

Wootton, *Leges Wallicæ*, Ap. 518.

APPENDIX.¹

The state of the Cause concerning the Lo: President and Counsell in ye Marches of Wales.²

p. 1.

The differences³ are fower.

1. Whither a prohibition lie out of the Kinges benche into the Marches.
2. Whither a habeas Corpus lie into the Marches as to question their jurisdiction.
3. Whither the foure counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, ought to be exempted.
4. Whither the counsell in the Marches may proceed in any case after Judgment.

The twoe first questions are one in profe, for the assertion for them of the Marches is that they are not subordinat to the Kinges benche but onlie and immediatlie accountable to the Kinge and his privie counsell.

To proue this	{	matter of Lawe.
wee produce		matter of vsage and president.
		matter of policie and convenience.

For matter of Lawe wee alledge

1. That it is a counsell of the Kinges and participant of his prerogative and therefore exempt from the controule of any cort of Lawe. Britton,⁴ lib. 1. "Wee will

¹ The Editorial Committee are indebted for the interesting document contained in this Appendix, and the Notes thereon, to Dr. Henry Owen, the writer of the foregoing Essay.—[E. V. E.]

² This Tract gives the case for the Crown in the proceedings before the Privy Council referred to at p. 13 *ante*. It is taken from *Harl. MS.*, 141, in the British Museum. There is a later copy in *Lansdowne MS.*, 216 (see Owen's *Pembrokeshire* II, pp. 1 and 131). It seems to be the original argument of Bacon, as the King's Solicitor-General, which he has summarised in the Tract on "The Jurisdiction of the Marches", published in Spedding's edition of his works, vol. vii, p. 587.

³ Points in dispute.

⁴ Britton, *Pleas of the Crown*. Introduction, sect. v.

that *our* Jurisdiccio[n] be aboue all Jurisdiccio[n]s in *our* Realme so as wee haue power to geeue or cause Judg-
mentes to be geeuen as shall seeme to vs good without
other forme of proces where wee may knowe the true right
as Judge": which Jurisdiccio[n] the Kinge exerciseth by his
counsell, for a counsell is no delegacion of power from the
Kinge but an assistance of the Jurisdiccio[n] inherent in
the Kinge.

To proue the counsell in the marches to be a
counsell of Estate¹ and not onlie a counsell
or cort of Lawe yt appeerith by these badges

The oath of a counsellor in the marches
is the oathe of a priuy Counsellor.

p.2. They make proclamacion for matter of
gouernment.

They haue a Seriant at Armes and twoe
Pursiua[n]tes.

2. It is subordinate to the Priuy counsell and vppon
suggestion that they exceed their Jurisdiccio[n] the Kinge
by his owne signature hath directed the examinacion of
complaintes which sheweth they were not to be releued
by any ordinary court of Lawe.

15 H. 8. Hereford and Dolman fol. 12 et 13.²

23 H. 8. Joñ wyn Gruff et Dominus Powys,
fol. 14.

There
have byn
no Presi-
dentes
shewen of
an prohibi-
cion or
writt of
corpus
cum
causa
into ye
chancery,
ye Exche-
quer
Chamber,
ye Cort
of
Wardes,
the
Dutchye,
ye Cham-
berlen of
Chester
or Chan-
3. It is a Cort of equitie. Wee grant that prohibi-
cions and writtes of corpus cum causa³ may be awarded out
of the Kinges bench to Cortes of commen lawe, or cortes of
civill Lawe, but not to Cortes of equitie.

4. The intencion of the Statute 34 H. 8⁴ which is
proued by twoe clauses.

1. In that it geeueth Jurisdiccio[n] in Writtes
of error to the counsell in the Marches
as to personall accions and to the Kinges
Bench in England as to Reall and mixt.

2. In that it geeueth authoritie to award
writtes into the Cortes in Wales so it
be with the speciall direccio[n] of the

¹ Estate=State.

² The folio numbers in the text refer to the earlier portion of the
MS. from which this tract was taken.

³ A writ issuing out of Chancery to remove the body and the
record in the case of a man in prison.

⁴ Cap. 26, sec. 113 and 115.

Lord Chauncellor or a priuy counsellor.

These proue a fortiori that no writtes of ordinary course from the Cortes at Westminster shold be sent to the Counsell in the Marches which is the superior Cort in Wales.

celor of
Durisme,
wee
meane
writtes of
corpus
cum causa
of ye
nature
aforesaid.

For Matter of President	{	In the negative	No corpus cum causa was euer awarded to the Porter ¹ but one in the late Erle of Pembroke's time, which was not obeyed, and this of farleies. ²
		In the affirmative	Neuer any prohibition to the Counsell and fewe to the parties till of late time. A certiorarj out of the Chancerye answered only by letters. E. 6. An Inhibicion out of the exchequer answered only by letters. Eliz.
ffor Matter of Polycie	{	The Cort was erected to retaine those counties in obedience and if their doinges be subiecte to reexaminacions and controllmentes by such writtes the cort wilbe made contemptible.	
		The Cort was erected for ease of the poore & meane subiect & the double examininge of causes wold exceedinglie yncrease charge.	

p. 3.

Third question

Concerninge the exemption of the fower Countyes the course of profe on the behalf of the Marches resteth vpon these partes.

1. The King's Intencion in erectinge the Cort.
2. The words of the Statute of 34 H. 8³ which leaue the Jurisdiccio[n] at large to the Kinges Instruccions accordinge to former vsage without determininge either matter or place.

Vis termini,⁴ the propriete & significacion of the word Marches.

Vsage and Authoritie.

Mischeif that wold insue if they shold be exempted.

¹ The Porter of the Council had the custody of the prisoners.

² Farleus or farlies, were money payments in lieu of heriots.

³ Sec. 4; the words are given below.

⁴ See Bacon's Works (as above), p. 587.

The Intent of the Kinge and parlament in erecting & Authorisinge that Cort consisteth vpon three Branches, euery of them prouinge plainelie that the shires shold be coupled in gouernment with Wales.

The first is the quiett of the Contries for because Wales was newlie reclaimed & subiect to disobedience & disorders yt was necessarie to bridle them with the Englishe shires, & so to compound them vnder one gouernment.

p. 4. It is confessed on the other side that for forces¹ and misdemeanours & installacion of possession the fower shires ought to be included. Whereto wee say that they cannot seuer the Jurisdiccio but the lawe must be alike for both. If the word Marches extend not to those shires at all, the counsell can haue noe authoritie there for either.

The second intent is the ease of the Meaner and poore sort of subiectes that they shold not fetch Justice to farre of. Herevpon wee inforce that it was for noe falt or punishment of those shires that they were made subiect to the Jurisdiccio of the counsell as is pretended, but a favour.

The like president of a Cort of Equitie erected in the North wher the shires without all question were euer England. Wee alledge alsoe the Example of forren Contryes which haue diuers provinciale Cortes of highe Justice, least the subiect shold resort to farre of to the seate of ye Kingdome.	}	Instruct. 17 H. 8. Art. 1 fol. 22. Instruct. 1 Regis Jacobi Art. 20.
--	---	---

The third intent was the erectinge of a proporcionable & fitt honour for the Kinges eldest son which if it had consisted of Wales onlie it had bin but labor et Angustia, as Wales then was, which wee alledge not as thoughe the principality of Wales went otherwise then by the Kinges creacion or that it is not in the Kinges power to Amplifie or lymitt that lieftenancie, but to shewe that the shires were euer intended to be coupled to the gouernment of Wales & not seuered.

11 H. 4. Prince Henrie (after King H. 5) made Lieftenant in Wales & the marches of the Realme of England adioyninge, fol. 8.

¹ i.e., acts of violence.

The wordes of 34 H. 8 are these

There shalbe and remaine a President & Counsell in the said dominion and principality of Wales & the Marches of the same with all officers clerkes & yncidentes to the same, in Maner & forme as hath bin heretofore vsed and accustomed, whiche President & Counsell shall haue power & authority to heare and determine by their wisdomes & discrecions such causes & Matters as be or hereafter shalbe assigned to them by the Kinges maiestie as heretofore hath bin accustomed & vsed.

p. 5.

Before this statute the Kinge vsed to assigne causes in these fower shires as is proued by the Instruccions of 17 H. 8 & the presidentes of that tyme.

And the wordes (of Wales and the Marches) are specified in the statute onlie as places for the president & Counsels residence & not for limitacion of their Jurisdiction.

The Acception of the word Marches

It may be taken

Either in a naturall or vulgar construccion

Or in a legall construccion

ffor the first. Marches signifies Borders, limites or confines & because it must haue a latitude yt is vnderstood of the shires adiacent in any part vppon Wales, all one with the familiar taking it in the example of Scotland where the Marches of Scotland are vnderstood of the three counties which in any part of them ioyne vppon Scotland.

ffor the legall construccion	} 1. In recordes. 2. In statutes.
wee shewe it	

In Recordes

5 E. 4. Rex concedit *Willelmo Harbert manerium de Kilpeck in comitatu Hereford in marchis Wallie*, fol. 11°

46 E. 3. Inquisitio. Elizabeth Talbott tenet *castrum de Goderidge in Marchijs Wallie*, fol. 7, & this castle was anchientlie & still is in Herefordshire.

6 E. 1. A commission to some to heare & determine causes in Wales & the Marches & amongst others the sheriffes of Hereford & Salop are to attend for Juries, fol. 5.

In Statutes

p. 6.

17 E. 2. Statutum de prerogativa Regis wherein to the wordes Marchie Wallie is added by way of restraint to the generalty of the worde, vbi breve regis non currit.

26 H. 8. Cap. 6. Rastall,¹ Wales 25. There is one place which mencioneth of Lordshipps Marchers & Marches of Wales.

18 Eliz. Cap. 18. Rastall, Bridges 3, Justices of peace in ye Counties of Gloucester & Monmouth not following the direccion of the Statute are to be sued for penalties before the counsell in the Marches.

ffor the equivocacion that the other side would euade by, that it shold signifie sometimes lordships Marchers which were as the batable ground. It is true, sometimes it is so taken but vmpproperlie for that they all laie in the Dominion and principalitie of Wales which extendeth to Seaverne & Dee. But there is an Impossibilitye that in the Statute of 34 H. 8 it shold be so taken, bycause that these Lordshipps Marchers were by 27 H. 8 extincted & made shire ground, part thereof beinge allotted to England and part to Wales, so that in 34 H. 8 there were no Marches but the Counties Marchers.

Besides the word Marches was individuum Vagum, varieing as the boundes of the principalitie of Wales varied in reputacion or as the enemye wonne or lost, for whatsoever bordered vppon the Enemy was the Marches.

Hereford Cittye was reputed in Wales.

1 Richard 1	} vide fol. 1
17 Johannis Regis	
11 H. 3	

p. 7.

cf² E. 1 Pleas of the Crowne held in Vrchinfeild in the countie of Hereford before the sheriff as not within the statute of Magna Charta cap. 17, fol. 6.

Diuers citties & townes in those partes commanded to be walled for defence of them selves & those partes from the enemye.

¹ William Rastell's Collection in English of the Statutes from 9 Henry III to 23 Elizabeth, arranged under alphabetical headings (1581). The references in the text are to fols. 496 and 46.

² Confer.

2 H. 3	}	for Shrewesbury	{ fol. 2.
8 H. 3			{ fol. 3.
8 H. 3		for Hereford	fol. 3.
11 H. 3		for Bridgnorth	fol. 4.
13 H. 3		for Worcester	fol. 3.

Vsage and Authoritye.

Wee haue a possession of aboute one hundred yeres. Optima legum interpres consuetudo.

Hereof wee haue infinite *presidentes* & whereof diuers are breuiated fol. 17, 18, 19, 20.

This vsage was not a popular vsage but confirmed by the Kinge & the State.

Instruccio 1 Regis Jacobi artic.	}	9. ffor misdeme- nours
		20. ffor matters betwixt partie & partie.

This vsage is referred to *pattentes*¹ to Knight, for Clerke of the signett & Counsell, fol. 15, by the wordes of the statute of 34 H. 8.

This vsage is proued by the residence of the president & Counsell which was neuer in *lordships* marchers but at Bewdely, Ludlowe, Gloucester, Salopp, Hereford & Worcester.

This vsage & construccion of the statute both are proued by the decree of the late queenes priue counsell vpon the certificat of Gerrard & Bromley,² fol. 16.

The exemptinge of Cheshire maketh for vs. p. 8.
Exceptio firmat legem in casibus non exceptis,³ espetially beinge vpon a particular reason, bycause yt was a countie palantine & fetched not Justice from Westminster.

The Mischeife is the infinite perturbacion which will follow by the ouerthrowe of so manye decrees and orders for these threescore yeres, for these shires beinge taken to be out of the statute yt must needes looke backe aswell as forwards.

¹ The letters patent granting the office to Knight.

² Bacon, p. 610, calls them two great learned men, Gerrard and Bromley. For Gerrard, see the articles on the Marches in the two last numbers of this Journal. Sir George Bromley, C.J. of Chester, died in 1589.

³ The quotation and argument are given by Bacon, pp. 598-9.

By these decrees many hold their possessions of lands & goods which nowe shold be avoyded, yea, & the meane profittes recouered in many places.

A multitude of fines to his Maiesties vse haue bin ymposed which nowe shold be restored.

Many haue endured corporall punishmentes which cannot be restored.

And infinite other inconveniences. Quod a consuetudine recedit, licet vtilitate Juuet tamen novitate ipsa perturbat.

The fourth question

Whither the Court in the Marches may in some cases proceed to order or decree after & notwithstanding a judgment at the *Commen Lawe*.

ffirst in case where the cause hath bin decreed by the Counsell in the Marches they may ratifie theire owne former decree notwithstandinge any Judgment obtained after at the *Commen Lawe*, for else their whole authoritye were subuerted.

Secondlie Judgmentes that may be avoyded in pays are not of that estimacion in Lawe but the cause may be examined in Cort of equitye.

p. 9. Thirdly where the partie hath not notice of the matter of equitie, at the time when the sute is adiudged at the *commen lawe*, he ought not to be excluded of the benefitt of equitye.

ffourthlie where the Lawe is doubtfull, it were hard that the partie shold be restrained to pitche vppon equitie first & not trie the lawe which if it passe ageinst him then to resort to Equitey.

ffiftlie where matter of equitie ariseth be puisne¹ temps after Judgment there is no culler to restraine a sute in equitye.

Sixtlie where the conscience of the partie appeereth to be corrupt, the Cort may deale with the person after Judgment though it stirr not the possession.

Seaventhlie St. Germin in the Doctor and Student²

¹ Later.

² *Doctor and Student*, a dialogue on the English Law, written by Christopher St. German, who died in 1540, remained for centuries the text-book for law-students. The reference in the text should be to cap. 18, and the statute referred to is 4 Hen. IV, cap. 23, mentioned in the next answer, which prohibited appeals from the King's court to the King himself, the Privy Council, or to parliament, and enacted that cases should be tried in the regular course of law.

cap. 8, fol. 31, saith, this statute doth not prohibite equitye but examinacion of the Judgment. And therefore 9 E. 4 In the case of one Younge who had Judgment geeven against him vppon a triall in a forren countie whither he cold not bringe his witnesses, the Chauncellour thought fitt to releue him.

Answer to Obiections.

The statute of 4 H. 4 ordaineth that Judgmenes geeven in the *Kinges Cortes* shall not be adnihilated but by Error or attainit.

Answer.

The Inconvenience which the statute ment to remedie was that the *Kinges* counsell pretended to adnihilate & reuerse Judgmenes as appeereth by 39 E. 3¹ which intent of the said statute is manifest by the preamble which maketh mencion that men were putt to answer de nouo.

2. Obiection.

It appeereth by the case of 5 E. 4 (thoughe there were fraude in the partie that recouered) yet bycause there was Judgment he was putt to sue in parlement. And S. Moyle ffynches² [*sic*] that all the Judges tooke the lawe to be that in such a case the chauncellor ought not to proceed.

Answer.

Circumstances of the cases may be suche as the Chauncellour may think fitt to putt them of to parlement or referre them to the Judges, which neuertheles resteth in his discretion.

Maneria Ducatus Lancastrie infra Marchias Wallie vt in Recordo de Anno in Annum tempore H. 7 et H. 8 ad hunc diem patet

Manerium de Rideley³

Manerium de Tibberton

Manerium de Rye⁴

Manerium de Minsterworth

Manerium de Ellowe

Maneria de { Ashperton
Stratton⁵
Yarkhill }

In comitatu Gloucestrie.

in comitatu Herefordie.

Some further
profe that
ye countie
of Gloucester
and Hereford
are in the
marches
of Wales.

¹ See 25 Edw. III, stat. V, cap. 4.

² Sir Moyle Finch died in 1614.

³ Rodley.

⁴ Ryelass.

⁵ Stretton.

The Broughtons of Marchwiel.

*CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE
PARISH OF MARCHWIEL.*

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

MORE than ten years ago I became so interested in the history of the Broughtons of Marchwiel that I set down in order all that I knew, or could learn, of them, with the intention of writing a paper dealing with this family, its genealogy, and its doings. But although Mr. W. M. Myddelton, and Mrs. Pearce of Leamington, were kind enough to place at my disposal certain important particulars relating to the Broughtons which Colonel Chester had gathered, there still remained so many gaps, which could be bridged by conjecture only, that I put all my notes relating to this matter on one side. Since that time, however, much information has gradually accumulated, many conjectures have been verified, and although much that puzzled me formerly puzzles me still, it occurred to me recently to disinter my old notes, and review them in the light of knowledge which has been acquired during the last few years. And it seemed to me then that it might be worth while to attempt again the task which I had once abandoned, if only to afford some one else the opportunity of completing what is now lacking, and of

making a first contribution to the history of the parish of Marchwiel.

2. The account given of the Broughtons on page 385, Vol. II, of *Powys Fadog* is not merely incomplete but inaccurate. That account is headed "Plas Isaf in Marchwial", and identifies Plâs Issa with Marchwiel Hall. Now, in fact, the house called "Plâs Issa" (*Lower Hall*) was not in Marchwiel at all, but on the western bank of the Dee, in a small detached portion of Dutton Diffaeth. Civilly, of course, it was in the county of Denbigh, but I have seen it described as "*if not extra-parochial*, in the parish of Church Shocklach, Cheshire". The Broughtons now under consideration were of Marchwiel Hall and of Plâs Issa, Isycoed. *Powys Fadog*, moreover, identifies Sir Edward Broughton who was living in 1648, not only with his son who was slain in 1665, but even with his grandson, who was sheriff of Denbighshire in 1698. Surely one who will lend a helping hand out of this imbroglia of misrepresentation and error will do some useful service.

3. I do not propose, spite of strong temptation to a contrary course, to go back any further in my account of the Broughton family than is necessary to illustrate the points which in this paper will be presented and discussed. And some, even of these, will be relegated to the pedigree herewith given, and to the notes and appendix annexed.

4. And I shall begin in the text with Edward Broughton of Plâs Issa, who with his brothers, Lancelot Broughton, of Eyton, county Denbigh, Francis Broughton, and Valentine Broughton [of Chester], are mentioned on Nov. 12th, 1576. We thus start with a definite date, for which we so often seek, and seek in vain, in Welsh genealogies.

5. The Edward Broughton, of Plâs Issa, just named, was succeeded by his eldest son, Morgan Broughton, sheriff of Denbighshire in 1608, described as of the age of 62 on 3rd Sept. 1606, and as deceased in April 1614. He married before 12 Sept. 1589, Margaret, daughter of Henry Parry, esq.,¹ of Marchwiell, and step-daughter of Richard Leighton, esq.,² of Marchwiell (still living in 1621). It was by virtue of this marriage, that the first Sir Edward Broughton, Mr. Morgan Broughton's eldest son, came ultimately, after Mr. Leighton's death, into the ownership of Marchwiell Hall. When, therefore, Pennant, dating back from 1660, says that Marchwiell Hall was "long possessed" by the Broughtons, we are to understand by "long" less than forty years.

6. Under what circumstances the first Sir Edward Broughton (son of Morgan Broughton) was knighted at

¹ Henry Parry, *alias* Harry Parry *alias* Henry ap Thomas ap HARRY, of Basingwerk, co. Flint, and Marchwiell Hall (see the pedigree), directs by his will (12 Sept. 1589) that his body should be buried in the parish church of "Marchwiell", and speaks therein of his son, Thomas Parry (who must have died young), of his daughter Margaret, wife of Morgan Broughton, esq., and of his wife Katherine. He does not mention his elder daughter, Anne Parry (by his first wife Margaret, daughter of Jenkyn Hanmer, of Fenns, co. Flint), who married William Mostyn, esq., of Talacre, on whom was settled Basingwerk. This will is so interesting that I give a pretty full summary of it in Appendix III. Mr. Henry Parry was sheriff of Flintshire in 1563 and 1580, and on both occasions is described as "of Greenfield." Greenfield or "Maesglas" is a Township in the parish of Holywell.

² Richard Leighton, esq., is said to have been second son of Sir Edward Leighton, of Wattlesborough, and in 1620 held not merely Marchwiell Hall, but more land in the parish than any other person. He was not, however, absolute owner, for in 1620 he is described as holding a messuage and lands in Marchwiell *during the life of the wife of Sir Edward Broughton*. Mr. Richard Leighton is said to have been also of Gwern y go, in the parish of Kerry, Montgomeryshire. His monument was formerly in the old church of Marchwiell.

Hampton Court (18 March 161 $\frac{1}{2}$), I do not precisely know, unless it were that he received this distinction on account of his wife, who, according to one of Miss Angharad Llwyd's notes (kindly furnished me by H. R. Hughes, Esq., of Kinnel), had been maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia. The Queen, we are told, used to correspond with Miss Tyrrell, and sent her full-length portraits of herself and of the king, as well as leaden busts of the Princes Rupert and Maurice, whom she describes in one of her letters as "fine Boyes". Of these portraits and busts, long kept at Marchwiell Hall, something will be said hereafter. Perhaps, moreover, Sir Edward was himself a courtier. In any case I have not much that is new to tell of him, spite of the fact that a large number of deeds, to which the knight of Marchwiell set his hand, has come under my inspection. But one of these deeds, or rather a declaration made by Sir Edward, is distinctly interesting from its reference to Charles Diodati, the friend of John Milton's early life, and not merely to Charles but to John Diodati, his brother. Charles is immortalized by Milton's elegy—the "Epitaphium Damonis", almost the last product of his pen in serious Latin verse. It is known from one of his letters¹ that, in 1626, Charles Diodati was spending his time in the country, happy enough, and wanting only a fit companion, "initiated in the mysteries"; known again from Milton's "First Latin Elegy" (*Ad Carolum Diodatum*) that Diodati was then dwelling "on the western shore of the Cestrian Dee"; known, thirdly,

¹ *Milton's Poetical Works*, Masson's edition (1890), Vol. i, p. 256.

² Tandem, chare, tuæ mihi pervenire tabellæ,
Pertulit et voces nuncia charta tuas;
Pertulit occiduâ Devæ Castrensis ab orâ
Vergivum prono quâ petit amne salum", etc.

from the "Sixth Latin Elegy", that he was, in December 1629, staying in the country (*Ad Carolum Diodatum, rure commorantem*); known, lastly, from one of Milton's letters,¹ that his friend was, in September 1637, still staying "among those hyperboreans". Dr. Masson has also recorded the "tradition"² that Charles Diodati had settled as a physician somewhere near Chester, or at any rate in the North. But it is not known precisely where he lived, and indeed this period of Diodati's life is so obscure that even Dr. Masson, with all his marvellous industry, has been unable to throw much light upon it. Under these circumstances, any additional information, or even hint of information, is not without value. It appears then that the notorious Collins and Fenn (who, 8th Dec., 7th year Charles I, obtained an enormous grant of Crown rights in Wales), sold on 4 April 1633, to Robert Evans, esq., of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, five parcels of meadow called "the Receiuo" Meadow" and those 3 acres of Meadow "in Coyd euan, adjoyninge to a certayne Meadow called the Constables Meadow", in which Sir Edward Broughton had a leasehold interest. These meadows are declared to be "in the charge of the baylifs of Cobham Almor and Cobham Iscoyd", two manors between Holt and Wrexham, but nearer the first than the second named town. "The Constable's Meadow" is still so called, and lies in the township of Dutton Diffaeth, a little to the south of Holt, county Denbigh.

¹ Masson's *Life of Milton*, Vol. i (1859 edition), p. 598.

² The same, Vol. ii (1871 edition), p. 81. I see in Vol. i, p. 316, of *Milton's Poetical Works*, that Dr. Masson qualifies this statement thus:—"Near Chester, it has been supposed, but that is only a guess from the fact that he [C. D.] had been in that neighbourhood in 1626, the date of the *Elegia Prima*."

7. It was usual, when Collins and Fenn had disposed of a parcel of lands comprised in their grant to one of their acquaintances, for this latter to resell the parcel to some one living near the place where the lands were situate, or to some landowner who had interests in the neighbourhood. Now we find that, on the 2nd December, ninth year of Charles I [1633], the aforesaid Robert Evans bargained and sold the meadows above described to "Charles Deodate [so the name is spelled in the declaration], and John Deodate," expressly named as "sonns of Theodore Deodate, of London, Docto^r of Phisick." Then on the 20th June, eleventh year of Charles I [1635], Sir Edward Broughton and Charles and John Diodati, mortgage the same meadows to certain persons in trust for Sir Thomas Trevor, knight,¹ of Dorset Court, *alias* Salisbury Court, London. Finally, on the 15th July, in the twenty-third year of Charles I [1647],² Sir Edward Broughton, by himself, conveys the premises absolutely to the said trustees to the use of Sir Thomas Trevor, knight.

¹ Sir Thomas Trevor, knight, was the fifth son of John Trevor, esq., of Trevalyn Hall, county Denbigh, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer. His son, Sir Thomas Trevor, baronet, was one of the trustees for his father in this transaction, and the others were Richard Prydderch, and Richard Davies, vintner of London. [See Appendix, notes 5 and 6.]

² Charles Diodati, as is now known, died in August 1638, his brother John surviving him. But does it not appear as though John himself were dead before 15 July 1647, he not being a party to the release of that date? In that case, Colonel Chester's identification of him with the John Diodati of London, "factor," who was living shortly before Feb. 1687, must have been mistaken (see *Poetical Works of Milton*, Masson's edition, vol. i, p. 328). But I should be sorry to pit any notion of mine against the opinion of such a genealogist as Colonel Chester, and the omission of John Diodati's name from the release of 1647 may, perhaps, be explained on some other supposition than that of his being then dead.

8. Now does it not look likely that, in 1633, and perhaps in 1635, Charles and John Diodati were living in or near Holt? This town is actually "on the western shore of the Cestrian Dee." So also, I may add, was Plâs Issa, one of Sir Edward Broughton's two mansions. Nor was Trevalyn Hall, the seat of the Trevors, very far distant from that stream, on the western side of it. Chester, on the other hand, and all but a small part of Cheshire, are on the east of Dee. In any case, the association of the two brothers, first with the purchase and then with the mortgage of the lands named is of especial interest. They appear to have acted as the "go-betweens" of the first Sir Edward Broughton and of Sir Thomas Trevor, and were evidently well-known to both, and I please myself with speculating whether when, on 13th Dec. 1629, Charles Diodati was spending his time so merrily at some country mansion that he had little leisure for the Muses, he was not staying at Plâs Issa, at Marchwiel Hall, or at the beautiful Elizabethan house of the Trevors of Trevalyn.

9. It is most unfortunate that in "the declaration" which I have seen, the terms and effects of earlier deeds relating to the meadow-lands in point are recited with such tantalizing brevity. If we could get hold of those earlier deeds, we may be pretty certain that we should find given therein, not merely the place of residence, but the "occupation" of Charles and John Diodati, and conjecture would be at an end. Those deeds ought now to be in the possession of one or other of the heirs of the Trevors, and may yet be discovered. I must not omit to add that the declaration, a summary of which has been given above, was found by me at Erddig Hall, near Wrexham, the seat of Philip Yorke, esq., and is now carefully preserved by him in one of his cabinets. I give an exact copy of the deed in Appendix IV.

<p>(2) Henry Parry, esq., of Marchwiell and Basingwerk, died before 7 Feb. 1589-90</p>	<p>—Katherine, d. of Wm. Mostyn, esq., of Mostyn (mar. first Edward Dymock, gent., of Penley) second wife of Henry Parry</p>	<p>—(3) Richard Leighton, esq., of Marchwiell, living in 1621, mar. to Katherine Parry, widow, before March 1609-10</p>
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<p>heiress of 1; 3, pr. 1660</p>	<p>Thomas Parry, living 12 Sept. 1589; died without issue</p>
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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

10. Coming back from this excursion, I should like to make a few observations on the annexed pedigree. Some years ago I had lent me an old genealogy of the Broughtons of Plâs Issa and Marchwiel, the edges of which were frayed away, and the words and names, in many places, quite illegible. This genealogy, wherever I was able to test it, was found correct. Therefore, in the first draft of the pedigree constructed by me, all the gaps were filled in, with due acknowledgment, from this old genealogy. But on submitting the pedigree, so composed, to H. R. Hughes, esq., of Kinnel, he largely extended it, firstly, from a Hengwrt MS., written between 1632 and 1662, and secondly, "from two apparently contemporary MSS." To every entry, therefore, in the pedigree herewith presented, taken from the Hengwrt MS. (of which the "old genealogy" above mentioned seems to be a copy), I have annexed the letters H.S. Those entries marked O.P. are taken from the "two contemporary copies." The contributions of the late Colonel Chester are indicated by the letters C.C., while "M." stands for W. M. Myddelton, esq., and "H. of K." for H. R. Hughes, esq., of Kinnel. For all, or nearly all, the rest I stand responsible.

11. Captain William Broughton, of Bersham, the third son of Morgan Broughton, esq., of Marchwiel, compounded for his estate by the payment of £90 to the Parliamentary Commissioners. I owe the following note to Mr. W. M. Myddelton:—"The Dep. Lieuts. of Denbighshire, by Indenture 5 April, 15 Charles I, 1639, handed over to the charge of William Broughton, esq. 150 men that had been raised in the county of D. and to be by him conducted to the towne of Selby upon Ouse neere York." Captain Broughton was, I believe, the William Broughton who, in 1637, was one of the church-

wardens of the parish of Wrexham. Perhaps, also, he was the same that is mentioned in the *first two* of the following extracts from the Wrexham Registers:—

Morgan, the sonne of William Broughton, was baptized the 4th of June 1635.

Elnor fil. Gulielmi Broughton Annæque ux eius 23 die februarii, 1636. [Baptizata fuit].

Robertus filius Gulielmi Broughton Christianæque ux eius 22 die Octobris 1644. [Baptizatus fuit].

If we dare imagine a transcriber's mistake in the name of the wife in the third extract given above, we should probably have a record of the baptism of another child of Captain William Broughton. After the Restoration, the Captain seems to have lived for a time at Marchwiell Hall.

12. I have ascertained that Colonel Robert Broughton (fourth son of Morgan Broughton, esq., and another brother of the first Sir Edward) was living on the 14th Dec. 1658, at Strÿt yr hwch in the parish of Marchwiell. An extract from a letter, written in 1651 by Mrs. Ursula Sontley,¹ may perhaps here be given:—"Owld Mr^a Broughton was praid for in our church [Marchwiell] this day, and the Collonell did weepe very much."

13. Then, as to the "Mr. Morgan Broughton",² buried at Marchwiell, 19 Aug. 1699, his burial is also noted in the registers of Wrexham as having taken place at Marchwiell, and herein he is described as "of Esclusham". He was, perhaps, Morgan, son of the

¹ Ursula was, according to *Powys Fadog*, the wife of Colonel Robert Sontley, of Sontley Hall, in the parish of Marchwiell. In the will of William Edisbury, of Marchwiell, gent. (9 Feb. 1659-60) the testator speaks of his "sister-in-law Mrs. Ursula Sontley of Sontley, wid."

² One "Morgan, the sone of Captayne Broughton, of Gwersyllt", was baptized at Gresford "November furst 1694". Another Morgan, and another Captain Broughton, are here, of course, indicated.

Captain William Broughton mentioned in par. 11. "The Edward Broughton, of Hatton Garden, in the county of Middlesex, esq.", who was buried at Marchwiel, 18th of May 1713, and the "Edward Broughton, esq.", also buried there, 28th April 1720, were probably sons of one or other of the first Sir Edward's brothers, but I have not ventured to insert any of these names in the pedigree. I have also sheaves of notes concerning various Broughtons of Broughton and Bersham, in the parish of Wrexham, and of Gwersyllt, Burton and Llai in the parish of Gresford. Some of these seem to have been connected with the Broughtons of Marchwiel, but the disentangling of the threads of this tangled skein has proved an impossible task.

14. There is an inscribed slab of shaly stone in Marchwiel churchyard marking the site of the Broughton burial-place, on the exposed portion of which so much of the inscription has flaked off that nothing consecutive, or nothing of any value, can now be read. If only some copy had been taken, and had survived, of this inscription, many doubtful points relating to this family would have been at once resolved.

15. The first Sir Edward Broughton, during the great civil conflict of the seventeenth century, took the Royal side, and was doubtless the "Sir Edmund Broughton" who, according to Burghall's *Providence Improved*, was fetched, in October 1643, with two of his sons from his house at Broughton [Marchwiel] and taken prisoner to Nantwich. Besides his brother, Captain William Broughton, his other brother, Colonel Robert Broughton, and his sons, Lieutenant Edward and Major Robert Broughton, were on the same side. But his second son, Captain Francis Broughton, espoused, it is said (O.P.), the Parliamentary cause.

16. Lieutenant Edward Broughton (afterwards the second Sir Edward, and eldest son of the first) was taken prisoner by General Lambert, in 1659, at the capture of Chirk Castle,¹ and immured in the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster, close to the Abbey. The keeper, Aquila Wyke, gent., who held for lives the keepership (which was no mean office), appears to have just died, and left a blooming young widow, of under thirty years of age, and three children. Lieutenant Broughton, himself a widower, was evidently of an exceedingly ardent and susceptible disposition, and fell desperately in love with the young widow. Mistress Wyke seems to have kept him at bay for a time, but at last gave her consent to be his wife, not without conditions.

17. Accordingly, on the sixth and seventh of April 1660, he being then no longer under arrest, by indentures of lease and release, Mr. Broughton, describing himself as Edward Broughton, esq., of Marchwiél, son and heir of Sir Edward Broughton, knight, deceased, conveys all his tenements and lands in the counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Chester, to William Knightley, esq.,² and John Mills, esq., "upon trust and at the only disposition and appointment of the said Mary Wykes in writing, duly attested, shall nominate." The estate is declared to be of the annual value of £550, and free from incumbrance, except the life interest of Dame Frances Broughton in the capital messuage in Iscoed [Plâs Issa], being her jointure, late the lands of Sir Edward Broughton, father of the said Edward Broughton. The capital messuage with appurten-

¹ His uncle, Colonel Robert Broughton, was taken prisoner at the same time and place. A Colonel Robert Broughton was Royalist Governor of Shrewsbury on 18th August 1644.

² This William Knightly was evidently either Mistress Wyke's father or at least one of her near kinsfolk.

ances in Marchwiell is mentioned as being in the tenure of Margaret Broughton, widow, grandmother of the grantor, and the only considerations named are "the love and affection borne by the said Edward Broughton to the said Mary Wykes, and the marriage shortly to be solemnized between them". Sir Robert Honeywood, knight,¹ and Thomas Darrell, esq., join with Edward Broughton in the conveyance.

18. It would seem that Mistress Wyke, spite of this evidence of Edward Broughton's affection, still doubted, or affected to doubt, his fidelity, his constancy, his devotion. So, less than a week afterwards, on the 12th April 1660, Mr. Broughton composed, signed, and sealed the extraordinary "Imprecation" printed as the 6th Appendix to the 3rd vol. of the 1810 edition of Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, a document which is surely one of the curiosities of literature.

19. I have some hesitation in transferring to my pages this Imprecation, and yet, were I to omit it wholly, much of the point and pith of what has to be related would be wanting. It will suffice if I summarize the first part of the curse, and quote in full only the second part. Edward Broughton, then, invokes the most awful and terrible plagues upon himself and his posterity "if I do not utterly forbear all rash swearing and all man'er of drinking, and all manner of debauchery whatsoever; or if ever I am guilty of finding fault with anything my intended wife shall doe or say; or if ever I undertake any business, or any thing, how great a concern soever, or small, without the knowledge, assent, consent, advice of

¹ Probably Sir Robert Honeywood, knight, brother to this Edward Broughton's first wife, "servant to the Queen of Bohemia," knighted at Oteland 7 July 1627, born 3 Aug. 1601, and son of another Sir Robert Honeywood, knight.

Mary Weeks, my intended wife, and is to be Mary Broughton when this shall effect; or if shee shall make any request unto me in my life-time, it shall be of force never to be violated by me, although I surviving her, concerning body and soule, life or fortune, children or friends, how unreasonable soever; or if there shall happen any difference betwixt her and me, as there hath been betwixt me and my first wife, then, if I am the cause of it, may all the plagues im'ginable fall on me and all the plagues God can inflict; or if shou'd arise any quarrell, and shee the only cause, yet, when I remember hereof, or shee these vows, I most heartily pass by, forgive, and endeavour to pacifie, and use all the art imaginable to please here [her], and if shee could impose more, I wou'd most willingly doo it, or else, may all those plagues, if there were greater curses or imprecations, I heartily pray they may all be powered downe, as the rain fall on the thirsty ground, and upon my posterity for ever; and this I doe heartily and voluntarily, and with serious consideration and premeditation, having taken a long time to consider this; and most readily signe itt with my owne hand, and seal it with my own seale."

20. Nice sorts of marriage settlements these, and casting a vivid light upon the character of these two extraordinary personages! One can easily guess what sort of man Edward Broughton was, but the character of his second wife presents a more difficult problem. I think we should be wrong, on the one hand, to regard her as a mere "Becky Sharp", or, on the other, to set her on too high a pedestal. There was plainly something attractive about Mistress Wyke, and equally plain that she was shrewd, capable, and managing. The probability is that she was really dazzled by Edward Broughton, but, perceiving clearly his faults and vices, took the best means in

her power of winning and weaning him from them. The possession of the qualities of justice and affection cannot be denied her. There *was* romance in the affair, so far as she was concerned, but romance well under the control of sound common sense. But how inferior is this story compared with that (not unlike it in some points) so sweetly told by Chaucer in his *Frankleynes Tale* !¹

21. Accordingly, Edward Broughton and Mistress Wyke were shortly after duly married, and she bore him three sons. Of these, the two youngest evidently died in infancy, and the eldest, Edward, succeeded to the whole Marchwiell estate under his mother's will.

22. It was not enough that Mr. Edward Broughton should settle all his estates on his prospective wife, and promise under the most awful engagements, to obey her lightest whim, but the attempt was actually made to change the name of the more important of his two capital messuages from "Marchwiell Hall" to "Conqueress Hall" (*The Hall of the she-Conqueror*). This name first appears in Lady Broughton's will (20 Jan. 1680-1), and so late as

¹ Here are the relevant passages from Chaucer:—

"Ther was a knight, that loved and did his peyne
In Armoryke, that cleped is Briteyne,
To serven a lady in his beste wise ;
And many a labour and many a grete emprise
He for his lady wrought, er sche were wonne.
.
And, for to lede the more in blisse here lyves,
Of his fre wille he swor hire as a knight,
That never in his wille by day ne by night
Ne schulde he upon him take no maystrie
Ayeins hire wille, ne kuythe hire jalousye,
But hire obeye, and folwe hire will in al,
As ony love to his lady schal ;
Save that *the name* of sovereyneté
That wolde he han for schame of his degre."

the year 1749, I find this mansion described as "Marchwiell Hall, *alias* Conqueress Hall." It is not quite clear whether this attempt was made by the husband or the wife, but in either case it is the mark of a tolerably complete subjection of the first to the second.

23. From what has been said above, it will be evident that Pennant made a mistake when he said (*Tours in Wales*, 1810 edition, vol. i, p. 414) that Edward Broughton married the *daughter* of Wyke, the keeper of the Gatehouse Prison. He married, as we know, the *widow* of the keeper. Pennant is also wrong in his statement that Edward Broughton bequeathed his estate to "his wife's brother." He gave it wholly to herself before marriage, so that he was entirely dependent on her.

24. There is some uncertainty as to the original form of the name of Mistress Broughton's first husband. Edward Broughton consistently spelled it "Weekes" or "Wykes", and his step-son is called "Aqualah Weekes" in 1703, but Lady Broughton herself and the later members of the family held this surname to be "Wyke", and thus accordingly I always spell it.

25. The estate, when Mr. Broughton conveyed it to the widow Wyke, comprised Marchwiell Hall, with the demesne lands annexed thereto, one of the two farms called "Strÿt yr hwch", one of the two farms called "Croes y mab", Coed Dafydd, one of the two farms called "Pont y ffrwd", Tyddyn tu uwch y llan, Tyddyn tu is y llan, and other farms in Marchwiell which I have been unable to identify, the Pumrhyd Mill and lands in Abenbury, Carnarvon Hall in Mount Street, Wrexham, and the Lower Hall property, which included lands in Dutton Diffaeth and Sutton Isycoed, and extended into the parish of Church Shocklach, in the county of Chester. According to a fine levied in 1731, the Marchwiell Hall

estate, not including the Lower Hall property, is returned as containing 613 acres, and according to another fine, levied in 1773, *including Lower Hall*, as. containing 706 acres.

26. I think there can be no doubt that the hero (or shall we say *victim*?) of this romance was knighted, in or before the year 1664 [see Addenda], and so became the second Sir Edward Broughton. He describes himself as "knight" in his will, and is called "Sir Edward Broughton" in the entry referring to his burial in Westminster Abbey. After his death, moreover, his widow was known as "Lady Broughton." Colonel Chester says that "in the record of administration to his estate, 28 July 1665, he is styled 'Kt. and Bart.,' but in subsequent proceedings in the Court of Probate, he is described as a knight only." I should not be surprised if it were to be found that he was designated as a baronet, during the few days succeeding his mortal wound, but that he died before the patent could be engrossed, or the due formalities carried out. The supposition just made cannot be proved, but the acceptance of it will remove all the apparent discrepancies which exist as to his true title. It will reveal, for example, *the excuse* which his son had for assuming the title of baronet. The second Sir Edward Broughton was actually a knight, but only a baronet *designate*.

27. The Wyke family had, it appears, a lease of the Gatehouse Prison and Convict Prison, Westminster, and their precincts. After the second marriage of Mistress Wyke, a new lease was taken out, or two new leases were taken out, and Edward Broughton was admitted to an interest therein, so that when he came to make his will it was this interest which formed a large portion of his assets. For this reason, and because the document throws some light on a very interesting part of old Westminster,

I propose to give a rather full summary of Sir Edward Broughton's will, made 21st Oct. 1664:—

“ I bequeath unto Edward Broughton, my son, after the death of Dame Mary, my wife, all that my house and tenement with appurtenances being between the Gatehouse at Westminster on the west, and the Convict Prison of the Right Reverend Father in God, Gilbert, Lord Bishop of London, on the east, now in the occupation of me, Sir Edward Broughton, or my Assignes, with all Stables, Coach-houses, Out-houses, Barns, Gardens, Yards, Orchards, and appurtenances belonging or appertaining to the said Messuage or tenement which I, Sir Edward Broughton and Dame Mary my wife, hold to us, our heirs and assignes, of the said Reverend Father during the lives of Aquila Weekes, Mary Weekes, and Edward Broughton. To have and to hold the said Messuage, etc., with the said Indenture of Lease immediately after the death of Dame Mary my wife. I bequeath to Edward Weekes, after the death of Dame Mary my wife, all my lease, right, title, and interest of and in the Prison or Gaol called the Gatehouse of Westminster, with all rooms, easements, comodities, and necessities belonging to the said Prison, or with the same used or occupied. Also the Office and Custody of the said Gatehouse, and all Prisoners as shall be committed to the same, with all the fees, profits, comodities, advantages, casualties, benefits, and emoluments to the said office belonging, made to me and Dame Mary, my wife, by John Earles, Doctor in Divinity, Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's, Westminster, and the Chapter of the same, to have and to hold the said Indenture of Lease, prison, and premises, immediately from and after the death of Dame Mary, provided that he the said Edward Weekes, his executors and assignes, shall pay to my natural son, Edward Broughton, the sum of four hundred pounds of lawful money of England within twelve months after the death of Dame Mary, and if Edward Weekes, his Executors or assignes, shall neglect or refuse to pay the said sum of money, I declare the devise of the said lease, prison, etc., to my son Edward Broughton. I bequeath to Mary Weekes and her heirs, my lease, right, title, and interest of the Office of the custody and safe keeping of the Prison of the said Gilbert, Lord Bishop of London, called the Convict Prison in Westminster, with the keeper's place of the said prison, also the Mansion house and messuage now erected and built upon the said Prison, wherein Lord FitzWilliams lately dwelt, at the west end of the Abbey called Westminster Abbey, with all Stables, Coach-houses, Barns, Outhouses, Gardens, Orchards, etc., to have and to hold the same immediately from and after the death of Dame Mary. I bequeath to Aquila Weekes and his heirs, all my right, title, and

interest of or in or to the house adjoining the said Gatehouse on the North side, now in the tenure of Mr. Lewes, called or known by the name of the Dolphin, to have and to hold the same after the death of Dame Mary. I bequeath to Dame Mary, my wife, for the term of her natural life, all and singular the rest and residue of my personal estate, goods, chattels, plate, jewels, rings, household stuff, leases, debts and dues, and after her death I bequeath all the rest and residue of my personal estate to her and my son, Edward Broughton. I appoint, as Executors of this my will, Dame Mary my wife, Sir Timothy Terrell, of Showre,¹ in the county of Oxon, and Sir Phillip Honywood,² of Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton, knight, and Commander there; and I bequeath to the said Sir Timothy Terrell and Sir Philip Honywood twenty pounds apiece to buy each of them a Nagg for their care and pains." [Will proved 16 Dec. 1669.]

28. Is there not a certain perkiness manifested in this "will", as though the testator plumed himself that he was not without something to bequeath in spite of all? How often, and with what evident relish does he use this word "bequeath"! Finally, notice how artfully he directs that after the death of his wife the residue of his personal property should go to her *and* his son Edward Broughton, leaving his son the residuary legatee.

29. Miss Angharad Llwyd wrote in 1821, on the information of the Rev. George Warrington, of Wrexham, that [the second] Sir Edward Broughton married for his second wife "a miller's daughter"; and that Mr. Warrington meant by the "miller's daughter", the Mary

¹ Sir Timothy Tyrrell, of Shotover and Oakley, Governor of Cardiff, Master of the Ordnance, died 23 Oct. 1701, aged 84, buried at Oakley, son of another Sir Timothy Tyrrell, eldest son of Sir Edward Tyrrell, of Thornton, by his second wife and own brother to Frances Broughton, Edward Broughton's mother.—H. of K.

² Sir Philip Honywood. Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, thinks that this person must be the Sir Philip, of Petts, co. Kent, another brother of Frances Broughton, Edward Broughton's mother, and the fifteenth child of his parents. He could not have been the Sir Philip, *Governor of Portsmouth*, who died 17 June 1752, 98 years after date of Edward Broughton's will.

Wyke, widow, mentioned in the account given above, is clear by his adding that the Browns, of Marchwiell, were her heirs. For Mary Wyke's parentage my authority is the late Colonel Chester, one of the most careful, cautious, and painstaking genealogists of our time. And for the history I give of the descent of the estate, I rely not merely on the "abstract of title" of the property (a copy of which I possess), but also on such contemporary evidence as administrations, wills, rate-books and registers. The Rev. George Warrington's statements to Miss Angharad Llwyd appear to be in this respect, as in other respects (see par. 43), wildly wrong.

30. It seems clear that Sir Edward Broughton after his second marriage lived at his tenement next the Gatehouse, Westminster, and that when he himself died, Lady Broughton and her sons, Edward Broughton and Edward Wyke, still lived there. Aquila Wyke, his second stepson, was resident at Wrexham, probably at Carnarvon Hall, Mount Street (on the site of Brown's Court, immediately opposite the old Mount House), Carnarvon Hall being the only house in the town belonging to the Marchwiell Hall estate. In 1670, Marchwiell Hall itself, according to the hearth tax returns, was occupied by Captain Broughton and Mrs. Anne Broughton, and contained twelve hearths. Although Edward Broughton, esq., "*alias* Sir Edward Broughton, bart." (son of the second Sir Edward by his wife Mary) is described as "of Marchwiell", this does not necessarily imply that he lived there, and I have not yet come across any decisive proof that he did so until after his mother's death, but I may say that Edward Lhuyd, in his account of Marchwiell Parish, remarks:—"Sir Edw. Broughton has a warren adjoining to his Hall." The house was subsequently tenanted (before 1731) by the Rev. Thomas Holland, of Berw, who was still there in 1735.

31. When war was declared against Holland, 22 Feb. 1664-5, the second Sir Edward Broughton joined the fleet, and was engaged in the famous naval battle of June 3rd, when he was mortally wounded. However, he was taken home to Westminster, where he died on the 20th, and was buried (26 June 1665) in the Abbey, "in the north part of the cross aisle near the monument door." [C.C.]

32. On the 20th Jan. 1680-1, Mary Lady Broughton made her last will (which was proved 21st March 1694-5). Therein she bequeathed to her son, Edward Broughton, her property in the town of Kingston-upon-Thames, in the county of Surrey; all her leasehold messuages and lands in Westminster; her right and title in the prison or "Goale" called The Gatehouse there, and in the Convict Prison and Mansion at the west end of Westminster Abbey, and all other her right and interest in her estate, personal and real, in the county of Middlesex, city of Westminster, and county of Surrey, she having purchased the same with her own "reall money or porcōn or patri-moniall estate", subject to two annuities of £40 each to her two "undutifull sonnes", Edward Wyke and Aquila Wyke. She bequeathed also to her said son, Edward Broughton, and his heirs lawfully begotten, the whole of the Marchwiell or Conqueress Hall estate in the parishes of Marchwiell, Wrexham, Holt, and Shocklache, in the counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Chester, and all the residue of her goods, chattels, leases, bonds, and all other her personal estate whatever, subject to the payment of her debts and the satisfaction of her legacies. Amongst these was a bequest of £100 to Mr. Roger Jackson, to whose care she left the management of her estate for the benefit of her children, and another of £50 to "her unfortunate undutifull daughter, Mary Decombe, daughter of my first husband, Aquila Wyke, deceased", this sum

being the sole provision made for Mary Decombe, "she having formerly imbeazled much of my estate." And in case the said Edward Broughton should die without [lawful] issue, then the testatrix bequeathed the premises unto her second son [by her first husband], Aquila Wyke and his lawful heirs, and for want of such issue to her eldest son, Edward Wyke and his lawful heirs. And she appointed her son, Edward Broughton, and the said Roger Jackson, sole executors. I print a fuller summary of this interesting will in Appendix V.

33. It has been repeatedly, but most inaccurately, stated that Edward Broughton (son of the second Sir Edward) was disinherited. But it now appears that Lady Broughton disinherited her two other sons and only daughter, in favour of this very Edward Broughton; these other sons were only to benefit beyond their beggarly annuities of £40 apiece in the event of Edward Broughton dying without lawful issue.

34. If Sir Edward Broughton had not settled his whole estate on Mary Wyke before his marriage with her, he would probably have squandered the greater part, if not all, of it. But his wife not merely maintained his credit and honour, but handed on to his only surviving son a largely augmented property. There is no ground for the outcry that has been made against Sir Edward Broughton's second wife.

35. Mary Lady Broughton is said to have been buried 19 March 1694-5, in Westminster Abbey, but Mr. W. M. Myddelton tells me that the record of her interment there is not recorded in the Abbey registers, and is only noted "in a herald painter's work book in the College of Arms" (50, p. 106).

36. It is evident that there was some litigation during Lady Broughton's life relating to the custody of the Gate-

house prison, for Mr. Myddelton found in Sir C. Levinz's *Law Reports*, 1722, the following sentence:—"And so was the case of Lady Broughton lately, who had the custody of the Prison of the Gatehouse at Westminster, under the Dean and Chapter, who being convicted of a forfeiture before Hale, 'twas resolved by him and all the Judges of King's Bench that the forfeiture belonged to the Dean and Chapter and not to the King." I am glad of this clue, but have not been able to follow it up.

37. The interest which one feels in Marchwiell Hall and its owners is not exhausted when the chief actors in the strange history just described pass off the scenes.

38. There is much mystery attaching to Edward, the sole surviving son of the second Sir Edward Broughton by Mary his wife. Under his mother's will he came into possession of all the Marchwiell Hall estate, and assumed the title of baronet, a title which was freely conceded to him by all and sundry. As Sir Edward Broughton, bart., he was high sheriff of Denbighshire in 1698. He is so styled in the rate books of Abenbury, where he had a mill and lands, and in the record of his burial (14 June 1718) in Marchwiell parish register he is again described as "Sir Edward Broughton, of Marchwiell, baronet." Other instances might be supplied, if those already given were not sufficient, of his being thus styled during his life. On the other hand, in the record of administration to his estate, which did not take place until 1738, he is called "Sir Edward Broughton, Baronet, otherwise Edward Broughton, Esq." I have already suggested (in par. 26) what *excuse* Edward Broughton may have had for assuming a title which did not properly belong to him. He was a baronet claimant only.

39. To all this has to be added that there is not the slightest evidence to show that this Edward Broughton

ever married. In the administration of his will he is, in fact, described as "batchelor." And as this administration is very short I will give it in full :—

May, 1738.

July On the fifth day issued forth a Com'on [commission] to Aquila Wyke, Esq., the Nephew by the Brother on the mother side and next of kin of Sir Edward Broughton, Baronet, otherwise Edward Broughton, Esq., late of Marchwiell Hall in the County of Denbigh, Batchelor, dec'ed [deceased] to ad'ster [administer] the Goods Chattels and Credits of the said dec'ed [deceased] being first
Jan. 1738 sworn by Com'on [commission] duly to ad'ster [administer].

40. Edward Broughton executed a will which, if it could be found, would be certainly most interesting, and might clear up many points on which some uncertainty may still exist. I have had a search made at Somerset House for this will, but no mention of it occurs in the indexes there.

41. There is some discrepancy in the different accounts of the date of death of this Edward Broughton. According to the abstract of title he died in 1719, and, according to Colonel Chester in 1738. This last date I am able to explain. It was not until 1738 that administration was granted of his estate, and Colonel Chester has taken the year of this "administration" for the year of his death. From the Marchwiell register we learn that he was buried on 14 June 1718, and in the Abenbury rate books for the last-named year "the heirs of Sir Edward Broughton" are charged for Pymrhyd Mill and lands instead of "Sir Edward Broughton, Bt.," and in 1724, "Aquila Wykes, esq.," the son of his half-brother Edward Wyke, is charged for the same. Also, it is stated in the abstract of title that Aquila Wyke, on 2 and 3 Sept. 1728, suffered a recovery of the Marchwiell Hall estate at the Great Sessions for county Denbigh. It would be possible to

adduce much other evidence for the statement that Edward Broughton (son of the second Sir Edward) died in 1718, and that Aquila Wyke succeeded him under the provision of Mary Lady Broughton's will. But enough has been said on this point.

42. There is, however, another problem that has to be faced. Spite of the fact that in the administration to his estate Edward Broughton is said to have died unmarried, and that Aquila Wyke succeeded as his heir-at-law, it is claimed that he left at least one daughter and heiress, and, by implication, another daughter or other daughters. Thus, in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1846, we are told that "Theodosia, *eldest dau. and heir* of Edward Broughton, esq., of Marchwiell Hall, co. Denb.", married Rees Hanmer, esq., of Pentrepant, co. Salop, whose daughter and heir, Mary, married Henry Strudwick, esq., whose daughter, Mary, married the Rev. George Warrington, of Wrexham (vicar of Hope, Flintshire, 1773-1796, rector of Pleaseley).

43. When the Rev. George Warrington was talking with Miss Angharad Llwyd in 1821, he told her, or she said he told her, that [the second] Sir Edward Broughton married, secondly, "a Miller's daughter" [but see what I have said before, A. N. P.], and that "her influence was such that she persuaded Sir Edd. to disinherit his only son in favour of her daughter [who was, in fact, cut off with £50, A. N. P.]. The young baronet became disgusted, and went to the West Indies with his wife, who was Miss Hanmer, the heiress of Pentrepant. They left *one* daughter, who md. . . . Estwick, esq.¹ They were parents to the late Mrs. Warrington," etc.

¹ Should be Henry *Strudwick*, esq. Here we have evidently a mistake of Miss Llwyd, who could not catch the name rightly in the form Mr. Warrington gave it.

44. According to this account, then, Mrs. Warrington, instead of being *great* grand-daughter to Edward Broughton, of Marchwiell, was grand-daughter to him, and if we combine three of the different pedigrees we get the extraordinary result that Edward Broughton and his grandson, Henry Strudwick, married the same woman!

45. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that there has been any wilful misrepresentation here on the part of any one, but only that sort of mistake which is so easy to persons unpossessed of the critical temperament. There is no doubt some basis of truth in all these stories, but they are so muddled up that it is not only impossible [for me at any rate] to sift them, but even to make any sort of use of them.

46. The constant insistence on the disinheriting by the second Sir Edward Broughton of his only [surviving] son becomes unintelligible when we know that this son, Edward, actually came into full possession, although under his mother's will, of all his father's estates. And, if it be said that the son Edward, who was disinherited, was the son of Sir Edward's first wife, Alice, then we have to assume that Sir Edward had two sons, each bearing at the same time exactly the same name,¹ and each a "young baronet."

¹ It is right to say that there is some contemporary evidence for the statement that there were two brothers, each named Edward Broughton. Mr. Hughes, of Kinnel, calls my attention to the following obituary notice in the *Historical Register Chronicle*, which is the chronological diary to the *Historical Register*, 25 vols., 8vo, London, 1714-38:—

"Broughton (or Braughton) Mary (Mrs.), relict of Edward, bro. of Sir E. B. Bt. Denbeighs. 13-15 Jan. 1730." However, the more this entry is examined, the more evident it becomes that there is some error in it. The statement as it stands, unsupported by any other evidence, cannot be accepted. But it ought not to be ignored or suppressed.

47. All this, however, is but one example of the sort of stuff with which the historian of the later Broughtons of Marchwiell has to deal. One is enveloped in an atmosphere of “hud a lledrith”, of fantasy and illusion, of perverted and hopelessly entangled imaginations, in which nothing is what it seems, and everything appears in the guise of something else. Fortunately the path is fairly straight, and no one who takes pains and has the instinct of direction can wholly miss it. To drop metaphor, the actual evidence, as it is contained in deeds, wills, settlements, registers and rate books, is perfectly clear and consistent, and corresponds with what is otherwise known. What else is still entangled may yet be made plain by following the same method, or by some chance discovery.

48. Aquila Wyke, of Marchwiell Hall, grandson of Mary Lady Broughton, is also described as of Llwyn Egryn, near Mold, an estate which he owned. I do not know how he came into possession of it, but I do know that he was continually mortgaging and re-mortgaging his Denbighshire property, and always hard up for money.

49. When Aquila Wyke died without issue, the Marchwiell Hall and Llwyn Egryn estates went to Stephen Brown, the husband of his sister Martha, whose son, Charles Brown, married his cousin, the daughter of another sister of Aquila Wyke. Thus, until 1795, Marchwiell Hall still remained in the possession of persons who had the blood of the “Cwncweres” in them.

50. I think it must have been his Mr. Charles Brown, rather than his father, Mr. Stephen Brown, of whom “Nimrod”¹ in his *Life and Times* thus writes:—

“There was a very extraordinary character residing in Marchwhiel parish, of whom an anecdote or two will not

¹ Charles James Apperley, in *Fraser's Magazine*, April 1842.

come amiss. This was a Mr. Brown, who lived at what is called Marchwiell Hall, a gentleman of good fortune and of a naturally kind disposition, notwithstanding the fact of his having been known in the neighbourhood (near London) where he had previously resided as "Bloody Brown." The origin of the appellation was this. His garden had been frequently robbed of much of its choicest fruit, and he, being an old soldier—having served at the siege of Havanna, of which he gave a most wonderful and amusing account—was not one to be trifled with on such occasions; consequently, he was determined to put a stop to the depredations to which he had been subject. He applied to a dissecting-room in London, and obtained the leg of a human being, fresh cut from the body, on which he put a stocking and a shoe, and then suspended it in a man-trap over his garden wall. The act obtained him the soubriquet I have mentioned, but his fruit was afterwards safe.

The following trait in his character was related to me by Mr. Strong [the Rev. Samuel Strong, rector of Marchwiell], who was one of the executors under his will. Four letters, marked 1, 2, 3, and 4, were found among his papers, three of them written by himself to some noble lord, whose name has escaped me. They were to the following effect:—

No. 1. "My lord, I did myself the honour to write to your lordship on the . . . instant. I fear my letter may not have reached your lordship's hands."

No. 2. "My lord, I had the honour to write to your lordship on the . . . ult., and am surprised that your lordship has not acknowledged the receipt of that, as well as of a former letter, should it have reached you."

No. 3. "My lord, I have had the honour to write two letters to your lordship, to neither of which you have

thought proper to reply. Unless I receive an acknowledgment of either one or the other of them, *in a week from this time*, you will hear from me in that language which one gentleman uses towards another when he considers himself insulted."

No. 4. His lordship's answer, pleading parliamentary occupation.

51. The great grandson of Mary Wyke was evidently a man who would stand no nonsense.

52. The Rev. George Warrington (who must be taken to be a wholly trustworthy authority for all matters within his own knowledge and experience) told Miss Angharad Llwyd in 1821 that Mr. Brown [obviously Mr. *Charles* Brown] melted down the leaden busts of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, while the portraits of the king and queen of Bohemia (see par. 6) were dispersed at the sale at Marchwiell Hall which had taken place "about 30 years" before. Mr. Brown died at Bath 10 July 1795, and in 1799 is described as "formerly of Llwynegryn, in the parish of Mold, afterwards of Carson, in parish of Godstone, Surrey, and late of Reigate, Surrey."

53. From the sale of household effects at Marchwiell Hall must be distinguished the sale of the estate itself, which seems to have taken place somewhat later. I once saw a catalogue of this sale, but unfortunately, although the day of the month—31st of May—was given, the year was omitted. For the purposes of the sale, the estate was divided into six lots. Part of the mansion (with coach-house, stables, lawn, and gardens) was stated to be in the possession of the owner, and could be entered upon at pleasure. The remainder of the mansion was occupied as a farm-house, and was held, with orchard, yard, and lands directly appurtenant thereto, at an annual rent of £166. Lot 6 comprised a "handsome new built dwelling-house

called Lower Hall, situate, *if not extra-parochial*, in the townships of Dutton Diffeth and Shocklach", a small tenement called Parry's Tenement, and 157 acres of land thereto belonging, mostly pasture and meadow, on the banks of the Dee, in the occupation of Mr. William Parsonage, under a lease for four lives, at an annual rent of £177, "worth £300 a year". Lord Kenyon, Mr. Richard Birch, Mr. John Edgworth, and Mr. Thomas Parsonage were among the purchasers, but the Hall itself, its demesne lands, and various detached parcels, were still unsold at the beginning of 1799. However, on March 24, 1801, Mrs. Lucy Brown, widow, and second wife of Charles Brown, esq., sold Marchwiel Hall and the lands comprised in Lot 1 of the catalogue, containing $177\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and two pews in Marchwiel Church, to Samuel Riley, esq., of Pickhill Hall, for £7,000. There had formerly (in 1773) been a "dove house" among the outbuildings; and in the same year "a building adjoining" the Hall, "called the Gate House", a name curiously reminiscent of the old Gate House Prison in Westminster.

55. We might conjecture from the name "*Old Marchwiel Hall*" that the tenement so designated represents the capital messuage of the Broughtons of Marchwiel, and this indeed is the common belief, *based wholly on the name*, which, however, so far as I can discover, does not occur earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. The names of the fields, moreover, attached to *Old Marchwiel Hall* (Trawsdir, Wern, Rofft, Maes gwyn, Maes Madoc, Cae du, Pwll ffranklin, etc.) are not mentioned in the deeds of the Marchwiel Hall of the Broughtons and Wykes, while many of the names of fields actually mentioned in those deeds still persist, and indicate lands attached to the present Marchwiel Hall. When this latter was built I do not know: it appears to be compara-

tively modern, but that it represents the house of the Broughtons, Cwncweres Hall, or the true Marchwiell Hall, is to me beyond question. "Henblas" (*Old Hall*) is a field with no house on it on the Marchwiell Hall estate, but it was so named and in the same condition in the time of Aquila Wyke, and was among the lands mortgaged by him, afterwards redeemed, and finally included in Lot 1, when the whole estate was put up for auction. I only deal in this paper with the owners of the mansion called "Marchwiell Hall", without prefix or addition.

56. The later history of Marchwiell Hall concerns us very little, but it may be well to add that it was bought in 1826 from Thomas Parker, esq.¹ (the devisee under Mr. Riley's will) for £13,000, by Samuel Boydell, esq., of Manor, in the parish of Hawarden, who sold it in 1831 to the late Townshend Mainwaring, esq., then of Llyndir, for £11,000. Samuel Pearce Hope, esq., of Betley Hall, Staffordshire, purchased Marchwiell Hall and estate from Mr. Mainwaring in 1861, for £13,451, and Mr. Hope's widow, Mrs. Amelia Hope, sold the same in 1882 to the late Benjamin Piercy, esq., for £18,437, the area of the property being then nearly 190 acres. Mrs. Piercy still occupies Marchwiell Hall.

57. One remark I may make by way of reflection. Is there not shown, in the history of the Broughton and Wyke families, how untrustworthy, how contrary to truth, is much that passes under the name of "tradition"? The most careful antiquary makes mistakes, sometimes serious mistakes, now and again, spite of himself, but there are people who seem incapable of telling a story exactly as it

¹ Mr. Samuel Riley's last will was made 24 Sept. 1823, and it was proved at Chester on 19 Dec. following. The above-named Thomas Parker, esq., was only son and heir of the Rev. John Parker, and married (about 1795) Dorothy Cholmondeley, spinster.

is told them, are blind to improbabilities, have no conception of the nature of evidence, and never think of subjecting any statement, *especially if it be once printed*, to due examination. However little interest this history in itself may have, it will at least demonstrate the necessity of consulting, so far as they are available, original sources and contemporary records, and of not allowing even these to go uncriticized.

58. I must, in conclusion, acknowledge my indebtedness to the researches of the late Colonel Chester, and render thanks for the many hints, readily given, by W. M. Myddelton, of St. Alban's, and H. R. Hughes, of Kinnel Park, esquires.

Wrexham, April 1900.

ADDENDA.

59. Referring to Mr. Leighton of Marchwiel, I have become aware of a literary treasure he possessed. In what is known as the "Peter Ellice Genealogies" (Harleian Collection, British Museum, Additional MSS., Nos. 28,033 and 28,034) occurs the following sentence:—"In Mr. Leighton's Card written by Rees Cain of Oswestry, A° 1597, mençõn is made of these Beirdd: vz Gûttyn Owen, Evan Breghva, Grúffith Hiraethog, Symon vychan, W. llŷn, William Cynwall, Rees Cain, Lewis Dwn."

60. In the text, the second Sir Edward Broughton has been described as knighted "in or *before* the year 1664." But I am now able to say that he was knighted at some time between the 7th April 1660 and 8th Nov. 1661.

61. The son, Edward, of the second Sir Edward Broughton of Marchwiell was one of the deputy lieutenants for county Denbigh in 1714, and was then officially described as "Sir Edward Broughton, *bart.*"

APPENDIX I.

SUMMARY OF WILL OF JOHN MOSTYN.¹

March 1609-10.—Last will of John Mostyn, of parish of "Kilken", county of flint to my uncle Roger Mostyn the forty shillings he oweth me my brother, Sir Thomas Mostyn, knt. to my sister Katherine Leighton "my chaine of gould", to Anne Broughton daughter to Morgan Broughton, esq., all the sheep I have at Bangor in the custodie of John Hanmer, of Ruyton, gent., and half a dozen of heyffers of three years ould, and six kine, etc. to my nephew, William Dymock, esq., the parcels of land called *dol gwernhescog*, *kae newydd*, *gwerlodd* *kae newydd* and all my lands in *gwerlodd* *hir* in the township of Sesswick, being "*coppehould landes*," to Edward Broughton, son and heir of Morgan Broughton, esq., the lands some time in tenure of *dauid* *ap John ap Jenkyn* "in leangth from the Lande called *kae r scubor* on thone ende and the Lande called *kae rhwng y ddwyffordd* in the other end, and in bredth betwene the Lande called *yr Acre yslaw y ffordd* on the one side and the heigh waye that leadeth from Bangor to the *Pymrhydd*", "*being coppehould landes*". "My well beloved Nephew Sir Roger Mostyn, knt., whom I appoint my sole executor."

¹ John Mostyn, second son of William Mostyn of Mostyn, esq. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Roger Decka, and widow of the John Hanmer named in the will, and died without offspring. He is described in 1617 as deceased. His second sister was Margaret, wife, first, of Wm. Dymock, of Penley, gent.; secondly, of Henry Parry, esq., of Marchwiell and Basingwerk; and thirdly, of Richard Leighton, esq., of Marchwiell. [See Broughton pedigree.]

APPENDIX II.

Indenture . . . Feb. 1616-7 (Summary).—Whereas William Lloyd of halghton, co. flint, gent., John ap John ap Robte goch of Bedwall, gent., and Robte Dycus *als* Robert ap Daid ap Richard ap dycus did enter into a bond of £50 unto John Hanmer, deceased, and Elizabeth his wife, dated 12th May in 23rd year of Queen Elizabeth, the condition being that John Hanmer should quietly occupy those clausures of land called y weirgloth newith, y weirgloth perllan, y kochdyr, and the fourth lieth within a meadow called y weirgloth hiyr. And whereas Sydney Ellis, of Pickhill, gent., likewise entered into a bond of £100 to John Mostyn of Sesswicke, gent., deceased, and *the said* Elizabeth his then wife, dated 8 March 45th (?) year of Queen Elizabeth. And whereas said John Mostyn, surviving said Elizabeth, did by his last will dated . . . March 1609, give to Edward Broughton, gent., son and heir of Morgan Broughton, esq., amongst other things the said bonds, Now the said Edward Broughton, etc.

APPENDIX III.

ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF "HENRY PARREY, Esq., of Marchwiell, in the County of Denbigh" (made 12 Sept. 1589).

I will my body to be buried in the Parish Church of Marchwiell. I bequeath the sum of forty shillings to be employed and divided among the poorest sort of people dwelling in the parish of Marchwiell. I bequeath to my Son in Law Morgan Broughton, esq., and Margaret his wife my daughter my best gelding with saddle and bridle. I bequeath to my son Thomas Parrye my best gold chain, gold signet ring, and my second gelding saddle and bridle according to my former gift made to him. I bequeath all the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments which I have in the realm of England or Wales to my said son Thomas Parry and to his heirs lawfully begotten, and in default of such issue to the lawful male heirs of myself

and my now wife Katherine, and in default of such issue to my daughter Margaret Broughton and her lawful heirs, and in default of such issue, to the lawful issue of myself and my wife Katherine. I bequeath to my Overseers hereafter named twenty-five pounds each of lawful money of England. All the rest of my goods, chattels, household stuff, plate, jewels, leases, "ffearmes", store, and substance, I bequeath to my said wife, whom I charge to be a good and natural mother to my and her lawful son, Thomas Parrey, and to provide that he may have the portions, left unto him by my will, delivered and assured unto him before she shall marry again, in order that he whom she may marry shall not defraud my child Thomas Parrey of any thing he ought to have—I appoint my wife sole and full executrix to this my will, and I appoint as overseers my trusty brethren, Thomas Mostyn, esq.,¹ Bennet ap Thomas ap Harry,² and my friends Robert Turbridge, esq., and William Knight, gent., that by their discretion my said child, Thomas Parrey, may enjoy the benefit of all things left to him. Witnesses, Henry Mostyne, Thomas Broughton, William Knighte, John Hughes, Elizabeth Roberts.

Proved 7 Feb. 1589-90.

[I believe it has not been hitherto recorded that Mr. Henry Parry had a son, who, however, must have died without issue, for Mr. Parry's estates went in fact to his two daughters and their heirs—Basingwerk, etc., to his elder daughter, Mrs. Ann Mostyn, and Marchwiel, etc., to his younger daughter, Mrs. Margaret Broughton.—A. N. P.]

APPENDIX IV.

DECLARATION BY THE FIRST SIR EDWARD BROUGHTON, OF
MARCHWIEL (15 July 1647).

TO ALL CXEIAN PEOPLE to whome this p'sent writinge shall come or it shall reade heare or see I Sir Edward Broughton of Marchwiell in the County of Denbigh knt.

¹ Afterwards Sir Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn, knt.

² Bennet ap Thomas ap Harry of Perth y maen, testator's own brother.

doe send greetinge in or Lord god everlastinge WHEREAS Sir Henry Hobard knt and barronet late Chief Justice of his Ma^{ts} Courte of Comon Pleas and Chancellor to his Mat^{ie} when he was Prince of Wales Duke of Cornwall and of Yorke and Earle of Chester, Thomas Morray esq^r secretarie to his Mat^{ie} when he was Prince Sir James fullerton knt Master of his Highnes Wards and Liueries Sir John Walter knt his Highnes Atturney generall and afterwards Chief Baron of his Ma^{ts} Court of Exchequer all deceased and Sir Thomas Treuor knt then his Highnes Sollissitor generall and now one of the Barrons of his Ma^{ts} Courte of Exchequer¹ by theyre Indenture beareinge date the first day of July in the twentieth yeare of the Raigne of or late Soueraigne Lord kinge James his raigne ouer England, haue graunted and to farme Letten vnto the said Sir Edward Broughton all those fve acres of meadow called or knowne by the Name of the Receiuo^{rs} Meadow Lyeinge betweene the Landes Late of Peter Roden of the East pte and the Lands late of Raph Broughton and Robert ap Randle on the West pte Now or Late in the tenure or occupation of Robert Puleston esq or his assignes And all those three acres of Meadow by estimation in Coyd euan adioyninge to a certayne Meadow called the Constables Meadow now or late in the tenure or occupation of Richard Eyton gent or his assignes wth all and singular their appurtenaunces being pcell of the Lordship of Broomfield and Yeale in the said county of Denbigh and of the Land of the Manno^{rs} in the charges of the Baylifs of Cobham Almor and Cobham Iscoyd in the said Lordship, except in the said Indenture excepted vnto the said Sir Edward Broughton to hould from the feast of the Annuntiation then last past for and duringe the terme of one and thirtie yeares at the rent of thirtie shillings eight pence as in and by the said Indenture of Lease more at Large it doth and may appeare AND WHEREAS the said Sir Edward Broughton for and in consideration of a certayne some of money to him beforehand payd by the said Sir Thomas Treuor

¹ These were the Commissioners appointed by James I on the 27th January in the 22nd year of his reign for the sale of leasehold, escheat, and demesne lands in the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, so that such lands might thenceforth be held in free and common socage. I believe there had been an earlier grant of the lordships to these Commissioners.

and by the appoyntment and at the nomination of the said Sir Thomas Treuor and for diverse other good causes and valuable considerations him therevnto espetially moueing hath graunted, assigned and set ouer vnto the said Sir Thomas Treuor Edward Harris and Richard Winch their executors Administrato^{rs} and assignes all the said Sir Edward Broughton his estate right title interest terme of yeares and clayme and demand whatsoever of him the said Sir Edward Broughton of in or to the said p'mises or euy parte thereof wth the appurtenennces as in and by the Indenture made betweene the said Sir Edward Broughton of the one partie and the said Sir Thomas Treuor knt Edward Harris and Richard Winch of the other partie beareinge date the nynteenth day of June in the eleauenth yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord Charles by the grace of god of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland kinge defender of the faith etc may more playnely appeare AND WHEREAS Sir William Russell of London knt and Barronett William Collins and Edward ffenn of London gent. by their Indenture dated the fourth day of Aprill Anno dom one thousand six hundred thirtie three in the nynth year of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord kinge Charles for the considerations therein mentioned did bargaine sell and confirme vnto Robert Euans of the parish of Sct Martins in the fields in the County of Middlsex esq his Heires and assignes, amongst other things, the said recited premises as fully freely and wholly in as Large and ample manner and forme as by our Soueraigne Lord kinge Charles by His Highnes his letters pattents sealed as well by the greate seale of England as wth the seale of the dutchy and county pallatyne of Lancaster beareinge date the eighth day of December in the seauenth yeare of his Ma^{ts} Raigne, the said p'mises wth the appurtenaunces (amongst other things) weare graunted to the said William Collins and Edward ffenn their Heires and assignes for eu^r in fee farme And in as ample manner and forme as the Right hoble Thomas Vicecount Sauage Chauncellor to the Queene Matie ffrancis Lord Cottington Chauncellor of his Maties Exchequer and one of his Maties most hoble priuie Councell Sir ffrancis Crane knt Chauncellor of the most noble order of the garter, Sir Thomas Treuor knt one of the Barrons of his Ma^{ts} said Exchequer Sir Walter Pye knt his Maties Attorney of his Highnes Courte of Wards and Liueries and Sir John Banks knt then Attorney

generall to the most excellent Prince Charles, by Indenture vnder their hands and seales beareinge date the seauententh day of January then last past and enrowled in the Chancery and for the Considerations therein mentioned haue graunted bargained sould and confirmed the same p'emises (amongst other things) vnto the said William Collins and Edward ffenn their Heires and assignes AND WHEREAS the said Robert Euans by his Indenture beareinge date the second day of December in the said nynth yeare of his said Ma^{ty}s Raigne for the considerations therein mentioned at the nomination and appoyntm^t of the said Sir Edward Broughton and in trust for him hath graunted bargained sould and confirmed vnto Charles Deodate and John Deodate sonns of Theodore Deodate of London Doctor of Phisick their Heires and assignes all and singular the said p'mises as by the said Indenture more at large appeareth. AND lastly whereas the said Sir Edward Broughton Charles Deodate and John Deodate sonns of Theodore Deodate of London, Doctor of Phisick by their Indenture beareinge date the twentieth day of June in the said eleauenth yeare of kinge Charles for and in consideration of the some of two hundred pounds of good and lawfull money of England to the said Sir Edward Broughton by the said Sir Thomas Treuor in hand payd by the nomination and appoyntm^t of the said Sir Thomas Treuor and in trust for him and his Heires haue graunted bargained sould enfeofed and confirmed vnto Richard Prytherch¹ Sir Thomas Treuor Baronett sonne and heire of the said Sir Thomas Treuor by the name of Thomas Treuor esq and Richard Dauies vintener² and their heires and assignes the recited p'mises and euery parte and parcell of them wth the appurtenances in wch said Deed there is this prouiso that if the said Sir Edward Broughton Charles Deodate and John Deodate their Heires and assignes or any of them doe pay or cause to be payd vnto the said Sir

¹ Richard Prytherch. Mr. Hughes, of Kinnel, tells me he was son of Rhydderch ap Richard of Myfyrian, co. Anglesey. He entered Inner Temple 2 Dec. 1596, became barrister-at-law 10 Feb. 1615, Puisne Judge of Chester, 1636, and died 1647. His mother was Margaret, daughter of Piers Puleston, and his wife Martha, daughter of Godfrey Goodman.

² Richard Davies of London, vintner, was also owner of the Erddig House estate, county Denbigh, which he afterwards sold to John Edisbury, esq. Erddig is a township adjoining that of Marchwiell.

Thomas Treuo^r his executo^{rs} administrato^{rs} or assigns the whole and entire some of two hundred and fiftene pounds of lawfull Money of England at or vpon the twentie fourth day of June w^{ch} shall be in the yeare one thousand six hundred thirtie six at the now dwellinge House of the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r in or neere Dorset Courte als Sallisbury Courte London that then and from henceforth this p[']sent Indenture and allsoe an assignment of a Lease and terme of the p[']mises bearinge date the nynteenth of this Instant June shalbe voyd and of non effect as by the said Indenture may more fully appeare w^{ch} said Money was not paid accordinge to the said Condition and therefore Know yee that I the said Sir Edward Broughton of eightie pounds interest Money due to the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r knt as allsoe in consideration of the some of one hundred pounds of lawfull money of England to me the said Sir Edward Broughton in hand well and truly payd before the enseallinge and deliury by the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r the Receipt whereof I the said Sir Edward Broughton doe heareby acknowledge and confesse and thereof and of eu[']y parte and parcell thereof doe fully and absolutely exonerate acquit release and discharge the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r his heires executo^{rs} and administrators and euery of them for euer by these presents haue remised released acquitted confirmed and for me my heires executo^{rs} and administrators for euer quit claymed and by these presents doe acquit release remise confirme for me my heires executo^{rs} and administrators quit claymed vnto the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r Sonne and heire of the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r Richard Prytherch and Richard Dauies and their heires all my right title interest condition of redemption clayme propertie challenge and demaund whatsoever w^{ch} I now haue or at any tyme hereafter may haue clayme challenge or demaund to haue of and to the said parcell of Lands meadows and pasture wth the appurtenances or any parte or parcell thereof by virtue of the said condition or any other way whatsoever To HAVE AND TO HOULD all my said right title interest clayme and demaund whatsoever of in and to the said premises or any parte thereof wth the appurtenances vnto the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r sonne and heir of the said Sir Thomas Richard Prytherch and Richard Dauies their heires and assigns to the only proper benyfit vse and beehoofs of them the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r Richard Prytherch and Richard

Dauies foreuer soe as neyther I the said Sir Edward Broughton nor my heires executo^{rs} nor administro^{rs} nor any of vs shall or may at any tyme heereafter clayme challenge or demaund the said premises or any parte thereof or any benyfit of or out of the same but that wee and eu'y of vs be in that respect wholly and absolutely excluded and debarred foreu' by these presents, And I the said Sir Edward Broughton and my heires all the said Lands and premises and eu'y pte thereof wth their ap-
purtenennces vnto the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r Richard Prytherch and Richard Dauies and their heires and assignes to the only proper vse and beehoofe of them the said Sir Thomas Treuo^r Richard Prytherch and Richard Dauies and their heires foreu' against me and my heires executo^{rs} administro^{rs} and assignes and against all other person or persons Lawfully clayminge the premises or any parte thereof by from or vnder me the said Sir Edward Broughton shall and will warrant and foreuer defend by these presents IN WITNES whereof I the said Sir Edward Broughton haue hearevnto put my hand and seale the fifteenth day of July in the yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord kinge Charles of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland defender of the faith etc the three and twentieth Ann dom 1647.

Edw: Broughton

Seal indistinct, but apparently a lion statant gardant.

Sealed and deliuered in the pr'sence of

J. EDISBURY

GEO. DALTON

WILLIAM AP ROBERT [mark].

APPENDIX V.

ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF MARY, LADY BROUGHTON (20th January 1680-1).

I Dame Mary Broughton of Marchweil *als* Conqueress Hall in the County of Denbigh widow being of good and perfect health and sound memory do make ordain publish and declare this writing "writt by my owne hands" to be my last Will and Testament revoking and making void all and every Will and Wills by me formerly made.

As to my body I leave it to be disposed of according to the discretion of my executors to be decently buried ; as to my "temporall estate" first I bequeath unto my son Edward Broughton my house and tenement with the appurtenances lying and being in the market place in the Town of Kingston-upon-Thames in the County of Surry now or late in the tenure or occupation of Robert Punter or his assignes with "all wayes, watercourses, stables, gardens, orchards, stalls, or standings in the market place", also I bequeath unto my said son Edward Broughton my house and tenement with the appurtenances lying and being between the Gatehouse at Westminster and the Convict Prison of the Right Reverend Father in God. . . . Lord Bishop of London on the East, now or late in the occupation of John Hamden, gent., with all stables, coach-houses, outhouses, barns, gardens, yards, orchards, and appurtenances to the said house, messuage, or tenement belonging. I also bequeath to my said son Edward Broughton my right, title and interest of and in the prison or "Goale" called the Gatehouse Westminster with all rooms comodities and necessities with all appurtenances to the said Prison house or Goale belonging or with the same used or occupied. I also bequeath unto my said son Edward Broughton all my right title and interest in the convict prison in Westminster together with the Mansion House and Messuage now erected and built upon the said prison wherein the Countess of Tirconnell now dwellith, lying and being at the West end of Westminster "Abby", with all stables, coach-houses, outhouses, barns, gardens, orchards, and all appurtenances to the same belonging. I bequeath unto my said son Edward Broughton all my other right title and interest of and in all my estate personal &

real in the county of Middlesex, City of Westminster and County of Surry, I having purchased the same with "my own reall money or porcion or patrimoniall estate" upon condition and it is my true meaning that the said Edward Broughton shall pay unto my two other sons Edward and Aquila Wyke fourscore pounds yearly during their natural lives, that is to say £40 a year each son to be paid quarterly by equal portions. If my said son Edward Broughton neglect or refuse to pay unto my said two "undutifull sonnes" Edward Wyke and Aquila Wyke their said annuity of £40 a year in manner aforesaid or within 40 days after each quarter day if lawfully demanded of the said Edward Broughton at his Mansion House at Marchweil *als* Conqueress Hall, then my said devise of the premises in the said County of Middlesex and City of Westminster to be void and the said houses to go to my other two sons Edward and Aquila Wyke to be equally divided between them share and share alike. I give and bequeath unto my son Edward Broughton and his heirs lawfully begotten "All that my Capitall Messuage called Marchweil *alias* Conqueress Hall" with the barns, stables, outhouses, edifices, buildings, gardens, orchards and demesnes lands thereunto belonging with their appurtenances in the said parish of Marchweil in the County of Denbigh and all other my Messuages, demesnes, Lands, tenements and hereditaments lying and being in the several parishes of Marchweil, Wrexham, Holt, and Shocklyche, or any or either of them, or elsewhere, in the counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Chester, and for want of such issue of my son Edward Broughton, then I bequeath the said Messuages, lands, and premises unto my second son Aquila Wyke and his lawful heirs, and for want of such issue, then to my eldest son Edward Wyke and his lawful heirs and for want of such issue to my own right heirs for ever. Provided always that the said Messuages etc devised to my said three sons and their heirs "in taile" shall stand charged and be chargeable with the several Legacies and bequests hereafter mentioned and shall be paid to the said Legatees within the space of one year after my decease. I bequeath unto "my unfortunate undutifull daughter Mary Decombe daughter of my first husband Aquila Wyke deceased, she having formerly imbeazled much of my estate, £50". To my waiting woman, £10. To every servant that shall serve me at the time of my death 40s. a piece. To the

poor of the parish where I am buried, £10. To the preacher of my funeral sermon, £10. To my friend Mr. Roger Jackson £100 to whose care I leave the management of my estate for the benefit of my children. I bequeath to my son Edward Broughton all the residue of my goods, chattels, leases, bonds and all other my personal estate whatsoever, he paying my debts, and satisfying my Legacies. I appoint my said son Edward Broughton and my said loving friend Roger Jackson my sole executors.

MARY BROUGHTON.

Witnesses—

Thomas Crue
John Richardson
Daniell Browne.

Proved 21st March 1694-5.

APPENDIX VI.

THE DACKOMBES (see p. 62).

There were Dackombes, or Dycombes, of Wrexham, and I copy from the Wrexham registers the following notes concerning them:—

- 24 Sept. 1713, Edward, son of John Dacomb, gent., w[rexham] a[bbot]
born 19th, bapt. 24.
17 Nov. 1714, Katherine, wife of John Daxton [Dacomb?] Gent, of
Pen y brinn was buryed.
13 Sept. 1715, Edward, son of Mr. John Dycomb, of w.a., was buryed.
6 Apr. 1716, Mary, da. of Jo. Dicomb, of w.a., born ye 3rd, bapt.
20 Sept. 1717, Robt., son of Mr. Robert Dacomb, of w. a. . . . bapt.

It is obvious that Mr. John Dackombe married again, and as his daughter by his second wife was named "Mary" it might be surmized that he it was who married Mary Wyke. But the dates are against this supposition, for Mary Wyke was already Mrs. Dackombe in 1681. Still it is not at all unlikely that she was the mother, or, at any rate, somehow connected with the Dackombes mentioned above, who lived in the lower part of Pen y bryn, now called "Bridge Street", at the house next but one to The Horns. It may be added that in 1843 and again in 1857 Daniel Dackombe, esq., was owner of Pumrhyd Mill in Abenbury, part of the old Marchwiell Hall estate. This

is curious, but I am certain that he did not inherit it either from the Broughtons, Wykes, or Browns of *Marchwiell*.

[Since writing the foregoing I have discovered that a John Duckome and Margt. Davies, both of Wrexham Parish, were married at Gresford, 21 Feb. 1710-1. I have learned also from Mr. Edward Owen, of the India Office, that "Sir John Dacombe, knt.," was one of six Commissioners to whom James I, on the 10 Jany., in the fourteenth year of his reign, granted the Lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd for 99 years. He was probably Sir John Dacombe of Stapleton, Dorset, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, knighted in 1616.]

I have had copied the pedigrees of Dackombe of Corfe, of Stapleton, and of Winterborne Kingston, in Hutchins' *History of Dorset*, but in no one of them does the name of Wyke occur, nor any name which can be identified with that of the Dacombes or Dycombs of Wrexham.

Mr. Hughes, of Kimmel, has, however, given me a real clue to the Dackombes, who were related to the Wykes, which unfortunately I cannot now follow up or disentangle. He writes:—"In Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii, 630, I find that John Knightley [and be it remembered that Mary Lady Broughton, was a Knightley of Kingston] of Little Ashted or Priors Farm in that county, in 1713 suffered a Recovery of the said manor farm, the Whitehouse, the old Courthouse, and the Quakers' Meeting House in *Kingston*, and sold it to Aquila Wyke, who settled it on his daughter's marriage with Charles Browne of Marchwiell. She ob. s. p., and it descended to Aquila Dackambe as heir-at-law, and he owned it in 1809." Now Charles Browne, of Marchwiell, did not marry Aquila Wyke's daughter. He married his cousin, Anne Rockwood, whose mother, Mary, was daughter of Edward Wyke, elder brother of the Aquila Wyke who died in 1703, and father of the Aquila Wyke who died in 1772, both dying without issue. There is thus a mistake in Bray's *History of Surrey*, but it evidently reveals some connection between the Knightleys, Wykes, and Dackambes, which requires further elucidation.—A. N. P.

Mr. Hughes continues:—"In the *Heraldic Visitation of Surrey*, in 1632, the following coat of arms is recorded to John Knightley, of Kingston—Quarterly, 1 and 4 ermine, 2 and 3 paly of six or and gules, over all on a bend azure, a tilting spear or headed argent. The foundation

of this is the Fawsley coat differenced by the bend. Possibly they were an illegitimate branch. John Knightley, who sold to Aquila Wyke, was the son of Robert Knightley, by Ann, dau. of Sir John Chapman, who was son and heir of Sir Robert Knightley, kt., who purchased Little Ashted in 1671, from Leonard Wessell, his Trustee. The only mention I find of William Knightley is that in 1647 his daughter, Sarah, married Richard Cowper, of Temple Elephant in Capel, co. Surrey, and d. 3 Nov. 1662. She, of course, was sister to Mary, Lady Broughton."

Vita Sancti Kebie,

BY

THE REV. S. BARING-GOULD.

THERE are extant two lives of S. Cybi or Cuby, both in Latin, and both in the same MS. Collection (Cotton Lib. Vesp. A. xiv) in the British Museum; both are apparently independent translations from one Welsh original. The first has been published by Rees in his *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853.

The MS. belongs to the 13th century. It contains a calendar, and lives of S. Gundleus, S. Cadoc, S. Iltut, S. Teliau, two of S. Dubricius, S. David, S. Bernac, S. Paternus, S. Cledauc, two of S. Kebi, S. Tatheus, S. Carantoc, and S. Aed.

The author of the Latin life of S. Gundleus seems to imply that he derived his narrative from a Welsh poem on the life of the saint, for he records the circumstances of the composition of this bardic effusion. And that the two lives of S. Cybi are taken from a Welsh original hardly admits of a doubt, for both narrate the same circumstances in the same order, and only differ in the rendering into Latin.

Solomon, the father of S. Cybi, was *princeps militiæ*, i.e., Gwledig, or chief military officer, also called *Dux* of the British, and a local Cornish king.

The *Lives* give his pedigree differently from the Welsh genealogies. Solomon, according to the latter, was “ap

Gereint ap Erbin ap Cystennin Gorneu", whereas the *Lives* make him son of Erbin son of Gereint, whom they represent as son of the fabulous Lud, the builder of London.

There were two Gereints. The second was son of Caranog of the race of Cadell Deyrnllug, and was father of S. Eldad, Bishop of Gloucester, who was killed by the Saxons; and the Gereint, who had a church dedicated to him in Hereford, was probably this latter Gereint.

Assuredly the Welsh pedigrees are more likely to be right than the *Lives*, for they invariably call Gereint the son of Erbin, and derive his descent from Constantine, and there is absolutely no confirmation of the statement that Gereint was son of Lud.

The mother of Cybi was Gwen, sister of Non, the mother of S. David. "Ortus autem fuit de regione Cornubiorum, inter duo flumina, Tamar et Limar" (Vit. 1^{ma}). This is the principality of Gallewick, between the Tamar and Lynher, of which Callington is the principal town. There are, in the district, no churches that now bear the names of Solomon and Gwen as founders, but there are traces of the presence of Non and David, and possibly of David's father Xant, in Altarnon, Landew, and Lansant (Lezant). There is, moreover, a tradition of a visit of S. David to Cornwall, mentioned by the poet Gwynfardd, who says that he received there ill-treatment at the hands of a woman.¹

S. Wenn or Gwen has left traces of herself in Morval and S. Wenn, and possibly Llansalos may have been a foundation of S. Selyf or Solomon.

At the age of seven Cybi went to school, and lived thenceforth, till he was twenty-seven years old, in Cornwall.

¹ *Myvyrian Archaeology*, i, p. 270.

After that he started on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his way home visited S. Hilary at Poitiers, who consecrated him bishop. This is an anachronism, as S. Hilary died in 366, nor does it help us if we suppose that a mistake has been made between Hilary of Arles and his namesake of Poitiers, for the former died in 449. It is not possible to put S. Cybi so early, when his grandfather Gereint fell at Llongborth in 522. In the *Lives* Elien Geimiad, his kinsman, has been confused with Hilary. As Rees, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, has pointed out, Elien is very generally confounded with Hilary, as Geimiad (the Pilgrim) has been changed into Caimaid (bright) to correspond with the Latin Hilarius; moreover the name Hilary is rendered in Welsh Elian.¹

The *Lives* assert that Cybi remained for fifty years on the Continent. This is incredible, as shall be presently shown.

On his return to Cornwall, Cybi probably made his two important foundations of Duloe and Tregony. Duloe is remarkable as having adjoining it Morval, a foundation of his mother S. Gwen, and Pelynt, one of his aunt S. Non. Due North is S. Keyne, who was his cousin. If, as I conjecture, Lansalos was a foundation of S. Selyf, then his father was not far off. At Tregony again, we find in close proximity his aunt, S. Non, at Grampound.

How long Cybi remained in Cornwall we do not know. The *Lives* inform us that the natives desired to elevate him to the throne, but that he refused the honour. We know so little of the history of Cornwall at this period that we can do no more than conjecture that his father Solomon was dead, and that Catau, the Duke Cadur of Geoffry of Monmouth, had succeeded. Cadur was in turn

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 1836, p. 267.

succeeded by the turbulent Constantine, who was so violently assailed by Gildas in his epistle, *circ.* 545.

Immediately after this abortive attempt to raise Cybi to the throne, the saint left his native land for Wales. It is easy to read between the lines of the narrative and see that a disaffected portion of the Cornish endeavoured to put Cybi at their head against, probably, the violent Constantine; that this attempt failed, and that Cybi was obliged to fly for his life.

He took with him ten disciples, of whom four are named Maeloc, Llibio, Peulan, and Cyngar. Cyngar was, in fact, his uncle, the famous founder of Congresbury, in Somersetshire, which he had abandoned probably on account of the incursions of the Saxons. Cyngar was now an aged man, "*Consobrinus ejus Kengar erat senex.*"

On leaving Cornwall, Cybi went to Morganwg, where he was not at first well received by the king, Etelic. We meet with this name in the *Liber Landavensis*; Etelic is there represented as son of Judael, King of Morganwg. Finally, the King surrendered to Cybi two sites for churches, Llangybi and Llandeверguer. The former is in Monmouthshire, the latter site has not been identified.

Cybi does not seem to have remained long in Morganwg. He went to Porthmawr, near St. David's, where he tarried three days, and thence crossed into Ireland, and made no delay till he had reached the island of Aran Môr, where he placed himself under the direction of S. Enda.

Enda had obtained a grant of the island from Ængus MacNadfraich, King of Munster, who fell in battle in 489, and Enda can hardly have founded his abbey there much before 486. He is supposed to have died in 540.

Cybi still had with him his disciples; and the account in the *Lives* is confirmed by what we hear of S. Enda, that

he did have in Aran a disciple Libio, who is the Lebiauc or Llibio of the *Vita*.

In Aran S. Cybi remained four years. There he built a church. His uncle Cyngar was with him, and was so decrepit with age that he could eat no solid food. Consequently Cybi bought a cow with its calf, to supply milk for the old man.

Melioc or Maeloc, the disciple of Cybi, cultivated a patch of land near the cell of another monk, named Fintan the Priest (Crubthir-Cruimthir) Fintan. This led to angry altercation, as Fintan considered this to be an encroachment. S. Enda was called in to make peace between them, but the grievance rankled in Fintan's mind.

The calf, moreover, strayed, and got into the meadow of Fintan, whereupon the disciples of Fintan impounded it; and tied it to a shrub (the *Life* says—a big tree, but there are not now and never were trees in Arran). The calf managed to tear up the shrub and ran back to its mother.

Fintan was furious and betook himself to prayer. He called on God to drive or blot Cybi out of the island, “deprecatus est Dominum, ut fugaret vel deleret Sanctum Kebium de insula Arun, quia Deus amavit eum.”

An angel was accordingly sent to Cybi to tell him to go. Doubtless the angel was a peace-loving monk, who saw that there would be incessant quarrels so long as these two angry saints were near each other in a confined island.

Accordingly Cybi departed for Meath, and there fasted forty days and nights on one spot, so as to secure it as a foundation for himself for ever, according to the well-known Celtic custom, described by Bede. The place Mochop is Kilmore of S. Mocop, near Artaine. But Fintan followed him there, and on the pretext that the land belonged to himself, drove Cybi away.

The Cornishman, along with his disciples, now went into Magh Breagh, the great plain in which is Kildare, but remained there only seven days, as the implacable Fintan pursued him, stirred up the people against him, and expelled Cybi and all his men.

Cybi next betook himself to Vobium or Vobyun by the sea, a district I cannot identify unless it were the country of the Hy Faelain, Ofaly. Fintan once more pursued him, and by some means or other was successful in again obtaining his expulsion. Cybi now solemnly cursed Fintan—"May all thy churches be deserted, and may never be found three churches singing at thy altar in all Ireland."

Thereupon Cybi and his disciples—to the number of twelve—entered a wickerwork coracle and passed over to Wales. On reaching the coast the boat got among rocks off the Carnarvon shore, and was almost lost; however, all on board got safe to land, and Cybi founded a church at a spot then called Cunab, but now Llangybi near Pwllheli, where, with his staff, he elicited a spring that bears his name to this day.

Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd (d. 547), was hunting, when a goat he pursued fled for refuge to S. Cybi. The King went to the cell of the Saint, who entreated that he might be given as much land as the hound could run the goat round. "And Cybi let loose the goat, and the hound pursued it through all the promontory (*i.e.*, Lleyn), and it returned again to the cell of S. Cybi."

Afterwards, a rupture occurred between Maelgwn and the saint. Maelgwn was a very immoral man, and what especially gave offence was that he had been brought up in the ecclesiastical state, and had deserted it. Cybi got the upper hand—the particulars are not recorded—and the King surrendered to him his *castellum* in Anglesey,

which thenceforth bore the name of Caergybi, and thither the Saint removed with his monastic family.

Here he again met with Elian the Pilgrim, who had ordained him, and who had a church at Llanelian. According to tradition they were wont to walk along the cliff to meet each other at a spot called Llandyfrydog, the one from the east the other from the west. Another friend with whom Cybi here associated was S. Seiriol, of Penmon.

The legend tells how Cybi sent his disciple Caffo to fetch fire from a smith, and the pupil returned bearing red hot charcoal in the lap of his habit. After this ensued a rupture between them, the occasion of which is not told. The writer of the first life merely records, out of place, and in a fragmentary manner: "And S. Cybi said to his disciple Caffo, depart from me, we two cannot get on together. And he went to the town called at this day Merthir Caffo, and there the Rosswr shepherds killed Caffo. Therefore the blessed Cybi cursed the shepherds of Rosswr." This comes in in the middle of the story of Cybi and Maelgwn, thus:—"Tunc capra ad sancti Kepii casulam, refugii causa, velociter cucurret; et dixit sanctus Kepius ad discipulum suum Caffo, Recede a me, non possumus esse simul et invenit capra refugium," &c. The second *Life* omits the passage relative to Caffo.

Now it is very significant that it was on the meeting of Cybi with Maelgwn that Cybi was obliged to dismiss Caffo from his attendance, and that shortly after some of Maelgwn's people should fall on and kill Caffo. When we learn that Caffo was the brother of Gildas, the whole is explained. Caffo was first cousin to Cybi, and very probably the estrangement between Maelgwn and the Saint was due to the publication of Gildas's intemperate and scurrilous epistle, in which Maelgwn was singled out for

invective of the most insulting character. We can well understand that the King was ill pleased to have the cousin of his reviler settle on his lands, and that he only consented to tolerate his presence on condition that he should dismiss the brother of Gildas. We see also a reason for the murder of Caffo. The shepherds took up the quarrel and slew Caffo in revenge for the abuse poured on their King.

S. Cybi died on November 8, certainly after 547, the date of Maelgwn's decease in the Yellow Plague.

It is not possible to admit that the age of the saint was seventy-two when he returned from the continent to Cornwall, but that may very well have been his age when he returned finally to Britain, after the four years spent in Ireland. His uncle was, indeed, still alive—but may have been nearly ninety. S. Enda, to whom he had gone was almost certainly his senior, and he died in or near 540.

Of the disciples of S. Cybi we have seen that Libiauc or Libio is known on Irish testimony to have been in Aran with S. Enda. He came to Wales with Cybi and founded Llanllibio in Anglesey. Paulinus or Peulan was the son of Pawl Hên, of Ty Gwyn, whose monumental inscription is now in Dolau-Cothi House, Carmarthenshire. He founded Llanbeulan in Anglesey. Another disciple, Maelauc or Maeloc, was the son of the Cornish Gereint, and was Cybi's first cousin, probably he was a good deal younger than his master, for after having founded a chapel at Llanfadog, under the church of his fellow pupil at Llanbeulan, he left and became a disciple of S. Cadoc, and finally settled at Llowes in Elfael in Radnorshire.

It is not possible to determine who was Cybi's great adversary, Crubthir Fintan. Finnan or Fintan is a very common name among the Irish Saints, and of a great many of them nothing is known. From the curse pro-

nounced by Cybi, which we may suppose was held to have been accomplished, Fintan his adversary obtained no extended cult in Ireland. There is indeed a Cruimthir (Crubthir) Finnan marked in the Irish Martyrologies on February 9, as of Droma Licci, in Leitrim, but this can not be the man, as according to the *Life*, Cruimthir Finnan was a person of influence in Leinster, and not in Northern Connaught. A Crubthir Fintain, however, occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal on July 13, of Killairthir, the site of which has not been satisfactorily determined.

It is conceivable that the departure of Cybi from Aran was due to the death of S. Enda in 540, and this will well agree with the date of his arrival in Wales, about 542.

If we suppose that he was then aged seventy-two, then he arrived in Ireland in 538, sixteen years after the fall of his grandfather in the battle of Llongborth (Langport in Somersetshire). We may conjecture that it was due to the defeat of the Britons in that battle, that Cyngar Gereint's son was obliged to escape from Congresbury to Cornwall.

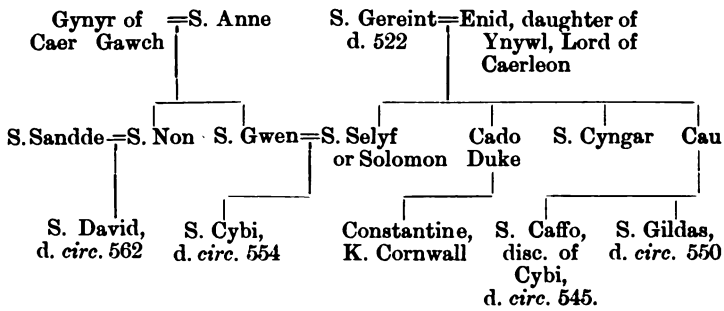
Taking Cybi to have lived to the age of 84, he would have died in 554.

The *Lives* of S. Cybi seem to me to deserve more regard than has hitherto been paid them, for the statements made in them receive remarkable corroboration from various quarters.

According to both *Lives* Cybi died on November 8. His feast is, however, very variously observed. In the Calendar prefixed to the *Lives*, in the same MS., his day is given as November 7. A Welsh MS. Calendar of the 15th cent. in Jesus College, Oxford (xxii), gives Nov. 5, so also the Welsh Calendar of 1670, in *Agoriad Paradws*, a Welsh Calendar in the Iolo MSS., on Nov. 5. Ab Ithel,

in his, gives Nov. 6, and a Welsh Calendar copied by W. ap W. in 1591, in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 14,882), gives Nov. 6. The parish feast at Tregony is observed on October 4. That, however, at Duloe is on November 9.

It may not be uninteresting to have the genealogy of S. Cuby or Cybi set forth as given by the Welsh authorities.



Salesbury's Dictionary and the King's Licence.

BY J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

THE following licence, granted by Henry the Eighth in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, to William Salesbury, is of considerable interest. It was printed at the end of the Epistles and Gospels published by Salesbury in 1551, and the present transcript is copied from the Shirburn Castle copy of the book. It has been suggested that this licence referred to the publication of the Welsh Bible only, but it clearly refers to all books translated by Salesbury and more particularly to his Dictionary, which was published in 1547. It did not debar any other person from publishing a book in the Welsh language, and simply preserved the copyright of Salesbury's translations. Clearly the possibility of writing an original work in the Welsh language had not at that date occurred to Salesbury, or we may be sure that his rights in it would have been preserved.

A COPY OF THE KYNGES MOSTE GRACIOUS PRIUILEDGE.

Henry the eyght by the grace of God Kyng of England France and Ireland, defender of the faith and of the church of Englande and Irelande in earth the supreme head. To all Printers and bokesellers and to other officers ministers and subiectes we do you to understand

that of our grace especial we have graunted and geuen priuiledge and licence to our well beloved subiectes Williã Salesbury and Jhon Waley to print or cause to be printed oure booke entitled a Dictionarie bothe in englyshe and welche whereby our well beloved subiectes in Wales may the soner attayne and learne our mere englyshe tonge and that no other person or persons of what estate degree or condicion so euer they be of do prynte or cause the same Dictionary to be printed or any part thereof but only the sayd William and Jhon and eyther of them and the assignes of anye of them duryng the space of seuen yeres next ensuing the first printing of the sayd Dictionarie and that none other person or persons of what estate degre or condicion soeuer they be do printe or cause to be printed any other booke or bookes whych oure sayd subiectes William and Jhon or eyther of of them hereafter do or shal first translate and set forth during seuen yeares next ensuing the fyrst printing of any suche booke or bokes. Wherfore we wil and straitly commaund and charge all and syngular our subiectes as well printers as bookesellers and other persons within our dominions that they ne any of them presume to print or cause to be printed the sayde Dictionary or any part thereof or anye other boke or bokes first translated and printed by the sayde Wylliam and John or either of the contrary to the meanyng of thys our presente licence and priuiledge upon payne of our hygh displeasure geuen at our palace of Westminster the xiii day of December in the xxxvii yere our raigne.

A Welsh Love Song of the 16th Century.

By J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

THE little song which follows appears to have been written about the end of the sixteenth century. The manuscript from which it is taken was written in 1637-8, but the poetry immediately preceding and following the song, was composed at an earlier date. Of the author nothing is known, as he can hardly be the Llewelyn ab Hwlcyn of the Anglesey pedigrees who lived about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Several of the other poems in the manuscript are very similar to this one, and they were unquestionably written by Richard Hughes, of Cefn Llanfair in Lley. Hughes's long poems have recently been published in book form.

Peculiar interest attaches to this poem, as well as to those of Richard Hughes, for they represent an attempt to import into Welsh poetry the style and the delicate conceits of the Elizabethan lyric writers.

It is known that Hughes was an official of the English Court, and Llewelyn ab Hwlcyn must also have been acquainted with the works of the contemporary English song-writers.

KAROL OI GARIAD.

Myfi ywr merthyr tostur lef
Duw Iesu or nef am helpio
Megis llong rhwng ton a chraig
O gariad gwraig rwy n kirio.

Och trwm ywr loes i rwyn i ddwyn
Heb obaith help na swyn
Onid Duw ar ferch ai rhoes.

Drylliodd Cariad glwyde fais
Am seren gwrtais amlwg
Mae arnaf glwyfe mwy na mil
Wrth graffy ar gil i golwg.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Kil i golwg fal dan haul
O gusgod dwy aul feinion
Yn' sym dwyn ar llall im gwadd
Ar ddau syn lladd fynghalon.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Kalon fyngwir galon i
Oedd ag ihi ymgowleidio
Ymgowleidio hon ni chawn
Pei cawn ni feiddiwn geisio.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Ag o digia teg i ffryd
Ffarwel ir byd a ercha
Ar y ddayar help nid oes
Fy nerth am hoes a golla.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Ag o colla i foes am hon
Rwyn ddigon bodlon iddi
Er i glanach meinir syth
Nid allwn byth i golli.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

¹ *al. un.*

Kollodd glendid yr holl fyd
A Duw i gyd ni tyrrodd
Ag wrth lunio dailiwr ton
Yn wineb hon fo i gwreiddiodd.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Gwreiddiodd hithe dan fy mron
O gariad, glwyfon anial
Wanach, wanach wy bob awr
Drwy gariad mawr a gofal.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Na ofelwch troso i mwy
At Dduw ir wif i yn myned
Rwy yn madde i bawb ond iddi hi
A ffawb i mi maddeued.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Fy holl frins na fyddwch dig
Fo am rhoes y meddig heibio
Help nid oes na syt ym fyw
Ffarwel a Duw am helpio.
Och trwm ywr loes, &c.

Och trwm ywr loes a rwy yn i dwyn
Heb ym obaith help na swyn
Ond Duw ne'r ferch ai rhoes
Mwy help i mi nid oes
Ond amdo, clûl a gwledd, elor, arch a bedd,
A nawdd y gwr am rhoes.

Llⁿ AB HWLKYN o *Fon ai cant.*

The Expulsion of the Dessi.

By PROFESSOR KUNO MEYER, PH.D.

OUR knowledge of Irish history during the early centuries of our era is fortunately not confined to the meagre accounts of the Annals. In addition to them, and as independent sources, we possess a large mass of materials in the histories of individual tribes, genealogical tables, chronological poems, sagas, and saints' Lives, all bearing upon the early history of Ireland. These materials are, of course, of the most varied origin and age, and will have to be carefully tested and sifted. Not until this has been done will the historian of Ireland have before him all the materials which Irish literature affords.

Much inedited matter of this kind is found in the Bodleian codices Rawlinson B. 502 and 512, and in Laud 610. Among other important texts I may mention the piece called *Baile in Scáil*, or 'The Vision of the Phantom,' which enumerates more than fifty Irish kings from Conn Céthachach (A.D. 123-157) downward to the eleventh century, together with the duration of their reigns, long lists of battles fought by them, the circumstances of their deaths, and other details.¹ But it is the tribal histories that are perhaps of the greatest historical value, as they certainly are of the widest interest. One of these, dealing

¹ There is a fragment of the same piece in Harleian 5280, of which I am preparing an edition for publication in the third number of the *Zeitschrift für Celt. Philologie*, vol. iii.

with what in a term borrowed from contemporary history may be called the trekkings of the tribe of the Déssi¹ and originally written, as has been shown,² in the latter half of the eighth century, is here edited and translated for the first time. Its special interest for Welsh students lies in the fact that it contains an account of an Irish settlement in Wales during the third century (§ 11).

Two different versions of the story have come down to us. The older, the one here printed, which I will call A, has been preserved in Laud 610, fo. 99b 2—102a 2, and in Rawl. B. 502, fo. 72a 2—73a 2. In Laud the title is *De causis torche*³ *na nDéssi . i . acuis toirge na nDésse*, while Rawl. has the heading *Tairired*⁴ *na nDéssi*. As is so often the case in dealing with Irish texts, it was difficult to decide which of the two copies to make the staple of the edition, as neither is in every way superior to the other, and both correct and supplement each other. The best thing undoubtedly would be to do, as Stokes has done with *Félire Oengusso*, and Windisch with several pieces in the *Irische Texte*, to print both copies *in extenso*, but this would have taken up too much space. I have, therefore, selected the Rawlinson text as needing, on the whole, less correction than that of Laud, though the latter excels it in retaining a more archaic spelling. As regards the text itself, the two copies are in the main almost identical,

¹ The name of this tribe is preserved by those of the barony of *Dece*, co. Meath, their original home, and of the two baronies of *Decies*, co. Waterford.

² See *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. xii, p. 20.

³ I am not sure of the exact meaning of *torche* (*toirge*). It seems to combine the meanings of German *Zug* (1) expedition, (2) band, company.

⁴ As to *tairired* 'journeying,' cf. *mithid dan-sa toirired*, Book of Lismore, fo. 53b 2. *tairired Bóinne*, LL. 191a 7. gen. *fer tairirid*, *Laws*, i, p. 194, 20.

though the single paragraphs are differently arranged. The most important variants of Laud are given in the foot-notes. Where Laud deviates from Rawlinson I have sometimes indicated this in the translation by putting the reading of Laud in parenthesis; in a few cases these translations have been put at the foot of the page. Towards the end of both copies the scribes have become careless, and each has blundered in his own way.

The second and later version of our story, which I will call B, deserves a separate publication. So far as I know, it has come down to us in three copies, the oldest of which is a fragment contained in the *Book of the Dun*, pp. 53a—54b. It has the heading *Tucait innarba na nDési imMumain 7 aided Cormaic*. Its gaps can easily be supplied from two later copies, one in H.3. 17, col. 720b—723a (entitled *Cóechad Cormaic i Temraig*), the other in H. 2. 15, pp. 67a—68b (*Tucaid chéechta Cormaic do Aengus Gaibuaibtheach 7 aigead Ceallaig 7 fotha indarbtha na nDeissi do Muig Breag*). The latter MS. preserves a number of poems not contained in the other copies. Whether one of the two versions, or which of them, is identical with the *Tochomlad na nDési a Temraig* quoted in the list of tales in D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Catalogue*, p. 263, and with the *Longes Eithne Uathaige* (*ib.*, p. 171), I cannot say.

K. M.

Tairired na nDessi inso ar a choibne fri Fotharto ocus
batar *trichait bliadan* la Laigniu.¹

1. Cethri maic batar la Hartthorb mac Meschuirb . i .
Brecc 7 Oengus 7 Eochuid² 7 Forad.³ Forad dano, mac
*side cumaille*⁴ 7 ni ragaib thir, 7 is he ba siniu⁵ dib. Nert
coecat *immurqu* la Hoengus.

2. Bæ dano mac tét la rig Temrach . i . Conn mac
Corbmaic. Gabais laim ingine Foraid⁶ . i . Forach a
[h]ainm 7 fordoscarastar. Forumai Oengus for a hiarair
na hingine⁷, co luid⁸ hi Temraig. Ni tharraid gabail na
slabrad batar ar comloid na slige;⁹ ar ba hécen fer cechtar
a da slabrad *side* dogres.¹⁰ Confacca a chomalta¹¹ for dheis
maic ind rig. ‘Ni maculamar in clemnas nua sin,’ ar
Oengus.¹² Friscair mac ind rig: ‘Daimthi dail cuind
dam-sa!’¹³ Archena déma-su cen co dama-su.’ ‘Nocon
fodem cetumus,’¹⁴ ar Oengus. Atróeraid Oengus [d]in
tsleig truit.¹⁵ Bi dano indala slabrad suil ind rig, co
roemaid¹⁶ ina chind.¹⁷ Intan dosreng in sleig adochum,

Laud 610, fo. 99 b 2.—¹ De causis torche na nDéisi innso . i . acuis
toirge na nDéisi ² Allmuir *add.* ³ Sorad ⁴ chumle ⁵ a
sinser ⁶ Soraith ⁷ luidh Aengus gaibuaibthech lád gaile for iarair
⁸ conluid ⁹ ni tarraid na slabrada batar hi croumlaib in gai
¹⁰ *L. omits this sentence.* ¹¹ inn ingin ¹² ni messe, ol se, conailla
in clemnas n-isiu ¹³ Atberat ris: Daimthi dál cuind do-som innf sein.
¹⁴ ni didam-sa caimme ¹⁵ atnuarith side din tsleig conluith triit . i .
sleg 7 da slabrad esti 7 triar for each slabrad dib ¹⁶ corobris ¹⁷ co
n-ecmoing a hirlond inn-éton in rechtaire co mboi triana chend siar.
Immalle dorochratar in mac 7 in rechtaire 7 romeбайд súil Cormaic 7
ní roachtas greim fair, corrócht a theg 7 romarb nonbar do churadaib
Cormaic occá thafund . i . a dalta leis . i . Corc Duibne diatát Corco
Duibne 7 atrullai sede a giallu.

These are the Wanderings of the Dessi (which are put here) because of their kinship with the Fothairt;¹ and they were thirty years in Leinster.

1. Artchorp son of Messchorp had four sons, to wit, Brecc and Oengus and Eochuid and Forad.² Forad, however, was the son of a bondmaid and did not get any land, and he was the eldest of them. Oengus had the strength of fifty men.

2. Now the King of Tara³ had a wanton son, to wit, Conn⁴ mac Cormaic, who forcibly seized the daughter of Forad—Forach was her name—and ravished her. Then Oengus set out in search of the girl and went to Tara. He did not secure the chains which were on the . . .⁵ of the lance; for a man was needed for each of these two chains of his always.⁶ He saw his fosterchild sitting at the right hand of the King's son. 'We have not heard of this new alliance,' said Oengus. The King's son answered: 'Grant me the respite of a grown-up person! In any case, thou wilt have to bear it, though thou do not grant it.' 'To begin with, I will not bear it!' said Oengus and ran the lance through him. Then one of the two chains struck the eye of the King, so that it broke in his head; and when he

¹ An account of the tribe of the Fothairt precedes this story in the MS. ² Sorad, *Laud.* ³ i.e. Cormac mac Airt. ⁴ He is called Cellach by Tigernach (see *Rev. Celt.*, xvii, p. 19.) ⁵ What the *comla* ('valve') of a lance, to which the chains were affixed may be I do not know; perhaps a ring that would turn round. Nor do I understand the *croumlaib* of *Laud.* ⁶ i.e. these chains when taken out would each demand the sacrifice of a man. The scribe of H. 2. 15 understands this differently; for he writes: *triar fer cacha slabraid ig a tarraing* 'three men were needed for carrying each chain.' This lance reminds one of Maelodran's lance, the *Carr Belaig Durgin*, which killed of its own accord, or when moved by a demon. See *Hibernica Minora*, p. 81.

rodhi fochoir na sleigi triasin deogbaire, conid se conapaid prius. Is arna slabradaib tra ba Hoengus Gæbuaibthech a ainm-seom.

3. Is desin rognid Ocheill for Temraig sechtair . i . clasa rath la Cormac, conid inte nofoihed som dogres, ar ni ba hada ri co n-anim do feis i Temraig. Conid de asberar Achell ar Themair *nó* ar aicce Temrach, daig na faichle bæ ar suil ind rig.¹

4. Bebais mac ind rig 7 dobert Oengus in mnai leis.

5. Dobert Cormac sluago forsna Deisse 7 romebdatar secht catha forthu ria n-Oengus co maccaib a brathar . i . Russ 7 Eogan.² Ba rii Oengus dar eisse mBricc co cenn . xl . laithi. Et balobrathair *cach* fer iarum, ar ni foerlangtar nert ind flatha 7 ind laith gaile 'moalé. Is ann asbeir-som : 'Forasselbthai for rige. Is dech dam-sa mo nert fodessin.'

6. Tecmall ri Temrach firu Herenn forthu 7 ni damair cert catha doib, co tarlaicset a thir do. Dolotar iarum co Laigniu co Fiachaig m-Baicceda mac Catháir, co rochart *side* hú Bairrche remib asa tir 7 fothaigtir na Deisse ann co

¹ Ni deochaid *didiu* Cormac hi Temuir, conid i n-Ochaill [fo. 100 a 1] ar Themair robúi on uáir sin. ² Doratsat na Déise iarsin secht catha do Chormac. Ba tresiu fortarlín fer nHeirenn fadeóid la Cormac. Ba maith cid a cenel-som .i. na nDéise, cland Fiachach Soguitte *maic* Feidlimthe Rectoda *maic* Tuathail Techtmail. Oc Dumu Der *immurgu*, is and celebrat mna na nDéise .i. déra fola rotheilcset ic scarad fria tir 7 fria talmuin co bráth. I mMaig Inair, is and doratsat in cath déidenach. 'Is ininair in comrac indossa,' ar Cormac. 'Bid ed a hainm co bráth, Mag Innair.'

pulled the lance back, its butt end struck the cup-bearer and passed through him so that he died the first.¹ It was from the chains that his name was Oengus of the Dread Lance.

3. Hence Achail² was built by the side of Tara, that is to say, a *rath* was dug by Cormac in which he would always sleep; for it was not lawful for a king with a blemish to sleep in Tara. Hence is said Achail by Tara (or near Tara), on account of the care (*faichill*) taken of the eye of the King.

4. The King's son died, and Oengus took the woman away with him.

5. Cormac sent hosts against the Dessi, who were routed in seven battles under the leadership of Oengus and his brother's³ sons, to wit, Russ and Eogan. To the end of forty days Oengus was king after Brecc, and then every man murmurs,⁴ for they could not endure the combined power of the prince and the champion together. It is then he said: 'Take possession (?) of the kingship! My own strength is best for me.'

6. The King of Tara gathered the men of Ireland against them, and did not grant them fair fight, so that they left his land to him. Then they went into Leinster to Fiachu Bacceda, son of Cathair, who drove the Hui Bairrche for them out of their land; and there the Dessi were settled until the time of Crimthann, son of Enna

¹ So that its butt-end struck the forehead of the steward and came out at the back of his head. At the same time did the son and the steward fall and Cormac's eye was broken; and they could not lay hold of him, so that he reached his house. And he killed nine of Cormac's warriors as they were pursuing him, and his fosterson was with him, to wit, Corc Duibne (from whom are the Corco Duibne), who had escaped from hostageship—*Laud*.

² Now the Hill of Skreen.

³ *i.e.* Brecc. ⁴ For *balobrathair* read *folabrathair*, 3rd sing. pres. ind. of *folabrur*.

haimsir Crimthaind maic Ennæ Ceinselaig maic Labrada maic Bresail Belaig maic Fiachach Baicceda.¹

7. Dorala læch² amra la hu³ Bairrchi .i. Eochu Guinech mac Oengusa, co rosglan side dia thir.⁴ Berthius Crimthand mac Ennæ i n-Aird Ladrann fodes⁵ immirge na n-Deisse, conid de ata Tir na Himmergi 7 Aes na Himmergi o shein ille.

8. Mell ingen Ernbraind ben Crimthaind bert macco do Chrimthund 7 atbath Mell iar suidiu. Ocus dobreth Cuiniu ingen Ernbraind do iarum.⁶ Bert Cuiniu ingen do .i. Eithne Uathach. Bæ Bri mac Bairceda in drui isin dun in n-aidchi⁷ rogenair Eithne. [fo. 72b, 1] ‘Ind ingen rogenair⁸ inuocht,’ ar Bri, ‘rosfessatar⁹ fir Herenn uili¹⁰ 7 ardaig na hingine sin gebait a mathre in tir artrefat.¹¹ Amail atchualatar¹² som coir in sceoil sin lasin druid,¹³ co mbad tria chumachtu na hingine nogebtais forbbæ,¹⁴ rosaltatar¹⁵ for carnaib¹⁶ mac mbec co mbad luath no-assad.¹⁷ Is de ba Heithne Uathach a hainm-se, ardaig nos-aigtis in meicc bicc.¹⁸

¹ Rodlomtha trá co mbatar oco Hard na nDéise hi crich Laighen for Mag Liffe. Fiacho Baicceda immurgu mac Cathair Moir, is hé ba rígh in inbaid sin hil-Laighnib. Cart side Au Barreche rempu assa tír 7 suidigestar na Déisse and. Rothrebsat and co haimsir Crimthain mic Censelaig mic Endai Labrada mic Bresail Belaig mic Fiachach Baceda. Is 'na haimsir-side tollotar na Deisse for longais. ² Robúi óclách ³ d'uib ⁴ tír (*sic leg.*) ⁵ berthus Crimthan mac Censelaich issind Aird fodeissin. ⁶ Bert Meld ingen Ernburind maccu do-side. O rodamuir side dobreth Annu ingen Er[n]bruind dobert side óeningen (*sic*) do .i. Ethne a hainm ⁷ Búi Brí faith mic Bairchetia isin dún ind adaich sin ⁸ gignathar ⁹ rofessatar ¹⁰ om. L. ¹¹ Is tria chumachta gebaid am-mathre thír arattrefat co bráth ¹² rochualatar ¹³ faith ¹⁴ tír ¹⁵ nosgabatsom 7 nosnaltatar ¹⁶ feolaib ¹⁷ luathite a forbairt ¹⁸ ar donaigtis na maic becca.

Censelach, son of Labraid, son of Bressal Belach, son of Fiachu Bacceda.

7. There chanced to be a famous warrior with the Hui Bairrchi, to wit, Eochu Guinech, son of Oengus,¹ and he it was who drove them out of their land. Then Crimthann, son of Enna, sent the wandering host of the Dessi to Ard Ladrann southward, whence the Land of the Wandering Host and the Folk of the Wandering Host have been so called ever since.

8. Meld, the daughter of Ernbrand, the wife of Crimthand, bore sons to Crimthand and then died, whereupon Cuiniu, the daughter of Ernbrand, was married to him.

Cuiniu bore him a daughter, even Ethne the Dread. In the night when Ethne was born Bri, the druid, son of Bairchid,² was in the stronghold. 'The maiden that has been born to-night,' said Bri, 'all the men of Ireland shall know her, and on account of this maiden her mother's kindred will seize the land on which they shall dwell.' When they heard the truth of that story from the druid, that it was through the power of the maiden that they would obtain inheritance, they reared her on the flesh of little boys that she might grow quickly.³ Hence Ethne the Dread was her name, for the little boys dreaded her.

¹ Cf. Crimthand mac Ennæ. Eochu guinech rí húa mBairrchi, mac a ingini féin, rosmarb, LL. 39 b.

² Cf. Brí mac Baircheda, LL. 197 a 3.

³ the quicker.—*Laud.*

9. Is e a senathair in druad sin dano rochachain¹ a n-imthechta doib hic tuidecht atuaid hi cath Truisten.² Is ann asbert: 'Ni o Temair dochumlaid ticid ticid doth-aide gluind mara cotobcathla crethit cetnaanad tuidecht do mac Daurthecht deirthe Eogan sceo echta scen macco Echach Airiman Artt ero Corp coitual cel cichsit datfiannæ im Findchad mac Niod atroinne noifidir ruthit min mairfitit coicthe rann Dil diairithe Lethe Laidcind ilar lenthus diacoi crochæ marfit Dil nad flathius gaile genithar gaibthiut co firu Fochlæ ifaitse dosclich doarnid arus mac Meschuirb mogithar dalsus condesil fidgella forderga ordd araserb slas ninde mac nDega diagraif arrigthius rige os cach ros codidian desingar ar Ros mac Feochair feig falnathar cotafodlaib fergair cain iarnithu mac Riath rascthius itreichnimi conoid ni.' Ni.³

10. Ticht⁴ tra o Chormac i n-diaid mac mBric .i. Ros 7 Eogan, co ndigsitis afrithisi co Cormac. Amail rochuala Oengus, asbert friu:⁵ 'In fir,' ar se, 'tuidecht fri himmarchur sid 7 choræ frib-se? ['Fír,']⁶ ol seat. 'Ronbia slan cach neich dorigensam⁷ 7 ronbiat da chutrumma ar tire liar tir fodesin⁸ 7 og coræ co brath.'

¹ dicachain ² o chath Druissen oc tuidecht antueth ³ Nitho Themuir dochumlith ticith dofaiteth gluind mair conib cath crechtnigther aratuitet da mac Durthacht dercthus echen sceo echde sceo mac mair-Echach ere maine arl erc corba maccu delchidechsit dodareim Findchath mac Níathait no Endi rofitir ruithid find niar-fithid codersaínd Dil dia rathus Lithi Laidcend hilar lentus dia Chondochtæ norbe dal nad lathugaile gainethur gaibidith co fíro Foichle hi foidse dosfeth tus ar dith arus mac Meschuirp mogethar dalsus condeisel ditafind gola folt forderga ord æra serbsi as indin indinn dega grisas rigthus rigib os cech rus condirannais ingair arus mac maic Fechuir fech fellnatar contofodli fergair conarnith mac Níath naiscthus hi trena hi triach none conoethu nithu Ni o Themuir dochumlit. ⁴ Tóhet ⁵ dotéit co maccu [fo. 100 a 2] a brathar dia n-acallaim. ⁶ sic L. ⁷ do neoch dongnisiu ⁸ da tír lar tír

9. Now, it was that druid's grandfather, who had sung their wanderings to them as they went from the north to the battle of Truistiu.¹ 'Tis then he said: 'Not from Tara, &c.'

10. Then messengers were sent from Cormac after the sons of Brecc, even Russ and Eogan, that they should come back to Cormac. When Oengus heard that, he said to them: 'Is it true,' said he, 'that they have come on an errand of peace² and treaty with you?' 'It is true,' said they. 'We are to be absolved of everything that we have done, and we are to have twice as much again as our own land, together with our own land and full peace till Doom.' 'Do not do it,' said Oengus, 'leave me not alone!

¹ Or, perhaps, 'at the Ford (*ie dth*) of Truistiu.'

² In the present state of our knowledge of Old-Irish it is impossible to understand more than an occasional word or phrase in these rhapsodical compositions. A comparison of the two versions shows how little they were understood by the scribes themselves.

³ Cf. *do immarchor chóre*, Wb. 5 a 5.

‘Na¹ denid,’ ar Oengus, ‘nadimfacbaid-se² m’oenur! Ro-forbia³ da trian in⁴ tire araglainfem.⁵ Remthus⁶ do for clannaib for mo chlainn-se co brath. Ocus mo chlann-sa do dul i cath 7 hi crích ria cach 7 do bith fodeoid ic tudecht a crích.⁷ Ocus co n-irglantar tír remib.⁸ Nachimfacbaid-se!’ Dorigset⁹ iarum anisin 7 dobretha¹⁰ fir¹¹ fris . i . fir ciche 7 gruaide, nime 7 talman, gréne 7 esca, druchta 7 daithe, mara 7 tire.

11. Luid Eochaid mac Arttchuirp dar muir cona chlaind hi crích Demed,¹² conid ann atbathatar¹³ a maic 7 a hui. Conid dib cenel Crimthaind allæ,¹⁴ diata Tualodor mac Rígin maic Catacuind maic Caittienn maic Clotenn maic Næe maic Artuir maic Rethoir maic Congair maic Gartbuir maic Alchoil maic Trestin maic Aeda Brosc maic Corath maic Echach Almuir maic Arttchuirp.¹⁵

12. Dobert Cormac húa Cuind breic im [d]a milid Oengusa ind rig¹⁶ . i . Grainne 7 Moinne, diatat¹⁷ Granraige 7 Moinrige. Atberthi¹⁸ uad fri cechtar de i n-ecmais¹⁹ araile: ‘Is bec do brig lat rig, a Grainne.’²⁰ Ni tabar hi cosmailius fri Moinne nGall.²¹ Asbered a chummat cetna fri Moinne. Et asbeir side fri Oengus: ‘Dia nomthabarthar-sa’²² hi

¹ nach ² nachamfacbaid-si ³ robarbiat ⁴ om. L ⁵ aran-
glanfam ⁶ tús ⁷ essi ⁸ corroglantar tír dúib ⁹ dogniat
¹⁰ dobretha *with punctum delens under a—L.* ¹¹ fer *add. L.*
¹² Demeth ¹³ robo marbh 7 ¹⁴ Crimthaind alle ¹⁵ Taulodar
mac Rígin mic Catien mic Clothienn mic Noé mic Artuir mic Petuir
mic Congair mic Goirtiben mic Alcon mic Tresund mic Aeda mic
Brosc mic Corach mic Echdach Allmair mic Airtchuirp. ¹⁶ bréic im
dunuth oenguill ind rí (sic) ¹⁷ diata ¹⁸ asbreth ¹⁹ i n-ecndairg
(corrected out of ecndairt) ²⁰ a Granfir ²¹ co n-érbrad hi cosmailius
fri Méinne nGall ²² dia nomtarta-sa

You shall have two thirds of the land which we shall clear, precedence to your children over my own children till Doom, and my own children to go to battle and across the border before every one, and to be the last to come out of the enemy's land. And they shall clear the land before you. Do not leave me!' Then they did that, and truth was pledged for it, to wit, truth of breast and cheek, of heaven and earth, of sun and moon, of dew and drop, of sea and land.

11. Eochaid, son of Artchorp, went over sea with his descendants into the territory of Demed, and it is there that his sons and grandsons died. And from them is the race of Crimthann over there, of which is Teudor son of Regin, son of Catgocaun, son of Cathen, son of Cloten, son of Nougoy, son of Arthur, son of Petr, son of Cincar, son of Guortepir, son of Aircol, son of Triphun, son of Aed Brosc,¹ son of Corath, son of Eochaid Allmuir, son of Artchorp.

12. Cormac, the grandson of Conn, played a trick upon two soldiers of Oengus the King, to wit, Grainne and Moinne, from whom Granraige and Moinrige are so called. He caused it to be said to either of them in the absence of the other: 'Small is thy esteem with thy king, O Grainne. Thou art not deemed worthy to be compared to Moinne the Gall.' The same thing was said to Moinne. Then the latter said to Oengus: 'If I am put in comparison with Grainne, I shall put this spear through thee.' When Cormac knew the order of the watch which would come

¹ As Zimmer has shown (*Nennius Vind.*, p. 88) this is the Ewein Vreisc of Teudos' pedigree in the Jesus College MS. 20, fo. 35b. I have restored the Welsh forms of the names according to Anscombe's Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies, *Archiv. für celt. Lexikographie*, i, pp. 187-212.

cubes fri Grainne, dobér-sa in sleig se triut-su.' O raftir Cormac ord na haire dodasicfad a ndis i n-oenaidchi immoalle. It he rotheilcset slog fair inna dun 7 rongeguin indara de 7 roort mac a brathar 'moalle fris.¹

13. Dosbert Crimthann i n-Ard Ladrann iarsain. Et d[o]coirsetar maic Crimthain cocad frisna Deisse² .i. Eochu, is e rogab doib in ndarbne cona frenaib (*sic*) 7 doscartsat im-maidm as hi tir n-Osairge.

14. Imaittreib doib alla aniar hi Commur Tri n-Usce hir-rind tire Tigernaich.³ Ardosfaicce⁴ ri Osraige matan moch iar ndenam a n-aittreib.⁵ 'Is mili tige 7 mile ndethach ani thall,' ar se. Is de asberar Milidach.⁶ Gebtait forn (*sic*). Atasaigid hi tenid, loiscitir a nhuile aittreba⁷ 7 nistalla leo thiar iarsuidiu.⁸ Doloingset as 7 dothaegat iar⁹ muir siar, co n-gabsat i nHirhuilind tiar.¹⁰

15. [fo. 72b, 2] Isind aimsir sin ba marb ben Oengusa maic Nadfraich rig Caisil¹¹, et dothæt nech uad do thochmarc na hingine cucco, ar robæ Eithne moalle friu-som thiar. Atrogell Oengus a tri rinnroisc di. Batar se a tri rindroisc .i. faithchi Chaissil¹² o Luaisc co Caissel do

¹ Ar roftir Cormac ord n-aire nachommitethe roftir donticfad oenadaig immele side. Tolléicset slog fair inna dún 7 geguin indele he 7 huit mac a brathar immelle. ² Inn uair ropo marb Crimthan mac Censelaig, dogensat Lagin coccad friu-som. ³ O roftir Osseirge immarthrub alle aniar fri Comur tri n-Uisci ir-rind tire Echach ⁴ atchi ⁵ atriub ⁶ Is mile tige ani thall, ol se, conid desin rohainmniged Milithach. ⁷ huile in att-[fo. 100b 2] ruib ⁸ nistall thair hisuidiu ⁹ dothiagat tar ¹⁰ tiar thoss ¹¹ hi Caisiul. Ardrig Caisil 7 Muman heside ¹² Is mo inrasc-sa ém ol si, faithchi Chaisil.

to them on the same night together. . . . 'Tis they who let in a host upon him in his fortress, and one of them wounded him, and his brother's son was slain together with him.

13. Thereupon Crimthann sent them into Ard Ladrann. And after the death of Crimthann, his sons made war upon the Dessi; and one of them, Eochu, took the oak with its roots to them.² And in a rout they drove them out into the land of Ossory.³

14. There in the east by the meeting of the Three Waters⁴ on a point of the land of Tigernach⁵ they dwelt. Early one morning, after they had built their dwellings, the King of Ossory saw them. 'Yonder,' he said, 'are a thousand houses (*míle tige*) and a thousand smokes.' Hence Miledach⁶ is so-called. He put fire to them,⁷ and all their dwellings are burnt. After that there was no place for them in the east to stay in. They fared forth and went along the sea westward until they settled in Irchuilenn in the (south-)west.

15. At that time the wife of Oengus son of Nadfraich, King of Cashel, died, and a messenger was sent by him to the Dessi to woo the maiden Ethne, for she had been with them in the west. Oengus promised her three wishes. These were her three wishes, to wit, that the meadow land

¹ Something seems omitted here.

² This seems an idiom, which I cannot explain. Cf. *crothais dóib daibre ndall*, *Ir. Texte*, i, p. 108, 4.

³ The ancient kingdom of Ossory comprised nearly the whole of the present county Kilkenny as well as the baronies of Upper Woods, Clandonagh and Clarmallagh in Queen's County.

⁴ The meeting of the rivers Suir, Nore and Barrow near Waterford.

⁵ Eochu, *Laud*.

⁶ A place near the Meeting of the Three Waters. Cf. *commor immar Milidach*, LL. 44 b 9.

⁷ Cf. *adachtatar in crích hi tenid*, LU. 65 a 12.

thabairt di 7 a maithriu do airisem ann. Et in ceneal nothogfaitis¹ do aurglanad rempu 7 a dilsí doib in tiri sin. Et comsaire doib frisna teora Heoganachta Muman . i . E[on]gonacht Raithlind 7 Eoganacht Locha Lein 7 Eoganacht Hua Fidgeinti² co n-Huib Liathain.

16. Togait³ iarum na Deisse Osairgi do aurglanad rempu⁴ 7 do chocad⁵ friu. Lotar da druid lasna Deisse . i . Drong⁶ et Cecht.⁷ Bæ dano drui la Hosairgiu . i . Dil mac Hui Chrecca, 7 roptar daltai doside druid na n-Deisse. Dobertsat na Deisse *secht* catha do Osairgi⁸ 7 romaidset na *secht* catha sin ria n-Osairgi forsna Deissib⁹ hi Lethet Laidcind i n-Ard Chatha.⁹

17. Dobreth Eithne Uathach iarsin comairle dia meithre . i . dula¹⁰ co cenn adchomairc Muman, co fath-brithemain¹¹ Casil, co [Lugaid] Laigde Cosc, conid he roscobair tria gæs 7 trebare.¹² Ba he ba brithem do Chorecu Laigde. Ar robæ¹³ imthus do¹⁴ Chorecu Laigdi 7 do Eoganacht hi Caissiul¹⁵ . i . intan nobid ri do Chorecu Laigdi, nobid brithem do Eoganacht. Oengus mac Nad-fraich ba ri in tan sin 7 Lugaid Laigdi Cosc¹⁶ ba brithem.

¹ dongoetais ² 7 comsoere doib fri rig teora ndEoganachta Muman . i . rí Raithlind 7 rí Lochræ 7 rí huad (*sic*) Fidgeinti ³ togdutar
⁴ rembi ⁵ do chath ⁶ Droch ⁷ do sil maccu Crecca *add. L.*
⁸ for na Déisse ⁹ il leith Laidcind . i . Art. Asberat araile is xxx. cath ¹⁰ Is and airlestar Ethne Huathach dona Déisib dia haitib dul doib ¹¹ brithem ¹² Luigith Core (*sic*), is he nodairlestar ar a gais 7 ar a threbairi. ¹³ ata ¹⁴ etir ¹⁵ o aimsir Dárine 7 Derethine, a brithemna do chlandaib Luighdech 7 rigi do chlandaib Auglum (*sic*), rigi dano do chlandaib Luigdech 7 brithemnas do chlandaib Auluim, co roimchla lith ifectsa rige dogrés la clannaib [fo. 101 b 1] Auluim 7 breithemnus dogrés la clandaib Luighdech.
¹⁶ Luigith Cosc.

of Cashel from Luasc to Cashel be given to her, for her mother's kindred to dwell there, that the tribe which they would choose should clear the land before them, which should then belong to them; and that they should be as free as the three Eoganacht of Munster, to wit, the Eoganacht of Raithlenn, the Eoganacht of Loch Lein and the Eoganacht of the Hui Fidgenti together with the Hui Liathain.

16. Then the Dessi chose the people of Ossory to be cleared out before them and to fight against. There were two druids with the Dessi, to wit, Drong and Cecht; and there was also a druid with those of Ossory, Dil, the descendant of Crecca, and the druids of the Dessi had been foster-sons of his. The Dessi fought seven battles with the men of Ossory at Lethet Laidcind in Ard Catha,¹ in all of which they were routed by the men of Ossory.

17. Then Ethne the Dread advised her mother's kinsfolk to go to the chief counsellor of Munster, the seer-judge of Cashel, Lugaid Laigde Cosc. He by his wisdom and prudence helped them. He was judge to the Corco Laigdi. For there had been an interchange between the Corco Laigdi and the Eoganacht² in Cashel (from the time of Darfine and Derethine), to wit, whenever there was a king of the Corco Laigdi, there was a judge of the Eoganacht. Oengus, son of Nadfraich, was king at that time, and Lugaid Laigde Cosc was judge.

¹ Others say there were thirty battles.—*Laud.*

² Between the children of Lugaid and the children of (Ailill) Olum.—*Laud.*

18. Tiagait maithi na nDeisse 7 Eithne Huathach leo co *Lugaid*¹ Cosc 7 asberat fris: ‘Ronfoire’ im chobair dún.² Rotbia tir linn dar a eisse cen chis, cen chongabail,³ cen dunad, cen biathad, 7 ni thicfam dar cert ar do chlaind co brath.⁴ Naidmthir⁵ fir n-Oengussa 7 fir n-Eithne 7 fir flatha na nDeisse fri sodain. ‘Congraid for ndruid dam-sa,’ ar *Lugaid*⁶ Cosc, .i. Droch 7 Checht. Congrait⁷ do, et dobretha di muinnir .i. da phaitt doib,⁸ hit e lana do fin. Dobreth doib-sium a tirib Gall 7 biad Gall lais, ar ba mescamail sobruige inti nochaithead.⁹ ‘Berid in fricill¹⁰ se do for n-aite 7 apraid fris at for n-aithrig do debaid fris.¹¹ Et berid tecosc¹² dia ingin iar n-ol ind finæ.’¹³

19. Dorigset amlaid.¹⁴ Et arfofet DÍl¹⁵ in fricill¹⁶ 7 roscar-som ind ingen 7 ro-oslaid in fuiriud rempu.¹⁷ Dall *didiu* in Dil.¹⁸ Rochomairc ind ingen dó ar belaib a dalta isin tan ba mesc.¹⁹ ‘A mo sruith,’ ar ind ingen, ‘im bia tesargain²⁰ na nDeisse indorsa?’²¹ ‘Biaid amæ,’²² ar Dil, ‘mad i n-urd turchad grían foraib 7 na robeotais 7 na roruibtis nech ann. Ar inti bifas nó genfas nech do slog araile immarach ar thus, noco n-aittrefa in tir sin²³ co

¹ Luigith ² Tonfairne ³ a Lugith *add.* ⁴ chongbail ⁵ 7
ni thesbea a chert co brath ⁶ adguiter ⁷ Gairthir dam-sa tra,
ar Lugith, bar ndrúidi ⁸ congairter ⁹ dobeir da muinirlana doib
¹⁰ biath na nGall laiss 7 it he noithed a bargin namma. ¹¹ Berith
inso ¹² abraid is he bar n-aithrech debuid fris ¹³ tecosc
¹⁴ tria mesci in fina iarna ol ¹⁵ Dogensat som aní sein ¹⁶ som
¹⁷ nisreccoll (*sic*) ¹⁸ cartait som in ingin Dil 7 asoele a forud remib
¹⁹ ropu dall Dil ²⁰ ni chuingen ba frit comairc ind ingen o ropo
mesc ar belaib a da dalta ²¹ im bui tesorcud ²² innosa ²³ báí,
a muinecan ²⁴ mad mattain foraib imbarach ni urd 7 ni fuibitis
nech n-and. Ar inti on gontar nech imbarach ni aitreba a tir so

18. The nobles of the Dessi, and Ethne the Dread with them, went to Lugaid Cosc and said to him: 'Help us! Thou shalt have land with us for it without rent, without seizure, without levy of host or food, nor shall we ever trespass against thy descendants.' The truth of Oengus and of Ethne and of the princes of the Dessi is pledged for this. 'Call your druids to me,' said Lugaid Cosc, 'even Droch and Cecht.' They were called to him, and they gave them two jars full of wine, which had been brought to them¹ from the lands of Gaul, together with food of Gaul; for he who would eat and drink it would be intoxicated and sober (at the same time). 'Take this gift to your tutor and say to him that ye repent of fighting against him. And he will instruct his daughter after he has drunk the wine.'

19. They did so. And Dil accepted the gift, and the girl divided it and opened (?) . . . before them.² Dil, however, was blind. Then, when he was drunk, the maiden asked him before his two foster-sons: 'O my venerable (father)' said she, 'will there be rescue for the Dessi now?' 'Indeed, there will be,' said Dil, 'if the sun rise upon them in battle-order and they slay and wound no one. For he who will first slay or wound any one of the other host to-morrow morning, shall not inhabit this land till Doom.' 'Perhaps there will be no

¹ i.e., to Oengus and Lugaid, as Rawl. indicates by the insertion of marks of reference over *dóib-sium* and the two names.

² I do not know what *forud* or *fuiríud* may mean. Perhaps it is O'Clery's *fúireadh* .i. *ullmhúghadh*.

brath.' 'Bess ni hingnad anisin," ar ind ingen, ardaig co cloistis na gillæ. 'Dia mbeind hi cœmthecht na nDesse,² nodolbfaind³ boin deirg do duiniu 7 nogonfaitis Osairgi, in boin sin."⁴

20. Mosdáilet an druid⁵ cosna Deissib fochetoir fothuaid do Chasiul 7 doberat na Dessi leo co m-batar i n-urd matan moch iarnabarach.⁶ Astuat tenid⁷ cairthind ann 7 foidit a diaid sair co Hosairgib. Tecait⁸ Osairgi iarum co Hinneoin 7 fucairthir la Dil na rorubtha 7 na robeota nech dona Deissib ann.⁹ Dolbait dano druid na n-Deisse aithech¹⁰ hi richt bo dergce¹¹ . i . Dochet a anmain,¹² ar soire dia chlaind dogrés. Teit iarum ina ndail¹³ 7 cot-meil foraib 7 giallaid gail 7 gonair forsind ath fri Indeoin aniar.¹⁴ Is de asberar Ath Bo Deirge. Conid iarum adchonnecatar co mba¹⁵ colann duine iarna guin.

21. Maitte for Ossairgib sair co Handobru¹⁶ (*sic*) 7 imsoat Ossairgi a sain 7 doberat a mbiu¹⁷ 7 am-marbu coema i n-airther Ratha sair.¹⁸ Maidte foraib atherruch o Andobur

¹ Bess ni gontar em ² Mad me bad chend athchomairc
laisna (*sic*) Déssib ³ nodoilfind ⁴ nosgonfatis Ossirge.
⁵ Tochumlat iarsain in da drúith ⁶ Tosberat co mba mattin
foraib i n-urd ⁷ attáit tenti ⁸ Totet ⁹ [fo. 101b 2] Focairther
o Dil arna rogonta nech ann dona Déssib ¹⁰ senaithech and dona
Déisib ¹¹ máile *add.* ¹² Docheth a hainm ¹³ Teit dochum in
tshluaig sair ¹⁴ Cid dognither thiar innossa, a gillai? or Dil. Tene
do fhatóg 7 bó derg do thelud forsín n-áth aniar. Ni ba hi ma món,
ar se. Na gonat ind fhír in boin, ar se. Noslecet seccu. Nosgonait
gillai na n-ech iarna cúl 7 lecit gair impe. Cissi gáir so, a gillai? or
se. Inna gillai oc guin na bo. Fe fe amái! or sé. Mo charput dam!
ar se. A hord slaitir Indeoin. ¹⁵ corbo ¹⁶ Handobor ¹⁷ beritt
a n-aithbiu ¹⁸ condicee airther Rátha Machuthnoe for brú Andobor

slaying then,' said the girl, so that the young men should hear it. 'If I were in the company of the Dessi, I should by magic shape a man into a red cow, so that the men of Ossory would kill that cow.'

20. Forthwith the druids repair northward to Cashel to the Dessi and take them with them in battle-order early on the next morning. They light a fire of rowan there and send its smoke eastward into Ossory. Thereupon the men of Ossory come to Inneoin, and it was proclaimed by Dil that no one of the Dessi should be slain or wounded there. But the druids of the Dessi formed an old serf, Docheth by name, into the shape of a red (hornless) cow, promising freedom to his descendants for ever. Then the cow went to encounter the men of Ossory and flings herself upon them, and¹ and is killed at the ford² westward of Inneoin,³ whence the Ford of the Red Cow is so called. And then they saw it was the body of a man that had been slain.

21. The men of Ossory were routed eastward as far as the Andobur,⁴ and there they turn and take their

¹ I do not know what *giallaim gail* may mean. As Strachan points out to me, the phrase seems a corruption of *gáelaim gail*, which occurs in *Salt. na Rann*, l. 6167. Laud gives a more detailed account: 'What are they doing in the west now, my lads?' said Dil. 'They are kindling a fire and letting a red cow into the ford from the west.' 'That is not my work. Do not let the men kill the cow!' said he. They let her go past them. But the horse-boys behind their back kill her and raise a shout. 'What shout is that, my lads?' said Dil. 'The horseboys are slaying the cow.' 'Woe is me!' said Dil. 'Bring me my chariot.'

² This must be a ford on the river Suir.

³ Also called Indeoín na n Déssi, now Mullach Indeona, a townland near Clonmel. See O'Don. F.M. A.D. 852.

⁴ This I take to be the river Anner, a tributary of the Suir, co. Tipperary. It is called Annúir by Keating (*Gaelic League Series of Irish Texts*, I, p. 204).

co Lainen.¹ Na hothurbi² forfacabsat Ossairgi i n-airthiur Ratha rosgegnatar³ na Desse oc tintud⁴ anair. Is de ata Belach n-Eca iar⁵ fiad Ratha.

22. Rannait iarum na Dessi i cetrīb rannaib na tiri sin.⁶ Cach clann tarraid in cethramaid sin, ata a chuit isin tir.⁷ Coeca toirgi lasna Dessib, a .xxu.⁸ [fo. 73a, 1] dib tarthatar raind 7 a .xxu.⁹ aile na⁹ tarthatar 7 is dona toirgib sin is ainm Dessi, ar it e fil fo chis¹⁰ 7 dligud 7 bothachas¹¹ na nDeisse¹² dona flaithib . i . do Dail Fiachach Suidge 7 ni hainm doib-side Deisse. Cach¹³ longas tra rofitir Eithne Huathach la Herind dosreclam¹⁴ cosna Deisse, fobith nodigbaitis¹⁵ Dal Fiachach Suidge isna¹⁶ cathaib mencib.

23. Do thoirgib na nDessi inso sis.
Dobert¹⁷ Semuin¹⁸ di Ultaib cucu, diatat Semuine.¹⁹

Dobert cuco Nemungin²⁰ di Huaithnib . l . diatat Nechtarge.

¹ conod hi sein in choierich co brath etir na Deisi 7 Osseirge. Amail ossa, is amlaid rorathatar ass. Is de ata Osseirgi forair 7 rofaithaigset na Desi inna tīr co brath. ² na hothair ³ nosgegnatar ⁴ impud ⁵ hi ⁶ Ronnit a cetraind tīre hī sein ⁷ Nach duine tarnaid in cetraind sin, ata a chuit ar a raind sin. ⁸ cuic fichet ⁹ nach ¹⁰ deisis ¹¹ bodagas ¹² na nDeisse *om. L.* ¹³ nach ¹⁴ dosfuide ¹⁵ arcrunad ¹⁶ isnaib ¹⁷ Tobeir ¹⁸ Semon mac Oengusa maic Cel[t]chair maic Huithechair ¹⁹ Semoni ²⁰ Nemongen mac Nechtain

wounded and their dead nobles into the front part of Rath Machuthnoe¹ (on the bank of the Andobur) in the east. Again they were routed from the Andobur to the Lainen², (which is the boundary between the Dessi and the men of Ossory till Doom. They ran away like deer (*ossa*).) As the Dessi were returning from the east they killed the wounded men whom those of Ossory had left behind in the front part of the fortress. Hence the Road of Death along the front³ of the fortress is so called.

22. Thereupon the Dessi divide those lands into four parts. Each family which came into this first division has its share in the land. There are fifty septs among the Dessi, of whom twenty-five got a share, while the other twenty-five did not; and the former are called Dessi, for it is they who are under rent and law and hut-tax⁴ to the princes, viz. to the Division of Fiachu Suidge, and the latter are not called Dessi. Every exiled band, however, of which Ethne the Dread knew in Ireland, she gathered to the Dessi, because the Division of Fiachu Suidge had been diminished in so many battles.

23. Of the septs of the Dessi.

She brought Semon (son of Oengus, son of Celtchar, son of Utthechar) of the men of Ulster to them (with 150 men) from whom are the Semuine.⁵

She brought to them Nemongen (son of Nechtan) of the Uaithni, with fifty men, from whom are the Nechtarge.

¹ Not identified.

² This is the river now called Lingaun (from Mod. Ir. Laineán) which forms the boundary between the barony of Iffa and Offa East and that of Iverk.

³ Here I take *fiad* (W. *gŵydd*) to be the noun which has passed into the nominal preposition *fiad* 'coram.'

⁴ *bothachas* (*bodagas*), the tax payed by a *bothach* or 'hut-dweller, cottar.'

⁵ Cf. LL. 331c: Clann Sem diatát Semni na nDesi.

Dobert¹ cuco tri macco Lugdach² Cosca britheman Corco
Laigdi a Cassiul. 1.³

Tri chóicait dano do thrib maccaib Oengusa maic Derbchon
maic Cormaic Ul[f]atai, de quibus Mechain.⁴

Coea do maccaib Feideilmid Brufir,⁵ de quibus⁶ Bruirige.

Coea do maccaib Odro,⁷ de quibus Odraige.⁸

Nonbur di maccaib Ditha do Ernaib, de quibus⁹ Corco
Ditha.

Cet læch luid Benta in t-eces⁹ di Uлтаib, de quo⁶ Bent-
raige.

Nonbur do maccaib Conaill maic Neill, de quo⁶ Condrige.¹⁰

Nonbur do maccaib Suird maic Mugdornæ Duib, de quo
Sordraige.¹¹

Nonbur do maccaib Munigblæ maic Mugdornæ Duib,¹² de
quibus⁶ Duibrige. Maic ingine Briuin in sin.

. ix . do maccaib Mugdornæ Cerbfir do Chairige.¹³

. ix . do maccaib Laidir maic Firchi do Ldraige.¹⁴

Tri nonbuir do Oengus Fírgabræ mac Conaire maic Messi
Buachalla do Gabraige.¹⁵

¹ Dobeir ² Luigdech ³ Tri choicait lin Semoín, cóica lin
maccu Luigdech, coica lin maccu Nemongin. ⁴ Coica læch do
maccaib Oengusa Darcon maic Cormaice Aulfata dal maic
Con. ⁵ Feidlimthi Bruirir ⁶ diata ⁷ Bru nó
Odro R. di Hultaib *add. L.* ⁸ Odrige ⁹ Cét læch
lin hue maic Bind ind ecis ¹⁰ Conrige ¹¹ Soirt maic Doirna
diata Sorthrige ¹² Muindigblæ maic Maugdornæ diata Loch
Muindig hi tirib Maugdornæ ¹³ Nonbur do maccaib Cerir maic
Mugdornæ diata Ciarraige. ¹⁴ Nonbur do maccaib Latfir diatat
Latridge . i . maic Fir Cooch ¹⁵ diatat Gabrige

She brought to them the three sons of Lugaid Cosc, judge of the Corco Laigdi, from Cashel, with fifty men.

Next, 150 men of the three sons of Oengus, son of Derbchu (Oengus Darchu), son of Cormac Ulfata, de quibus Mechain (Dál Maic Chon).

Fifty men of the sons of Fedilmid Brufer, de quibus Brurige.

Fifty men of the sons of Odro, from Ulster, de quibus Odraige.

Nine men of the sons of Dith, of the Erainn, de quibus Corco Ditha.

A hundred warriors was the number of the descendants of Benta (Mac Bind), the poet from Ulster, de quo Bentraige.

Nine men of the sons of Conall, son of Niall, de quo Condraige.

Nine men of the sons of Sord, son of Mugdorna Dub,¹ de quo Sordraige.

Nine men of the sons of Mundechnlae,² son of Mugdorna Dub, (from whom Loch Muindig³ in the lands of the Mugdoirn⁴ is so called), de quibus Dubrige. These are the sons of Briun's daughter.

Nine men of the sons of Cerbfer (Cerir), son of Mugdorna, from whom are the Ciarraige (Cairige).

Nine men of the sons of Latfer, son of Fer Ceoch, from whom are the Latraige.

Three times nine men of Oengus Fingabra, son of Conaire, son of Mess Buachalla, from whom are the Gabraige.

¹ He was the son of Colla Menn.

² Cf. Mundechnlai and Mundechnlae, LL. 328a 13.

³ Cf. Hinc Loch Demundechn hi tírib Mugdorne, LL. 327h.

⁴ From them the present barony of Cremorne (Crích Mugdorn), co. Monaghan, takes its name.

. ix . do Afir do Ernaib do Uraige.¹

. ix . do Fír Menn mac Cuscraid Mind Macha maic Conchobuir do Mennraige.

. ix . do mac² Glasschaich maic Moga Ruith do Rodraige.³

Tri nonbuir do Oengus Chreca⁴ mac Conchobuir Mæl maic Formæl⁵ di Ultaib. Is e nochrecad goo⁶ hi Temair. A quo Crecreaige.

Binne 7 Eochaid Cóen⁷ do Bintrige 7 do Choenrige. Nonbur doib.

. ix . do Naithir mac Fircheich do Nathraige.⁸

. ix . do Nudfir⁹ do Laignib do Nudraige.¹⁰

. ix . do maccaib Blait do Blatraige.¹¹

. ix . do Nindfir mac Bairrche do Nindrige.¹²

. ix . do FíurLuide ar Sid ar Femen do Ludraige.¹³

. ix . do Chærfir¹⁴ di Chruithnib do Chærige.¹⁵

Tri nonbuir do thrib maccaib Bonnfir do Bonnraige.¹⁶

. ix . do Luthor mac Arda do Luthraige.¹⁷

. ix . do Blotchoin¹⁸ di Bretnaib do Blotraige.¹⁹

¹ Nonbor di Haurir do Hernaib diata Aurige ² maccaib *L.*
³ Roithrige ⁴ Crece ⁵ Máil maic Formail ⁶ crec
gai ⁷ Coene ⁸ Nothir mac Fírceoch diata Nothrige
⁹ Nudir ¹⁰ diata Nudrige ¹¹ Blathrig diata Blathrige
¹² *L. omits this paragraph.* ¹³ hiSid ar Femon di Hultaib nad aicidacht
diata Luidrige ¹⁴ Celir ¹⁵ diata Celrigi ¹⁶ Trí maic Boindfir
buachala Eithne diata Boendrige ¹⁷ Nonbur [do] Libur mac Arta
diata Lubrige. ¹⁸ Blóthchum ¹⁹ diata Blodrige

Nine men of Aurir of the Erainn, from whom are the Aurige.

Nine men of Fer Menn, son of Cuscraid Menn of Macha, son of Conchobor, from whom are the Mennraige.¹

Nine men of the son (sons) of Glaschach, son of Mug Ruith from whom are the Rodraige.

Three times nine men of Oengus Crece, son of Conchobor Mael, son of Formael, of the men of Ulster—'tis he who sold spears in Tara—a quo Crecraige.

Binne and Eochaid Coen, from whom are the Bintrige and Coenrige. They were nine.

Nine men of Nothir, son of Fer Ceoch, from whom are the Nothrige.

Nine men of Nudfer from Leinster, from whom are the Nudraige.

Nine men of the sons of Blat, from whom are the Blatraige.

Nine men of Nindfer, son of Bairche, from whom are the Nindrige.

Nine men of FerLuide from Sid ar Femun, from whom are the Ludraige.

Nine men of Caerfer (Celir) of the Picts, from whom are the Caerige (Celrige).

Three times nine men of the three sons of Bonnfer (the cowherd of Ethne), from whom are the Bonnrige.

Nine men of Luthor (Liber), son of Art, from whom are the Luthraige (Luburige).

Nine men of Blotchu of the Britons, from whom are the Blotrige.

¹ Mendraige, LL. 331b, 16.

- . ix . do Grutbit *mac* Dubain do Grutbrige.¹
- . ix . do *mac* Buidb² do Bodbrige.
- . ix . do *mac* Grinnir do Ulaib do Grinnrige.³
- . ix . do Gallaib do Muinrige im *mac* Muinmind.⁴
- . ix . do Maine *mac* Cuinrige.⁵
- . ix . do *mac* Dimáin do Darfiniu do Choreo Dimaine.⁶
- . ix . do *macco* Ennæ Uniche di Gallaib do Choreco Uniche.⁷
- Coea⁸ do Glasschatt *mac* Ailella Auluim di Chattraige.⁹
- Coea do trib maccaib Mathrach *maic* Ailella Auluimb do Dal *maic* Cuirb.¹⁰
- Coea Tidil¹¹ *maic* Ailella Auluim do Dal Tidil Cichich forsa mbatar . iii . cicheich.¹²
- . ix . do Magneth¹³ Gall do dal Magned.¹³
- . ix . Michoil do Dairfin[i] u di Dal Michoil.¹⁴

¹ Gubrith *mac* Buén diata Gubtrige ² do maccaib Bodb
³ Grán diata Granrige di Hultaib ⁴ *L. omits this paragraph.*
⁵ do *mac* Ainiu *maic* Cuirir diata Cuirrige ⁶ Dímáini di Darin
dia-[fo. 101 a 2] tá Corco Din ⁷ Endi Uniche diatat Corco
Huíniche do Gallaib ⁸ Coíca fer ⁹ diata Catrige.
¹⁰ Mathrach *maic* Ailella Auluim. Ingen Fírgair a mathair, diata
dal Mathrach. Coíca d'úib *maic* Cuirp *maic* Ailella Auluim diatat dál
maic Cuirp. ¹¹ coíca di huib Didil. ¹² dál Didil cét cíge forsarabí.
¹³ Maignén ¹⁴ Mechon *mac* Dare di Darine diata dál Mechon

Nine men of Grutbit (Gubrith maccu Buen), son of Duban, from whom are the Grutbrige (Gubtrige).

Nine men of the son of Bodb, from whom are the Bodb-rige.

Nine men of the son of Grinner (Gran) of Ulster, from whom are the Grinnrige (Granrige).

Nine Gauls of Muinrige with the son of Muinmend.

Nine men of Maine (of the Son of Ainiu, son of Cuirer) from whom are the Cuirrige.

Nine men of the son of Dimain of Darfine, from whom are the Corco Dimaine.

Nine men of the descendant of Enne Uniche of the Gauls, from whom are the Corco Uniche.

Fifty men of Gläschatt,¹ son of Ailell Aulom, from whom are the Cattraige.

Fifty men of the three sons of Mathri,² son of Ailill Aulom (Fergair's daughter was their mother), from whom are the Dál Mathrach. Fifty men of the descendants of Mac Corp, son of Ailill Aulom), from whom are the Dál Maic Chuirp.

Fifty men of Tidel, son of Ailill Aulom, from whom are the Dál Tidil Cíchich, on whom were three (a hundred) teats.

Nine men of Magneth (Maignen) the Gaul, from whom are the Dál Magned (Maignen).

Nine men of Michol (Mechon, son of Dare) from Darfine, from whom are the Dál Michoil (Mechon).

¹ He is called Glass Catha, and his descendants Cathraige in LL. 319b.

² He is called Mathreth, and his descendants Dál Mathra in LL. 319b.

Tri nonbuir do maccaib Dorchon maic Huair do Dal Dorchon.¹

Tri nonbuir do maccaib Luigne² di Ernaib do Dal Luigni.

Coeca do trib maccaib Nuidni maic Conrui do Dal Nuidni.³

. ix . do trib maccaib Niamdæ di Dal Niamdæ.⁴

. xi . do Loiseniu mac Cuinniath do Dal Loscind.⁵

Tri lege⁶ Eithne Huathaig diata Dal Niathlega.⁷

Tri maic Moga Caintich do Dal Mogaide.⁸

Tri maic Cairinne cerdda do Uherdraige.⁹

Læmman¹⁰ mac Niathaig maic Briuin, is e cetnagaibed giallu Ferchair. Fathbrithem.

Cæchros mac Fiaich cetarogaib cath n-Inde do laim.¹¹

24. Teora hingen Ernbraind, Mell 7 Belge¹² 7 Cinnu, dochuatar co Crimthann¹³ a triur, cach hæ¹⁴ i ndiaid araile. Sil Mella o Meill. Húi Beilge o Beilge.¹⁵ Eithne namma ruc Cinnu do.¹⁶

25. O doluid iarum¹⁷ Corbmac asa rige¹⁸ iarna gollad¹⁹ do Oengus mac Artchuirp, gabais Carpre Liphechar in²⁰

¹ *L. omits this paragraph.* ² d'uib Luigni Leithduib ³ Noidne diata dal Nuidn . i . maic Chonrú maic Dare ⁴ Nimde diata dal Nimde ⁵ Luiseniu mac Cumenath diata dal Luiseni ⁶ . iii . laigni ⁷ Mathlego (*sic*) ⁸ Mugo maic Cuthig diata dal Mugith. ⁹ Tri maic Arme cerda diatat Cerdraige ¹⁰ Læbán ¹¹ rogab giallu Fer nGair robo brithem rainni caich Ros mac Féice cetnaragaib cath nIndide do laim ¹² Bele ¹³ Crimthan ¹⁴ dib ¹⁵ Bele ¹⁶ conid hí side dalta na nDéisi 7 rl. *add. L.* ¹⁷ tra ¹⁸ rígu ¹⁹ cháichad ²⁰ *om L.*

Three times nine men of the sons of Dorchu, son of Uar, from whom are the Dál Dorchon.

Three times nine men of the sons Luigne (Lethdub) of the Erainn, from whom are the Dál Luigni.

Fifty men of the three sons of Nuidne, son of Curoi (son of Dáre), from whom are the Dál Nuidni.

Nine men of the three sons of Niamda (Nimde) from whom are the Dál Niaunda (Nimde).

Nine men of Loiscne (Luiseniu) son of Cuinnia (Cumenath), from whom are the Dál Loscind (Luiseni).

Three leeches of Ethne the Dread, from whom are the Dál Niathlega.

Three sons of Mug Caintech (son of Cuthech), from whom are the Dál Mogaide (Mugith).

Three sons of Cairinne (Arme) Cerd, from whom are the Cerdraige.¹

Laemman, son of Niathach, son of Briun, 'tis he who first took hostages of the Fir Gair.² He was a seer-judge.

Caechros, son of Fiach (Feice), who first pledged the battalion of Inde (?).

24. The three daughters of Ernbrand, Mell and Belc and Cinniu were all three married to Crinethann, one after another. From Mell are the Síl Mella, from Belc the Hui Beilce. Cinniu bore Ethne only to him.

25. Now, when Cormac, after having been blinded by Oengus, son of Artchorp, gave up his kingship, Carpre Lifechar took the government in the place of his father. This is what he practised every day before his father: he would put two fingers around the tusk-hilted sword and

¹ A different account of the origin of the Cerdraige Tuilche Gossa will be found in O'Curry's *Lectures*, iii, p. 207, from LL. 320*f*.

² The Fir Gair were descendants of Brecc mac Artchuirp. See LL. 328*6*.

flaith ar belaib a athar. Is i abairt dognid¹ Cormac ar a belaib cach dia .i. dobered a da mer immun colg² ndet 7 a mer hi³ timchul lainne in sceith. Is *ed* noinchoisced sain, slaidi mui[n]*tire* Cairpre immun mBoin[n] sanchan [fo. 73 a 2] .i. do cach leith.⁴ Is de doloinsich⁵ hi crich Lagen. O rabi⁶ Fiachu Sraiptine 7 Colla Huais⁷ 7 Colla Mend do Mugdornaib⁸ rig na nDeisse⁹ .i. Brecc mac Arttchuirp, rochartsat Laigen (*sic*) uaid¹⁰ siar for Commur trian in tsluaig. Tuait do Chassiul do chuingid chobrad o Oengus. Is annsin marbais Fedelmídar Clar mac hui Braichte 7 Anlathe mac Eogain i n-Etarbaine. Is de ata Carn mBrigti ingen¹¹ Dubthaich maic Duib maic Lugdach di Ultaib.

26. In trian iarum doluid atuaid, hit e turcaibset inn ingin .i. Eithni Uathach ingen Crimthainn. Moalle longsigset Osairgi 7 Corco Laigdi, ar it he batar ech—ech—. Ar gabsat o Chommur tri n-usce co Birra Lagen, i mbatar hi tir Osairge, co Heochair anair. Is de ata Ath Fothart 7 Daire Lagen la Hossairgi. Is in und ainser hi lotar¹² na Deisse for Gabruan¹³ 7 Fene for Fídar Mar 7 Fothairt¹⁴ for Gabruan sair. Ar robatar Fothairt for longais iar nGabran¹⁵ iar nguín Echach Domplen maic Carpre Liph-echair do Sarniad¹⁶ mac Cirb¹⁷ brathair Bronaich do Fothartaib.¹⁸

¹ ba sí a breth (*sic*) dogniad ² cailg ³ om. ⁴ in-rochoscacht troso dani sladi muintire Coirpri sainchan immon Bóind di cach leith ⁵ dolonget ⁶ ho robith arna ragegain ⁷ Condla Hos (*sic*) diatat Húi maic Guais ⁸ diatat Mugdornæ ⁹ [fo. 102 a 2] geognaitir ri na nDéisi ¹⁰ leg. Laigin uaidib ¹¹ leg. ingine ¹² tulatar ¹³ Gabran ¹⁴ Fothart ¹⁵ Fothart iar longis for Gabran ¹⁶ Seminaith ¹⁷ Coirpri ¹⁸ diatat Hui Bronaich la Fotharta 7 rl.

one-finger around the boss of the shield. In that way he was instructed to slay the people of Carpre on either side of the Boyne. Hence they went into exile into the territory of Leinster. After Fiachu Sraiptine and Colla Uais and Colla Menn of the Mugdoirn had slain the king of the Dessi, Brecc, son of Artchorp, the men of Leinster drove one third of the host westward to Commur. They sent to Cashel to ask help of Oengus. 'Tis there he killed Fedelmíde Clar, the descendant of Brigit and Anlathe, son of Eogan, in Etarbaine. Hence is the Cairn of Brigit, daughter of Dubthach, son of Dub, son of Lugaid, of Ulster.¹

26. Now, the third who came from the north, 'tis they that reared the maiden Ethne the Dread, the daughter of Crimthann. The men of Ossory and the Corco Laigdi went into exile together, for they² They took land from the Meeting of the Three Waters as far as Birr in Leinster. When they were in the land of Ossory, as far as Eochair in the east. Hence the Ford of the Fothairt and the Oakwood of Leinster in Ossory are so called. At the same time the Dessi went to Gabruan (Gabran) and the Féni to Fid Már and the Fothairt to Gabruan (Gabran), in the east. For the Fothairt were in exile in Gabruan (Gabran), after Echu Domlen, son of Carpre Lifechar had been slain by Sarniad (Seminaith)³ the son of Cerb, the brother of Bronach, of the Fothairt.

¹ Cf. LL. 328a: Secht maic Brigti ingine Dubthaig de Ultaib: Irruis, Fedlimid Clár, a quo Húi Chláre. Iss ed a charn fil i n-Etarphainiu.

² I can make nothing of ech— ech—.

³ He is called Seniach by Tigernach (*Rev. Celt.*, xvii, p. 23), Sémeon by the Four Masters, A.D. 284. In a poem in LL. 48b. 50 Echu Domlén is said to have been slain by Senioth and Sarnia:

*Senioth, Sarnia, noco chel,
is iat romarb Eocho Domlén.*

27. Forsluinte Dal Fiachach Suidge.

Semuinrige, Nechtraige, Bentraige, Odraige, Osraige, Bruirige o Bruru mac Artharu rig Cruthni, Sordraige, Latraige, Carraige, Gabraige, Cairige, Mentrige, Rotraige, Rudraige, Blairige, Ranrige, Luidrige . i . fer luid hi sid, Callraige . iii . maic, Bodraige, Lubentraige, Crobentraige, Corco Che, Corco Ainige, Corco Dithech, Dal Mechoin, Dál Mathrach, Dál Maigne, Dál Luigne, Dál Meneuirp, Dal nInidæ, Dál nUidne, Dál nDorchon, Dorchu mac Linne, Dál Luisene. Hit he insin dia ngairter Deisse . i . ar dihuaise nó ar diahuaise . i . ar immad al-lamdia, nó ar huaise nó ar deisse nó ar diuisse nó ar gaire ind inaid asrogeinset nó ara ndifisse. amail ata a tuirim 7 a taiririud 7 a toirge la cach. Teora bliadna trichat o doludsat¹ na Deisse o Themair co tucsat Lagin dorair doib for Gabruan² 7 for Commur³ Tri nUsci iar maidm secht catha forthu.⁴

¹ dolotar ² Gabrán ³ 7 Chommor ⁴ forsna Déisi 7 rl.
(end of Laud).

27. The by-names¹ of the Divisions of Fiachu Suidge.

Semuinrige, Nechtraige, Bentraige, Odraige, Osraige, Bruirige from Bruru, son of Artharu, king of the Picts, Sordraige, Latraige, Carraige, Gabraige, Cairige, Mentrige, Rotrige, Rudraige, Blairige, Ranrige, Luidrige (viz. a man who went into an elfmound), Callraige (three sons), Bodraige, Lubentraige, Crobentraige, Corco Che,² Corco Ainige, Corco Dithech, Dál Mechoin, Dál Mathrach, Dál Maigne, Dál Luigne, Dál Menchuirp, Dál nInidæ, Dál nUidne, Dál nDorchon (Dorchú mac Linne), Dál Luisne. These they are who are called Dessi, for their great nobleness³ or for the nobleness of their gods, *i.e.* for the number of their idols, or for their skilfulness, or for their great justice, or for their love of the place in which they were born, or for their great celebrity, since their expedition and their wanderings and their marchings are known to every one. It was thirty-three years after the Dessi went from Tara that the men of Leinster gave them battle at Gabruan and at the Meeting of the Three Waters, after having routed the Dessi in seven battles.

¹ forslondud 'over-name,' as distinguished from *prím-slondud* (LL. 312a). Cf. *dá prím-acmi déc do Ernaib 7 cethri forslointe fichet . i . dá forslonnud each aicme*, LL. 324e.

² Cf. *De Chorco Che*, LL. 327e.

³ These are etymological speculations on the name of *Déssi*.

Side Rights on Welsh Jacobitism.

By J. ARTHUR PRICE, B.A.

INTRODUCTION.

MORE than one Welshman has asked me whether it would be not as sensible to write on the snakes of Iceland as on the Jacobites of Wales. The idea that underlies this remark may be unhistorical, but it illustrates the difficulty of the inquiry to which this paper is a feeble contribution. The religious revival of the eighteenth century in Wales turned Welshmen's thoughts in a direction far away from the cult of "the White Rose of Arno," (David Morgan's poetical name for Prince Charlie) and Welsh Jacobitism is to-day so extinct a tradition, that it does not seem absurd to question its very existence.

That Wales in the eighteenth century was far more Jacobite in political sentiment than was England is a fact which to those who have studied the question must nevertheless seem indisputable. To those, whom ignorance makes sceptical, I may recall a few facts. The greatest test of a political faith is its constancy to death. Even after Culloden there still lived, as the pages of *Redgauntlet* show, in the hearts of the faithful few a hope of aid for the Prince from the land of Wales, where the names Cavalier and Roundhead were still in common parlance as party names. And the hope was not without some foundation. As late as 1751 an almanac that found its way into the peasant farms of Wales, preached treason to the powers that were, in the

following verses, the homage of a Welsh Redgauntlet to the dying Rose:—

(ALMANAC, SION PRYS, 1751.)

“Y peth a haeddeu ei ystyried yn fwyaf arbenig yn y flwyddyn hon
yw Diffygiadeu'r Lleuad ar peth i maent yn ei arwyddo: ni feiddiaf
moi egluro, ond mewn *Heroglyphics* ar ol athrawiaeth un Michael
Nostradamus.

“Llid yw affaith lliw'r Diffyg—ei Frydain
Afrwydd-deb a Dirmig
H f d, ddwfn Ryfig
O lwynau Diawl a luniodd y dig.

“Boed enwog eurog ei Siar-las wrol
Lwys arail ddigymmar,
St r d hynaws diwar
Ein Tywysog bach, tofia ei bar.”¹

Perchance, even then, there were Welshmen who went an inch beyond the homage of wine and song. We know now, thanks to Mr. Andrew Lang's researches, that the picture of the collapse of Jacobitism in the fiasco of the rebellion, portrayed in the last chapters of *Redgauntlet*, depicts in its main details an over true scene. Readers of these chapters will remember Squire Meredyth and his Shakesperian Welsh.

Of the strength of Welsh Jacobitism at an earlier period there can be no question.

In the '45 the two most dangerous men South of the Tweed, in the opinion of English Whigs, were Sir Watkin Wynn (the Brutus of Charles Edward's correspondence) and

¹ I would suggest the following as a free English rendering of the above. “The changes in the Moon and what they portend call for especial note this year. I dare not explain them except through hieroglyphics according to the doctrine of Nostradamus.” “The hue of the eclipse of the moon portends wrath, disquiet, and scorn. The blasphemous Hanoverians, born of the ———, have brought on this feeling of wrath. May the brave Charles, unrivalled in grace, be glorious and crowned with gold, O Stuart, guileless and kindly, our dear Prince, tame their unruly ways.”

the Duke of Beaufort, and they were both Welsh land-owners. The Cycle Club in Denbighshire, which was closely associated with the Wynn family, and existed down to our own day, was without doubt at one period an important political organisation, and there is no doubt some truth in the story, that Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellion in 1745* (vol. i, p. 272 *et post*), tells us on the authority of a Welsh friend, that at the time when the Highland hosts turned back on Derby a number of Welsh Squires were riding hard to join Prince Charlie's banner, and only turned back when they heard of the retreat, and that ever after "he was of the company most accounted, who had ridden furthest on the way."

Now, if the sceptic still insists that such facts as those that I have mentioned, only prove the sentiments of the Welsh aristocracy and Bards, it is only necessary to refer him to the curious facts relating to the Jacobitism of the lower orders in Wales, collected in Mr. Hobson Matthews' recent collection of Cardiff documents, though, perhaps, an even stronger proof is furnished by the savage riot with which the miners of Rhôs greeted the accession of the House of Brunswick to the English throne. Welsh Jacobitism being, then, an unquestioned fact, it is surely time to study its history before the disappearance of documents and the failure of tradition render the work impossible.

PART II.

SIR WATKIN AND DAVID MORGAN.

To Welshmen the two most interesting things in connection with the '45 are the waiting of Sir Watkin Wynn and the fate of David Morgan.

On the first point I can now say little, though I hope on another occasion to return to the subject.

Two facts about Sir Watkin's attitude we know without dispute. As the Highland host entered England they received a message to the effect that Sir Watkin had been with the citizens of London, whom he found as well disposed as ever to treat with the Prince. "The Elector of Hanover and his Ministry's interests decline so fast that Sir Watkin says nobody now will accept of their places and employments, which throws them into the greatest distraction" (Ewald's *Life of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, p. 181; *Wales*, 1894, p. 19). And we know also that the Prince wrote in after days to his father: "Mr. Barry arrived at Derby two days after I parted. He had been sent by Sir Watkin Wynn and Lord Barrymore to assure me, in the name of my friends, that they were ready to join me in whatever manner I pleased, either in the capital or everyone to rise in his own country" (Stanhope's *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 415).

So much for undisputed facts; but on these facts two different conclusions are formed. Mr. Andrew Lang, who is unquestionably the highest living authority on Jacobite history, considers Sir Watkin's Jacobitism, like that of many English Peers, to have been of the Platonic order, that abstained deliberately from taking any practical step until the day after the fair. The other view, which is put forward in that charming story, *For the White Rose of Arno*, is that Sir Watkin and his friends were ready to take up arms, and actually despatched a messenger to the Prince, as soon as he entered England. This messenger, according to the story, had the bad luck to get intercepted. Thus, when the Highland chiefs at Derby offered to continue the advance if the Prince could produce a letter from a single nobleman or gentleman in England or Wales favourable to his cause, Sir Watkin had already written. The despatch of Barry was on this view a second attempt

to get into communication with the Prince. Certainly the story that many Welsh gentlemen were riding to join the army which I have mentioned, also seems to show that Sir Watkin was ready and in earnest. There are, so far as I have as yet been able to learn, no documents in existence that throw much light on the subject one way or the other; the story indeed is that on the retreat of the Prince, Lady Wynn burnt all the papers that would have incriminated her husband, his friends of the Cycle, and in fact most of the Gentlemen of North Wales.¹ It is at least a significant fact that the Prince, in the Council at Derby, when the chiefs refused to continue the advance on London, is said to have vainly suggested that in place of retreating on Scotland, the army should march through Wales.

With regard to David Morgan, I am in a position to add something to what is generally known. Up to the present time, the chief authority for the life of that unfortunate Welshman has been the biographical sketch by Llewellyn, and the record of his fate in the *State Trials*. For readers who are not acquainted with Llewellyn's Memoirs (published at Tenby 1862), I may, perhaps, here reprint a summary of Morgan's early life, taken from that work.

"The most energetic of all the Jacobites of the South" (*i.e.* South Wales) "was Thomas David Morgan, Barrister-at-Law, of Pen-y-Graig and Coed-y-Gorres. David Morgan was a scion of the house of Tredegar, and so the blood of Ivor Hael ran in his veins. His father was Thomas Morgan, who in 1682 was under-sheriff of the county of Glamorgan. His mother, from whom he probably in-

¹ This story was told to my informant by the late Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth. It is stated that the day after the burning of the papers the soldiers arrived and ransacked Wynnstay for documents.

herited Pen-y-Graig, was the daughter of David Mathew, of Llandaff, by his wife Joan, the daughter of Sir Edward Stradling. He was also first cousin of Admiral Mathews, member of Parliament for Glamorganshire. His wife appears to have been a London lady, and through her he seems to have acquired a considerable leasehold property at Shoreditch. He was a prominent member of a Club known as the 'Independent Electors of Westminster,' which was largely frequented by the magnates of the city. In the opinion of the author of a disgraceful pamphlet written after his death, and put in the form of a speech by his ghost to the members of this Club,¹ all the members fomented the insurrection for which the unlucky Welshman alone died. Two interesting facts in connection with Morgan's relations with this Club the pamphleteer has also preserved. He had an intimate friend in a Welsh Squire of Bedford Street (whom I have failed to identify), and he entirely devoted his attention to the 'High Church' party, whom he sought to convince that the Church had everything to gain by a Stuart Restoration. It also appears from the same source that he rejoiced warmly at Walpole's fall."

Horace Walpole sums up Morgan as a "poetical lawyer." And it is not surprising if his muse found a theme in the fall of Walpole, the great enemy of the Stuart cause. Mr. Ballinger, the Librarian of the Cardiff Free Library, has shown me a printed poem which is ascribed to Morgan. It is not of great merit, though there are occasional flashes of powerful satire. It is in the main taken up with a denunciation of Walpole's pacific policy, and would mark the author if he were living in these days as a strong Imperialist. In his prophetic frenzy he almost

¹ The pamphlet is at the British Museum.

foresees the coming triumphs of Chatham's administration. It is dated 1739, entitled the *Country Bard*, and dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales. I give the commencement and conclusion :—

1. "Since Monarchs by Prerogative are wise,
How daring the Presumption to advise!
How idly wild our *Compliments* to pay!
They have the *highest* made them every day;
5. Censure *exalted natures* can't endure,
Censure is Satyr, and too rough a cure.
To compliment, advise, or censure them,
Hence seems an awkward and imprudent scheme,
Nor is it less a misdemeanour held,
10. Rashly to say *the knight hath not excell'd*.
Since it prevails in spite of Common Sense,
Whoever hits the *Courtier* wounds the Prince.
A Prince — not much in Politicks refin'd,
When to a *Courtier's little Arts* resign'd;
15. When grown the *Property* of *sycophants*,
That know no candour, and abound in wants.
Laymen and *Priests* at C——t all sympathize,
Their Incense Flattery, Truth their Sacrifice.
The *haughtiest* P——te, and the *proudest* P——r,
20. Obsequious cringe with low Obeisance here."
* * *
401. "If VIRTUE can divert the Storms of Fate,
Let our few PATRIOTS save our sinking State.
—— Our P[r]ay'rs are heard, arm Britons, scour the
Main,
A few Broadships shall humble *haughty Spain*.
405. See dawning Hope creaks on us from afar,
Too long obscur'd in Peace, declares for War.
Bright she advances from yon azure Sky,
Big with success, and fraught with Victory.
Resume your Spirit, Britons, arm again,
410. Heav'n will support us, if we act like Men."

The two following MS. poems in the Cardiff Free Library, the one a circuit song, the other a sarcastic poem on the marriage of a young vicar-choral of Llandaff Cathedral with an old lady, are more interesting.

The latter, in particular, throws an interesting light on the condition of the Church as seen from the eyes of a sympathetic High Churchman in the middle of the eighteenth century.

“TO THE BARR ON THE WELSH CIRCUIT.

“By COUNSELLOR DAVID MORGAN.¹

1

“ Friends ! frankly I send you my Thoughts,
To my Ballad give Ear ;
I promise it free'er from Faults
Then *this here* and *that there*.²

2

“ O Wales ! how unhappy thy Fate,
Beyond doubt it's severe ;
Thy Judges, the Farce of the State,
Are *this here* and *that there*.

3

“ Which of them is worst, or is best,
The moot Question forbear ;
Poor Creatures, by all its confest,
Are *this here* and *that there*.

4

“ *This here*, what a formal dull Fool !
That there what a Bear !
All Ministers have a sure tool,
In *this here* and *that there*.

5

“ What a Void and a Chaos of Mind,
In their judgment appear !
To Justice and Candour stark blind
Are *this here* and *that there*.

6

“ When obvious Point they'd explain,
They puzzle what's clear ;
All they say, and more than they mean,
Are *this here* and *that there*.

¹ From Ph. MSS., No. 14970.

² Judges Carter and Proctor.

7

"To say, would be wickedly odd,
And so like a damn'd sneer,
That such were the Image of God,
As *this here* and *that there*.

8

"I'll no more in your Circuit regale,
My Companions so dear ;
But Cambria's hard Fate will bewail,
In *this here* and *that there*."

"ON MISS MADDOCKS, AFTERWARDS MRS. PRICE,
OF LANDAFF.

By COUNSELLOR MORGAN.¹

"Hannah, some years ago a Toast,
By Justice *Sly*² admir'd,
For Shape and Features then could boast,
Her Eyes all youths set fire ;
Genteel and easy is her Air,
She learn'd of Lady Betty,
Still of her years a clever Fair,
And justly too thought pretty.

2

"Long had she liv'd a maid, 'twas hard,
To man a perfect Stranger ;
Time had her Frame somewhat impair'd,
Her charms were in some danger ;
Pensive one morn the maid reflects,
Lord ! what have I been doing ?
I have some beauties of the Sex,
They're surely worth the wooing.

3

"My Eyes preserve their Lustre still,
No mortal can deny it ;
Resolv'd I am, marry I will,
If there be Joys, I'll try it ;

¹ From Ph. MSS. No. 14970.

² Mr. Powel, of Eneyslyn.

Then straight her Eyes with Lustre glow'd,
No Lightning e'er flashed quicker ;
They roll'd at Prayers, that from the Pew
Struck thro' the Choral Vicar.¹

4

"The Vicar soon disclos'd his Love,
Supported well by Grany,
At Fifty Hannah he did move,
Tho' clogg'd with Children many :
Marry she must, Fate had ordain'd,
'Gainst all her Friends' Persuasion ;
Nought else could please, 'twas all in vain,
Her Parts in Agitation."

"Made to her Brother, who married a good Fortune in London,
which he spent in entertaining Sir Robert Walpole and other great
men in expectation of a Bishoprick.

"Our Brother does much assume
At Hannah's Indiscretion ;
O ! Brother George, look once at Home,
You'll see as odd a Passion ;
Twelve hundred Pounds, quoth George, she's mad,
To Choral Vicar given ;
While he twelve thousand pounds has had,
Priests marry sure in Heaven."

The account of the part played by David Morgan in the '45, alike in Llewellyn's Memoirs and in the *White Rose of Arno*, is drawn from the proceedings against him in the *State Trials* (vol. xviii, pp. 371-394). Two facts of importance have also been added by Llewellyn, the local tradition of his talk with the smith at Efail Llancaiach, when starting on the fatal expedition, and his remark to Vaughan² on the first day of the retreat from Derby, when the latter declared that wherever the army went he was

¹ Mr. Price.

² There were two of the Court-field Vaughans out in the '45, William and Richard. See article on William Vaughan, *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lviii, 187.

determined to go with them, which is taken from Lord Elcho's *Memoirs*.

The report of the trial shews that David Morgan, in company with a friend, joined the Jacobite army at Preston, and accompanied them as a volunteer to Derby, taking a prominent part in arranging the plans of the campaign, and being known as the "Pretender's counsellor", that he followed their retreat to Ashburne, where he left them and proceeded to Stone, where he was arrested on suspicion. He was finally, as is well known, executed at Kennington Common, on July 30th, 1746.

The briefs of the counsel engaged in the prosecution of the Jacobite prisoners are, however, preserved in the British Museum, and from a study of the brief relating to David Morgan, I am enabled to throw considerably fresh light alike on his journey to join the Prince's army, and on the position held by him in the army after he had joined it.

The evidence of John Barry (or Berry) occupies only seventeen lines in the *State Trials* report, and as to the unlucky ride of Morgan to Preston, he merely states that he came out of Monmouthshire with his Master and "the defendant," and that they joined the Prince's army at Preston. The proof, however, of John Barry in the brief enables us to follow Morgan and his friend throughout their journey. The proof, which is of sufficient importance for a full transcription, is as follows:—

"That he (Barry) was servant to Mr. William Vaughan in Monmouthshire, and in the beginning of November, last" (of course 1745), "his master told him that he was going a-shooting at Mr. Berkeley's of Speechly in Worcestershire, and bid him get a couple of fowling pieces and the spaniels ready in the morning, and they went to Mr. Berkeley's and stayed there one night, and then his master met with the defendant Morgan, and from thence his master and Mr. Morgan went to Mr. FitzHerbert's house in Staffordshire, and stayed

there one night, and then went to a gentleman's house near Leigh, in Lancashire—but does not remember his name—and stayed there two nights. And then went to Preston, and stayed there all the night before the rebels came, and he says he and Mr. Morgan's servant were ordered by their masters to take the horses to Walton (about a mile north of Preston), and in case any of the rebels came that way, then they were to take the horses to a village four miles further off. And that about 10 or 11 o'clock the said Vaughan and Morgan came to the house, where witness and the other servant were with the horses, stay'd there all night and walked back to Preston the next morning, and directed the witness and the other servant to stay where they were till they came again. And they came again about 10 o'clock the second night, and the next morning directed the witness and the other servant to take the portmanteau and horses and go to Leigh aforesaid; but to wait in the road a little way short of Leigh, till they were come to them. And about 4 o'clock in the afternoon he said Vaughan and Morgan came to them, with each a white cockade in his hat, and then went to the same gentleman's house at Leigh where they had been and lay there that night; and next morning they went to Manchester with the said cockades in their hats and put up at a constable's house behind a church, but does not know the name, and he attended his master at supper the second night he lay there. And there were there the said Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Murray, the Secretary to the young Pretender, at supper together. And he heard Mr. Morgan call him Mr. Murray. And he saw Mr. Murray go in and out of the said house, where Vaughan and Morgan lodged, several times. And he says his master and defendant Morgan joined the young Pretender's life guards, under the command of Lord Elcho, and rode with them from Manchester to Derby, and his master gave him two guns to carry from Manchester to Derby. And he says, when the rebels went back to Manchester, his time being out with his master, he left him there. As he was going," he concludes "he was taken up and committed to gaol."

These statements clear up several points of doubt in Morgan's story. In the first place they show that Morgan did not, as I thought probable (*Wales*, 1894, p. 20), proceed through North Wales or visit Sir Watkin on his journey, and therefore relegates some interesting chapters in the *White Rose of Arno* to the region of fiction.

In whatever negotiations, therefore, Sir Watkin may have been carrying on with the Prince at this juncture,

Morgan played no part. It also clears up the further point as to the companion of Morgan's ride. It has been always supposed that it was one of the two Vaughans, and the proof makes it clear that it was William and not Richard. How or when Richard Vaughan joined the Jacobite army there is, so far as I know, no evidence. The remaining proofs relate to the action of Morgan after he had joined the Jacobites, and throw a considerable light on the part played by him in the campaign.

Most important on this matter is the proof of Samuel Maddock or Maddox, the informer on whose evidence Morgan was mainly convicted. Maddox, as the chief witness for the Crown, was naturally examined at considerable length; and I do not think that any purpose would be served by repeating here such parts of his evidence as appear in the *State Trials*.

Maddox's evidence at the trial and his statement in the proof, however, contain an apparent discrepancy on a small point to which attention may be drawn. In the report (p. 374) the informer is first asked when he saw the prisoner, and he replied at Manchester. He is next asked "Did he march away from Manchester with the rebels?" and replies: "He marched with them to DERBY, and there being an information given that some arms were secreted from the rebels, he gave orders for a party of the rebel army to go and search for them." Being asked whether the prisoner went with the party, he adds not to his knowledge, and states that he saw "Captain James Dawson" (whose tragic fate Sherstone has told in verse), "deliver him a pair of pistols." In the proof, however, Maddox states that the search for arms took place at Manchester. The proof on this point is as follows: "When the rebels came to Manchester he" (Maddox) "saw the Defendant among them with a white cockade in

his hat, and he was reported the chief man in getting from the Pretender's son press warrants "to seize horses and arms." The proof proceeds to state how information was given to the officers of the Manchester regiment of the place to which a certain Justice Drinckenfield had fled with a large quantity of arms, and then Morgan obtained a warrant from the Prince to send a file of Highland soldiers and Lord Pitsligo (the old Scottish Cavalier of Aytoun's lays) in a fruitless search after him. The discrepancy between the proof and the evidence in the report will not perhaps strike a lawyer as serious, since it is not impossible that Morgan, as a matter of fact, may have been engaged in superintending a search for arms at Derby as well as at Manchester. At the same time, the statement in the proof is interesting, since it makes it clear that immediately on his joining the army, Morgan took a leading position. The rest of the proof is certainly worth transcription, as it very considerably amplifies, though it does not contradict, Maddox's evidence in the report.

"And the witness afterwards frequently saw the defendant upon the march with the Rebels from Manchester to Derby armed with a brace of pistols and a broad sword and" (he) "had a white cockade. And in the retreat to Ashburn the defendant came to the house where the Manchester officers were quartered, where Capt. Dawson of the Manchester Regiment gave him a brace of pistols. And then the said defendant left the Army. This Witness heard the defendant say that he had the offer of the Manchester Regiment made him by the young Pretender, but he refused it, not being a military man. That the defendant was generally with the young Pretender at nights, and lodged in the same quarters with him. And that he acted as spy for the rebel army in observing the Duke's (*i.e.*, the Duke of Cumberland) Army. And further, that while the Rebels were at Manchester, the defendant met Mr. Francis Townley, Peter Moss, Jas. Dawson, George Fletcher, James Bradshaw, Thomas Furnival, all at Mr. Cookson's, the sign of the Dog in Manchester. And the said defendant proposed the raising of a regiment for the said Pretender, to which proposal all

present agreed. And all of them having white cockades in their hats. And then the company considered which should have the command of the regiment, and after a short consultation offered the command to the defendant; but he thanked them, and desired to be excused, saying he did not understand military discipline well enough to take so large a command upon him. And said that Mr. Townley had been in the French service and understood the military discipline much better than he. Whereupon Mr. Townley was named Colonel. And he set his name down in a paper first as Colonel. And the rest set down their names with title of rank in the said regiment. And then the defendant took the list away with him to the Pretender, and promised to furnish them arms, and then ordered a drummer about the town to beat up for volunteers."

The remaining proof in the brief is that of the witness, Edward How, who was Morgan's landlord at Derby. The evidence in the report is in the main similar to that in the proof—but as the latter is short, and throws considerable light on the geniality of Morgan's character, I give it in full:—

"This witness says the defendant and about twenty other rebels, eight of whom were officers, were quartered in his house at Derby when the rebel army was there, and defendant told him that these eight officers were not come to live upon him or anybody else, for they would pay for what they had. And he said the defendant appeared to be the chiefest person of those quartered at his house, and gave all the directions for providing for their entertainment and the witness a guinea and three shillings for such entertainment of himself and the other rebels, and said he paid him like a gentleman. And says defendant was then publicly called and reported to be the prince's, meaning the young Pretender's, counsellor. The witness having seen the prisoner in Newgate" (this must have been of course after Morgan's arrest) "who told the witness he would come to Derby and see him again in spite of King George, and all the people in the world, or to that purpose, and he saw the defendant frequently go to the Pretender's lodging-house and never appeared to be under any restraint while he was at Derby."

There exists no proof of the evidence of the other Crown witnesses against Morgan, whose testimony appears in the reports, Edward Tew, of Preston, who gave evidence as to Morgan's conversation with Lord Elcho at the

Joiners' Arms, Preston, Benjamin Bowker, the deputy constable at Manchester, who gave evidence as to the warrant which Esquire Morgan gave him to search for arms in the town, and Captain Vere, the Hanoverian officer, who seems to have been practically a military spy. In drawing any conclusions from these proofs, it should of course be remembered that the evidence it affords is in a sense tainted by the character of most of the deponents. Reading them, however, in connection with the report of this and the other Jacobite trials, and making all allowances, they at least establish the fact that David Morgan was unquestionably one of the prime movers in the rebellion of '45: and that no man outside the circle of Scotch adherents and French and Irish officers possessed greater influence with the Prince.

The result would seem to be that Welshmen may claim, in this country-man, the most active of the Prince's southern adherents, and more, the one man whose advice, if followed, might have placed the Prince in St. James' Palace.

A WHIG SCHOOL-BOY.

I may conclude this paper with certain Latin verses on Culloden, by a Whig Welsh school-boy (or at least a boy educated at Cowbridge school) shortly after the battle, composed, no doubt, with a view of obtaining a half-holiday for the school. The poem is here printed exactly as it was written. The author must be responsible for the syntax. For these verses I am indebted to my friend, the present Head-Master of that ancient school.

“GEORGIDES, VICTAE PROCUBUERE METU.

“Reppulit, inque fugam trepidas dare terga coegit,
Vertit in auctores saevaue bella suos.
Qui modo terrebat minitans, nunc dicere causam
Cogitur, et legum subdere colla jugo.

Sic erat in fatis ; sic inconsulta ruit vis,
 Praecipitans fatum saepe sinistra suum.
 Spes ubinunc, Ludovice, tuæ vocesque, minaeq¹
 Illa ubi Brunsviciae certa ruina domûs ?
 Si nescis, domus haec humanis altuis ortum
 Traxit, et e coelis, unde perennet habet.
Italus Angliacas regeret peregrinus habenas,
 Brunsviciâ regeret sceptrâ gerenda manu ?
 Demens, illa tibi quando sperare, tuisque
 Ausus es, hunc aleret cum Domus ista DUCEM ?
 Quid parat ille tibi campo monstravit in illo,
 Spes ubi Scotorum, spes tua fracta jacet.
 Scoticae eum pavidæ videre in montibus Alpes
 Tendere, et in summis poenere² castra jugis.
 Non illum montes, non illum sistere possunt
 Flumina, nix et Hiems, difficilesque viae.
 Et levis est, leviorque avium pernibus alis,
 Cunctantes linquit post sua terga duces.
 Nec mora longa fuit, Cyclopum allabitur oris ;
 Monticolis solo nomine terror errat.³
 Hirta illis mens est, et corporis aemula, qualis
 Et decet agrestes, monticolasque decet.
 Et credas, scopulorum instar, traxisse rigorem,
 Mens adeo est illis efferâ, mensque ferox.
 Barbara gens tota est, effraenâque, et horrida et exlex,
 Sive homines mavis dicere, sive feras.
 Aspice *Monticolam* ; Dii talem avertite pestem !
 Impya Styx illo nil, puto, pejus habet.
 Arma dedit rabies, quætrux Polyphemus, et ingens
 Sidera qui fulcit, ferre recuset, Atlas.
 Lumborumque tenuis falcatus acinace largo est ;
 Hoc fuit Aetnaei munus opusque fabri.
 Et capite a summo totus jam ferreus ille est ;
 Visus et ingenti mole Colossus erat.
 Tum nova turmatim videas erumpere monstra,
 Aetneos fratres Nubigenasque truces ;
 Tullibardinos, Glenbuckettosque rebelles,
 Totque alios scelerum perfidiaequæ duces.
 Quo vos, quo belli rabies, furiaequæ, scelesti,
 Praecipitant ? scelerum terror, et ultor adest.

¹ *quære* minaeque.² *quære* ponere.³ *quære*, erat.

Nec mora ; GEORGIDEM venientem fulminis instar,
Quem non posse putat Scotus adesse, videt.
Stant acies : dant signa tubae : concurritur, et mox
Horruit Angliacum barbara turba DUCEM.
Emicat ante alios Miles spectandus in hostem
Regius, in primâ proelia fronte ciens.
Qui vigor oris erat ? qualis pugnantis Imago ?
Aut Mars, aut certe Martis Imago fuit.
Dimicat, et totum castris Dux exuit hostem,
Omniaque ingenti cæde fugâque replet.
Vicini montes, vicini sanguine valles,
Et procul hinc late sanguine terra rubet.
Sic quatit attonitos, sic fulmen vibrat in illos,
Ut dextrâ credas fulmina missa Jovis.
Facti certa fides ; perierunt millia quinque ;
Ipsa facit cædes Cullodenana fidem."



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An English translation, with copious explanatory notes, and a Life of Aneurin. By the late THOMAS STEPHENS, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry*. Edited by Professor Powel, M.A., 1888.

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Cymmrodorion Record Series.

FIRST PROSPECTUS.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talysarn, the Rev. Canon Silyn Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pen-broekshire*, two parts of which have already been issued, is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

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Vol. XV.

y Cymmrodor.

The Magazine

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*PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.*

LONDON

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1902.

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THE MAGAZINE

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VOL. XV.

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I Cymmrodor.

VOL. XV. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1901.

Lewis Morris in Cardiganshire.

By D. LLEUFER THOMAS.

As part of the gradual assimilation of Welsh legal institutions to those of England, a process which commenced immediately after the conquest of Wales by Edward I, the *cantrefi* and *cymydau* of the Principality came to be treated and regarded by English lawyers as the Welsh equivalents of the lordships and manors of England. English manorial law was applied to the ancient Welsh divisions, and the rights which the lord and free tribesmen of a *cantref* enjoyed under the Welsh laws were interpreted as far as possible in accordance with those of the lord and freeholders of an English manor. Among other doctrines thus applied to Wales was the presumption that all unenclosed land was the waste of the lordship or manor in which it was situated: the Crown, as the successor in title to the tribal, and therefore not strictly feudal, rights of the Welsh lords, claimed extensive tracts of unenclosed lands as waste of its various lordships; a claim strenuously opposed by most of the great landowners and freeholders, who on their part asserted that such lands, though unenclosed, were not common or waste at all, but formed part of their freehold estates. The chronic hostility which

existed between Welsh landowners and the Crown, with reference to this question, culminated from time to time in "pitched battles," fought either in the law-courts,¹ or more often in an appeal to physical force on the slopes of one of the mountains, the ownership of which was in dispute.

The more salient facts of several of these conflicts may be found collected and commented upon in the *Report of the Welsh Land Commission* (pp. 185-8, 199-207). But one of the earliest and most important seems to have hitherto escaped attention. As the official champion of the Crown rights on that occasion was none other than the bard and antiquary, Lewis Morris (*Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn*), the story may probably be deemed of sufficient historical importance to be accorded space in the pages of *Y Cymmrodor*. The Welsh bard's great-grandson and namesake, Sir Lewis Morris, of Penbryn, has kindly placed in my hands, for perusal, a large collection of recently discovered papers in his ancestor's handwriting, including one hundred and twenty letters, addressed by Lewis to his brother William at Holyhead, between 1748 and 1762, but by far the greater number of them bearing date between 1753 and 1757 inclusive. The bundle also contains drafts or copies of answers and affidavits sworn in 1757 by Lewis Morris as defendant, in an equity suit instituted against him, by information of the Attorney-General, on behalf of the Treasury, praying *inter alia* that the defendant should be ordered to deliver an account of his stewardship of certain Crown manors in North Cardiganshire. In these answers, Lewis Morris discloses the fact

¹ As in the case of *The Attorney-General against Reveley*, heard in the Court of Exchequer in May 1868 and July 1869. A report of the case by W. W. Karslake was privately printed in 1870, for the use of the office of Woods and Forests.

that only a few years previously, even at the risk of his life, he had been the champion of the rights of the Crown in a dispute as to the ownership of a tract of unenclosed land in the same district.

In the following pages, I shall endeavour to tell the story of these two struggles so far as I am able to do so from the papers before me, and also bring out a few other facts relating to Morris's connection with Cardiganshire. The letters teem with literary material of very great interest and value, especially with reference to Goronwy Owen, and to the early history of the Cymmrodorion Society, which was founded in 1751. All this I have, reluctantly, to eschew at present, with the object of confining myself to the story of Lewis Morris's Cardiganshire struggles.

According to a statement supplied to the Welsh Land Commission by the Office of Woods and Forests, the Crown, in right of the seven hundreds or manors of Creuddyn, Perfedd, Mabwnion, Myfenydd, Harminiog, Cyfoeth y Brenin, and Talsarn and Silian, was in 1893 the owner of upwards of 26,000 acres of unenclosed waste land in the county of Cardigan, subject to commonable rights. In addition to this, it also possessed "the minerals within upwards of 28,000 acres of other land, formerly waste of the above manors, but which has either been sold or enclosed under Act of Parliament with a reservation to the Crown of minerals."

Originally, all the lands in question formed part of the ancient Principality of Wales, but on its conquest by Edward I, they became attached to the Crown of England. Along with much other Crown property in Mid Wales they were managed throughout the Tudor period by the Earls of Pembroke, who acted as Crown Stewards. According to a petition presented to Parliament on behalf of

their freeholders in 1660, the Cardiganshire manors had been alienated by the Commonwealth in 1649,—

“thereby becoming the possessions of private men, particularly of Thomas Evans, Henry Vaughan, John Vaughan,¹ and others, who using their jurisdiction with more rigour than your Petitioners or Predecessors were formerly acquainted with, by excessive amercements, fines, and threats, extorting your Petitioners’ Voices at Publick Elections, and a conformity to their will and pleasure, many times contrary to your Petitioners’ judgments and inclinations.”

In view of these grievances, the petitioners prayed that the manors in question should be re-united to the Crown, which was effected shortly afterwards, as a natural sequel of the Restoration.

And now to come to Lewis Morris’s own period. In 1746 the stewardship of several, perhaps all, of the crown manors in Cardiganshire was granted to William Corbett. Most probably he was a younger brother of Thomas Corbett, who was an Admiralty official from about 1720, filling the post of Secretary of the Admiralty from 1742 till his death in 1751. What suggests this to me is the fact that it was through Thomas Corbett’s interest (secured through the good offices of Meyrick of Bodorgan) that Lewis Morris was commissioned, in 1741, to complete the survey of St. George’s Channel, a work commenced in 1737, but not proceeded with, owing to the scant encouragement that Morris had received in the matter. The Secretary’s brother, William Corbett, commenced his career as secretary to Viscount Torrington in the Baltic expedition in 1717, and subsequently became

¹ “Of Peterwell, Plâs Cilcennin, and Trawscood respectively (see Meyrick’s *Cardiganshire*, 208, 285, 322). According to a MS. written *circ.* 1661, John Vaughan (who subsequently became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) “purchased Mevenyth, one of his late Majesty’s manors.” When this was re-united to the Crown at the Restoration, Vaughan was made steward of Myfenydd and four other Crown manors in the district.

cashier of the Navy.¹ Lewis Morris's younger brother, Richard, who became a chief clerk in the Navy office, probably owed his introduction into that department to his elder brother's connection with the Corbets.

When the stewardship of the Crown manors was granted to William Corbett in 1746, Lewis Morris was appointed deputy steward,² then, and for some years after also holding the office of Collector of the Customs at Aberdovey. The new office necessitated his settling in the district. His brother William, in a letter to Richard (dated 10 May 1746, and preserved at the British Museum), conveys the news that Lewis had recently purchased "part of an estate situated in such a place that I would not have accepted it gratis to live upon it. No doubt he has some inducement, *mwyn neu rywbeth*", minerals or something. This probably referred to Galltfadog, a farm

¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Thomas Corbett. According to Burke, whose account of the family is in many respects unreliable, William the cashier was the third son of a William Corbett, by Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of Colonel John Jones, of Nanteos, Cardiganshire (cf. Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, pp. 402, and 572-5). Burke erroneously describes William, the father, as "Secretary of the Admiralty"—but that office was held not by him but by his eldest son Thomas—and states that he was the son of Thomas Corbett of Nash, Pembrokeshire, who was second son of Robert Corbett (himself a younger son of Sir Vincent Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, Salop), by Bridget, daughter and heiress to Sir James Pryse, of Ynys y maengwyn, near Towyn. There were also later inter-marriages between the Nanteos family and the Corbets of Ynys y maengwyn, both the Rev. W. Powell, LL.D. (1705-1780), and his son Thomas (? 1745-1797) marrying ladies from the latter family (*Meyrick*, 388-9, 403). In any case, William Corbett, the navy cashier, had family connections with West Wales, especially North Cardiganshire, and this corroborates the identification I suggest. From him the Corbets of Darnhall, in Cheshire, are descended. A daughter of Lewis Pryse, of Gogerddan (who died in 1720), was married to a Corbet, whose Christian name Meyrick (p. 398) does not give.

² This is the date given by Morris himself in his history of the Crown manor of Creuthyn, printed in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (see p.

some five miles out of Aberystwyth.¹ Lewis was not long before taking up his residence there, for he dates a letter (also in the British Museum) to Richard from Galltfadog on 31 July 1747, in which he says: "I expect Mr. Corbett and some great men here daily, and am very busy in drawing maps, accounts, &c." Shortly afterwards, a friend of the brothers Morris, Alderman Prichard, saw Lewis in Cardiganshire, "in company of Mr. W. Corbett and Mr. Chambers, to whom he gave great satisfaction."

Now Corbett's interest in the minerals of the district was not merely official. He and a Charles Richards had obtained a lease of "all mines within the wastes of the manor of Cwmwd y Perfedd, in the parish of Llanbadarn Fawr," at a rent of 6s. 8d. a year, and one-tenth of the

558), though according to a letter of 17 Aug. 1745 (preserved in the Brit. Mus.) from William Morris to Richard, Lewis had a short time previously been made "Dy (deputy) steward of all the King's Courts in these parts, with an extensive power and tolerable profit."

¹ "In the year 1700, Sir H. Mackworth took a lease of Margaret Lewis, of Gallt-vadog, and of her son, R. Lewis, of the mines upon certain hills, moors, or places called Pwll yr Enaid, Bwlch cwm ervin, and Ryginan, for 99 years, in consideration only of £50 in hand. They had also a lease of Cwmsymlog, and worked there for some years" (*Meyrick*, p. ccxxxiii). Did Morris purchase Mackworth's interest under these leases? On acquiring the property Morris at once proceeded to carry out some improvements on it. His farm bailiff and factotum, Edward Hughes, writing from Galltfadog on 14 Oct. 1748, to Morris himself, who was then in London (attending *inter alia* to the printing of his Survey of St. George's Channel) refers to the new garden he was laying out. On 16 Feb. 1749, Morris writes to William from Galltfadog, mentioning that he had pulled down the house there "in order to make it more comfortable." This was also preparatory to his bringing there a wife, for on the 20th of October in the same year, he married (for his second wife) Ann Lloyd, described as "heiress of Penbryn." She went to live at Galltfadog, but in April 1757 (her husband being at the time in London), the family removed to Penbryn (sometimes called by Morris, probably in jest, Penbryn y barcud), which is about eight miles out of Aberystwyth.

profits.¹ As the usual term for mineral leases was thirty-one years, and this one expired on 12 July 1773 (when it was not renewed) it probably commenced to run from July 1742.

In 1748, Corbett was vigorously working Cwmsymlog mine, possibly under the above mentioned lease from the Crown. It was probably in August of that year that a Cornish mining expert, Edmond Moore, visited the mine and reported on it to him.² At that time the resident manager was John Paynter (of whom a good deal hereafter), while Edward Hughes, already referred to as Morris's factotum, was next in command under Paynter. Hughes seems to have been some relative, or at least an old acquaintance, of the Morrisses from Anglesey, and like them had literary tastes (which he however drowned in drink), Iorwerth Fwynwr and Iorwerth Frych being *nom de plumes* of his. Hughes continued at Cwmsymlog till the end of 1752, if not later.

Some of the landowners of the district seem to have resisted the lessees, in the exercise of their rights. This resulted in a suit being instituted in 1743, by the Attorney-General, on behalf of the Crown and its lessees, Charles Richards and William Corbett, against Thomas Pryse (probably the then M.P. for Cardiganshire), Thomas Griffiths and others. Unfortunately the records of this suit are now lost. So also are those of another contemporary local action, the Attorney-General *v.* Thomas Powell (of Nanteos), R. Jenkin and others. As deputy steward, Lewis Morris had doubtless to take an active part in pre-

¹ See Returns relating to the Woods, Forests and Land Revenues of the Crown, 1831, p. 22.

² It may be that the year of Moore's visit was 1752, but a statement in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (p. 558) suggests that William Corbett had died in or before 1751.

paring the case for the Crown in both suits, and this did not tend to make him a *persona grata* with the county gentry, who felt that their rights were being invaded.

The second action, in which, we know, the Crown was defeated, arose out of a dispute as to the ownership of a mine called Bwlchgwyn, situated on unenclosed land, which the Crown claimed as common of its manor of Perfedd, while Thomas Powell, on the other hand, claimed it as his own freehold. Unfortunately only two documents relating to it—both in a very torn condition and neither of them dated—are included among the papers before me.¹ The first is a list (in Lewis Morris's writing) of

"The Freeholds in the neighbourhood of Bwlchgwyn Mine whose tenants have always made use of the lands where the mine stands, as well as of all the mountains adjoining as a Common, have cut turf on the mountain as a common over against their tenements as customary, and those that had no wood growing on their lands made use of ye wood of Alltrudd as a common, and have always turned their cattle to graze on the common, as belonging to the tenants of the Manor of Pervedd and not to any other person."

The freeholds enumerated are Llwynteifi (? uchaf and isaf), Brynbras uchaf and isaf, and Troed y llwybr clun. There are added "proofs" of such evidence as could be given by the more aged persons who then were, or had been tenants or servants at these farms. On the back of this sheet are also the "proofs" of some seventeen

"Cottagers upon the Common of the Mannor of Pervedd, some miles distant from the common in dispute, and on the other side the great river Rheidol, that have for many years, according to ancient custom, cut House Boot, &c., in the wood called ye Allt Rudd near Bwlch gwyn mine, being always accounted part of the common of the Mannor of Perveth."

¹ Further particulars concerning this suit, as well as to other matters which brought Morris into conflict with the county gentry, may be gleaned from Morris's History of the Crown Manor of Creuddyn, printed in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 565.

There is also a memorandum to the following effect :—

“ Very few of the Persons that are material evidences for the King about Bwlch gwyn mines will care to speak their minds unless forced thereto, for fear of disoblighing Mr. Powell, Mr. Parry, &c.”

In order to obtain the necessary evidence, some of those who had been concerned in what may be called acts of ownership in connection with the land in dispute are called upon to answer interrogatories, one set of which, *translated into Welsh*, forms the only other document now before me relating to this suit. The case set up by the Crown appears to have been somewhat as follows :—

A short time previously a mine had been discovered on Bwlch gwyn, which was the name of that portion of a large tract of unenclosed mountain land adjoining and lying over against a farm called Pen-y-berth, owned by Thomas Powell, and occupied by Richard Thomas Pugh as his tenant. A boundary fence, erected apparently by or on behalf of the “ brinkers”, separated this unenclosed land (including Bwlch gwyn) from the freehold farms that surrounded it. By a customary arrangement agreed to, or sanctioned by, the tenants of the lordship of Perfedd, each “ brinker” “ claimed” the exclusive use of that portion of the mountain which lay over against his own tenement, and such portion was designated—So-and-So’s “ liberty of pasture” (“ liberty *pori*”). Bwlchgwyn, on which the mine was situated, was recognised as the “ liberty” of Pen-y-berth. Each individual “ brinker” would also drive away, though he would never impound, the sheep or cattle of any other “ brinker” that might come to graze on his own “ liberty.” All unclaimed animals or Estrays (*Diarddel*) found on this mountain had to be delivered up to such person as had a grant of the Estrays of the lordship from the Crown under a lease. The plaintiff Powell however had, at some time or other, set up a claim to “ some lord-

ship in the commote of Perfedd," the public proclamation of which by a crier he had procured. A nominee of his had also been directed to collect the Estrays on Bwlch-gwyn.

These papers, as I have said, are undated, but the suit had probably been determined before 1750, "Powell carrying the cause in the Exchequer against the Crown." That Morris was blamed for the Crown's interference may be inferred from a letter (draft of which is before me) written by him early in 1750 to Gwyn Vaughan,¹ then a Commissioner of the Customs. Though the exact import of the first part of the communication is not apparent, I think it better to give it without any curtailment.

" Galltvadlog, near Aberystwyth,

" HOND. SIR,—

" Feb. 1, 1750.

" I recd. your kind favour of ye 29th Dec. in due time, and a few days ago I recd. ye Deputation from my Lord Lincoln,² one of which I herewith return executed by me. The distemper among ye cattle in England occasioned ye delay, for ye Carriers are not allowed to travel ye road.

" I have deferd answering yours till now in Expectation of seeing James James whom you had recommended, but he hath not yet called here, though I hear he hath letters for me, nor have I had an opportunity of going [there] to Dovey, but intend to go soon if he doth not

¹ He was of Jordanston, Pembrokeshire, being probably a son of Lewis Vaughan of that place (High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire for 1717) by Grace, daughter of Thomas Johnes of Llanfair Clydogau. Two members of the same family, probably son and grandson of the Commissioner, were Sheriffs in 1799 and 1813 (Allen, *Sheriffs of Pembrokeshire*). The Commissioner (who was a member of the Cymrodorion Society) died 20 March 1758. He has been erroneously identified (W. R. Williams, *Parl. Hist. of Wales*, p. 19; *Byegones* for 13 Mar. 1901, p. 54) with a namesake—who was the eldest son of Wm. Gwynn Vaughan, of Trebarried (M.P. for Brecknockshire 1721-1744). He is referred to by William Morris in a letter to Richard quoted in *Byegones*, loc. cit.

² Henry Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, whose wife was Catherine, eldest daughter and heiress of Henry Pelham. He inherited in 1768

come and see me. I shall do him all the service in my power, and you shall hear from me.

"[As for Gower's affair] I expect daily to hear from Mr. Reade with a Rent Roll [of my Lord's Estate], and till then I can do nothing in my Lord Lin(coln)'s affairs.

"As for ye Grant of Waives and Estrays, if you are concerned in it, I shall give you all the assistance I am able, to bring it into order, but if Mr. Johnes is concerned in it, I shall not care to meddle in it unless you'll lay your commands upon me, for he hath not used me as he ought. I had some busines with Mr. Powell ye other day at Nanteos, when he and his brother the clergyman could not help complaining what a cruell thing it was of ye Government to fall upon a private Gentleman as they had done upon him, and that it was wicked in me to be concerned against him for he was sure no body else would; all the answer I made was, that I was but a servant of ye Government's, and it was very hard the King should not have ye same privilege of defending his right as a private man had. I asked him whether he allowed the King had any property in this Country, to which he replyed, that he had much less than I imagind.

"In short the Insolence of these people is Intolerable, and I am sure that if some care be not immediately taken, about the King's rights in Wales, it will be all sunk in a few years. I wish his Majesty knew as well as I do the consequence this loss will be to him.

"I am Sir,

"Your most obligd & obedt. humble servant,

"L. M."

"G. Vaughan, Esq.

"I am told Mr. Powell is now about purchasing the Tythes of Cardiganshire of Mr. Chichester.¹ It is an Estate of about £700 a year, and will give him such a power here that there will be no living

the Dukedom of Newcastle, on the death of the Countess's uncle, Thomas Pelham, who had been created Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme, with special remainder to the Earl of Lincoln. Henry Pelham and (still more so) his brother, the 1st Duke, figure largely in Morris's correspondence.

¹ John Palmer Chichester, of Arlington Court, Devon, whose mother, Catherine, was buried in the church of Llanbadarn. Their grandson was High Sheriff of Cardiganshire for 1831. The tithes of Llanfihangel Genau'r Glyn and a moiety of those of Gwnnws belonged to the Chichester family (*Meyrick*, 304, 384, 430).

for any man but his creatures. If you or your friends have any inclination for such a purchase, I believe I can send for a full account of that Estate, but cannot at present find the papers.—I am, &c.”

From what has already been said, it may be seen that the advent of Lewis Morris into Cardiganshire was coincident with a considerable revival of activity in the mining industry of that part of the country.

In 1747, he set some miners to open an old drowned work known as Nant y Creiau in Llanbadarn Fawr. The Crown agreed to grant a lease of it to John Vaughan, a London merchant, who assigned his rights to Owen Meyrick. In September 1751, Powell of Nanteos, perceiving that it was not being worked by the Crown, set some miners to work it, but Morris threatened to prosecute them and they discontinued. Morris subsequently restarted it on behalf of the Crown a few years later, but in the meantime, that is, in 1751, he or his servants had discovered rich deposits of lead ore at Esgair y mwyn in the upper parcel of the parish of Gwnnws, and in the lordship (or manor) of Myfenydd, or broadly speaking about half-way between Strata Florida and Ysbytty Ystwyth. It was fully twenty miles from his home at Galltfadog, being separated from it by the Rheidol and Ystwyth, both often impassable in rainy weather, and by the very formidable spur of Plinlymon which forms the watershed between these two rivers. But despite the inhospitable nature of the region he had to traverse in order to reach the mine, Morris seems to have paid close attention to its development. In his capacity of Crown Steward he let it for the term of one year, from 1 July 1751, to three working miners (Evan Williams, John and David Morgan) at the rent of 10s. for every ton of ore raised. Some three months later, Morris himself and another person for his use entered into partnership with the three bargain-takers for the

remainder of their term, taking care to inform the Treasury of the transaction, which, as Morris subsequently alleged, was entered into "in order the better to secure the mine from several riotous persons who had a view to taking it by force, which they afterwards compass'd."

Meyrick, in his *History* of the county (p. ccxli), states, on what authority I know not, that during that year the partners "cleared about £1,300 each." The duty (at the rate of 10s. per ton) which Morris charged himself as having received was £500 3s. 9d., representing a total of 1,000 tons of ore raised. When in the subsequent litigation Morris was pressed for a detailed account of the receipts and disbursements for the year, his reply, as given in some memoranda, probably prepared for his counsel, was that

"the accounts for the year 1751 were private accounts between the partners who paid the Crown a duty per Ton, the partners being in a manner illiterate, and each keeping accts. on sticks or stones. No regular account was kept, all being concern'd in the expense of raising the ore and in the management. Therefore the Crown had nothing to do with *their private expenses* for raising the ore, and was only to receive the duty agreed upon; and they were apprehensive that if they could have produced any manner of an account of their expenses in raising that ore that the officers of the Crown would have taken it into their heads to charge them with the whole profits, especially as Mr. Sharpe [the Solicitor to the Treasury] and others had hinted that I had no authority to set that Bargain, and we look'd upon giving up those private accounts to be examin'd by the Crown to the giving up their right to that year's bargain, and it certainly would have been so; and I would have been charg'd with the whole year's profits."

After the expiration of the year's lease the Treasury, however, appointed Morris, on 15th July 1752, Agent and Superintendent of the Esgair y mwyn mine, and "all other mines which he had then discovered or should discover" on the wastes or commons of the Crown Manors in the counties of Cardigan and Merioneth. He

at once applied himself with characteristic energy to the development of the mine, for during the remainder of 1752, and before he could dispose of the ore raised in the interval, he "expended over and above the duty which he had received for ye Crown, many large sums of money of his own, in workmen's wages, and otherwise." But the owners of the freeholds adjoining the mine were not going to submit tamely to what they considered to be sheer confiscation of their property by the Crown, and several of the parties interested, including Lord Lisburn, Powell of Nanteos, and two brothers, John and David Williams (owners of Llwyn-y-mwyn and Cilfach-y-rhew which adjoined Esgair y mwyn), joined forces with the view of contesting the title set up by the Crown.

In anticipation of their attempting to dispossess him by some legal process, Morris wrote on 19 Feb. 1753 to one Thomas Evans, a London Attorney,¹ enclosing a copy of his Commission from the Treasury, and requesting him to obtain an opinion as to his position from "any eminent Council except ye Attorney-General, and except also such persons that you may suspect will be employ'd by my adversaries." The questions which he submitted in the letter were as follows :—

1. "Whether an Injunction from any Court of Law can or ought to stop me in working these mines for ye Crown? It would be a hard case upon me, after laying out my money in raising ore by virtue of the said Commission, to be obliged to stop and take off the King's miners that are in possession, only upon a false affidavit, pretending we commit waste on a freehold. If they could get an Injunction, I loose ye possession of course, and about the value of £6,000 in ore ready raised. . . .

¹ He was a native of Anglesey. His name appears in the list of members of the Cymmrodorion Society for 1759, his offices being then in the Inner Temple.

2. "If I am serv'd with a *supcena* to answer a bill in Chancery for being a forcible detainer of a freehold, &c., what answer can I make, as I work it under the above Commission for ye Crown? Am I to recite my Commission in answer?"

"I have worked ye mine by ye directions of ye officers of ye Crown since June 1751, without any claim or disturbance from the person that just now claims, and so far was he from claiming, that he assisted to carry on the mine and received pay, &c., and often declared to several persons he had no right there."

The first step which the claimant or claimants however took was to take possession of the mine by force.

On the 23rd of February 1753, two of the county magistrates, with the sheriff or his deputy, and "a mob of several hundred arm'd and tumultuous people," came to the banks of the mine and threatened not only the life of Lewis Morris, whom they regarded as the author of all the mischief, but also "the lives of his agents and miners on refusal to deliver up the possession of the mine," and further to enforce their threats, "one of the ringleaders, a Justice of the Peace, presented a cock'd pistol" at Morris's head, "and threaten'd to shoot him, while the rest surrounded him with firearms," and, seizing him, carried him a prisoner to Cardigan Gaol.¹ He remained there in confinement till the 4th April, when the Lord Chief Justice (Lee) admitted him to bail, on his own recognizances, to appear later at the King's Bench, when the question of title between the Crown and the claimants would come on for trial in the Exchequer Court.

Meanwhile, one John Ball (who figured largely in subsequent years), managed the mine for Powell of Nanteos, and "carryd away the King's ore". It was not long, however, before an order was made for the re-delivery of possession to the Crown pending the trial. Immediately

¹ Here he had a strange dream, which he reported to his brother in a letter of 1 Nov. 1757.

on his release, Lewis Morris proceeded to London in order to assist in the preparation of the case for the Crown. The following draft of a letter written by him from "Tavistock Court, 4th May 1753," to Gwyn Vaughan, shows how things were going at the time.

"HON'D SIR,—

* * * * *

"I have a letter this post from Mr. Johnes of Abermaide (the Justice that gave repossession of the mine to ye Crown with Lord Lisburn) wondering that Herbert Lloyd hath not been discharged from all offices under the Crown, and desiring to know whether anything is intended to be done against the two Justices for their behaviour at Esgair y mwyn. If not, he hints as if he himself would article against them.

"I have also a letter giving me an account that Mr. Evan Lloyd, who is Mr. Johnes of Lanvair the Custos's Agent, hath given Wm. Jones, one of ye Crown's under-agents at Esgair y mwyn, a private caution not to go near Aberystwyth or in ye way of ye rioters, for that he and other persons that he named are to be destroy'd if they can be found in a convenient place for that purpose.

"My orders for the work to go on was not arrived when these letters came off.

"P.S.—Mr. West¹ seemed to think it impracticable to advance me any money here to carry on the mine. If I am allow'd to go into the country and [be] properly protected there, with a military force, so that we may do our duty in safety, and that an example is made as soon as possible of some of ye rioters to check ye rest, there will be no occasion for ye public money, and I am far from desiring to finger any of them or meddle with them. I shall not think any future risque of my own money and credit too great if I was sure that I serve my Lord Lincoln. But if I am detained here and the mine carried on at my expence and that I don't know for whose Benefit I do this, perhaps for my very enemies, and that the people by me employ'd are in danger of their lives every minute as above mentioned, I think it is a situation that no man living would desire to be in."

On the 27th of June Morris attended "the Board of Treasury," when the First Lord, Henry Pelham, "in the presence of others of the lords", told him that he should have a settled salary as Agent and Superintendent of the

¹ Secretary to the Treasury.

mines, and it would have saved some future difficulty for Morris had the amount of the salary been then fixed. Some time afterwards, when Morris suggested £500, both the Secretary and Solicitor (West and Sharpe) thought it reasonable, but still later an attempt was made to disallow his salary altogether. Reverting to the chronological order of events, we find that early in August, Morris was able to report to his brother William at Holyhead that he had already overcome several of his opponents, and "the Esgair-y-mwyn Justices were struck out of their Commissions." In a letter of the 18th of August, he gives us a peep at the intriguing that was then going on with reference to the future disposition of the mine.

"Mr. Pelham is just come to town from Scarborough, and is now at Greenwich, considering upon this affair how to do for the best, *iddo ei hun ai deulu, ag nid i neb arall*"—that is, what is best for himself and his family and not for any others. And then he continues, in Welsh (into which his letters generally glide when he has anything very confidential to communicate)—"The Duke of Cumberland opposes Pelham with all his might in elections, and in everything else, and refuses to send soldiers to protect the Cardiganshire mine. So it is likely the King will have to be approached in the matter, for he is the sledge hammer to drive the nail home. The Duke says it is much fitter that the King's son rather than Pelham's son should have a lease of Esgair-y-mwyn."

Dr. Hampe, the Princess of Wales's German physician, and "a great mineralist," whose acquaintance Morris had made, was advising him to send some specimens of the ore to the King, who would be highly pleased to receive some from "his Welsh mines," but "perhaps I had better not, lest I offend Harri [Pelham]" is Morris's cautious conclusion. It would seem that the Earl of Powis was also

at this time trying to obtain a lease of the mine for himself, as he must, I think, be the nobleman¹ mysteriously referred to by Morris—again under the cover of Welsh in the same letter—"An Earl was in my chambers privily this morning. May God grant that it may come to pass as he and I intend that it should, then we can help our friends."

During the five months that Morris spent in London on this occasion, his time seems to have been pretty fully occupied, what between "drawing and obtaining affidavits from the King's witnesses in London and the country, assisting to search the records in the Tower and at the Rolls Chapel, defending ejectments and attending his Majesty's counsel in the cause till a feigned issue was agreed upon." The actual fight in the Law Courts was thus deferred till the ensuing judicial year. On his return to Cardiganshire, Morris found much to require his attention at home, and though usually a regular and voluminous

¹ This identification is confirmed by the fact that Morris in a subsequent letter (23 Oct.) refers to the Earl of Powis as being at that time a "supplicant" of his, and that the mine was in fact eventually leased to the Earl. It is also clear from the same letter that the "friend" whom Morris was most anxious to help was the poet Goronwy Owen, whose claims to clerical preferment he kept constantly bringing to Lord Powis's notice. The Earldom of Powis was at this time held by Henry Arthur Herbert (d. 11 Sept. 1772, aged 70), who inherited the Powis estates on the death, unmarried, in March 1748, of his kinsman William, 3rd Duke of Powis, and who was created Earl of Powis 27th May of the same year. Three years later (30 March 1751) he married Barbara, sole daughter of Lord Edward Herbert, only brother of the last Marquis. As her family was Roman Catholic, his Protestant, it was arranged that the eldest son and daughter by the marriage should be brought up as members of the Church of England, and the younger children in their mother's religion. They had only one son, George (1755-1801) -who succeeded his father as 2nd Earl—and three daughters, two of whom died in infancy, so that the Powis family thus ceased to be Roman Catholic.

correspondent, he could scarcely find time to write to his brother William, "being extreem busy setting things in order." Though there was probably less open violence, the animosity of the contending parties had increased in bitterness, and the Crown Agent described himself (on 28 Sept.) as being "in a continual state of war, law, squabbles, wrangling, enough to make the dullest fellow in ye world rouse his spirits, and to make a man of spirit mad." In addition to the mines, he had to attend occasionally to custom-house affairs at Aberdovey, where "they riot a little now and then, break our windows and threaten our officers, etc." On one of these visits he gathered shells for Lady Lincoln, and recommended his brother William to do the same—"and I will tell you how to make the shells your friends by recommending you to great folks" (Letter dated 23 Oct. 1753).

Besides his official cares he had also his own private troubles and anxieties: when he was at last able to get away from London, he hurried home "by forced marches," on a newly-bought mare, so as to be in time for the opening of the Great Sessions on September 1st, at Cardigan, where there was set down for hearing a lawsuit as to some property of his wife's known as the Cwmbwa estate.¹ His infant daughter, Jane, died on the 23rd October; while Eleanor, his second daughter by his 1st wife, was on the point of getting married, and before the year was out settled with her husband (Richard Morris) at Mathafarn,

¹ The suit was not, however, tried out at Cardigan. Morris was "advised to suffer judgment at common law, having no chance to try it in Cardiganshire"—he seemed to fear the Under Sheriff's partiality in empanelling a jury—"and (writes he on 31 Jan. 1754) have filed a cross bill since". This was done so as to remove the cause into Chancery. "Troubles enough of all conscience, and not a friend to help me!"

near Machynlleth.¹ But he never lost courage, or, at all events, there is nothing but a cheery optimism in all letters.

After much delay, the military arrived in order to protect the mines and miners, for on Dec. 1st, he reports himself as being then busy quartering them in proper places.² On that very day, too, good news reached him from London :—

“We have given our enemies another fall this term, and drove them off the walls again till next term, when no doubt they will make another attempt upon us. Some of our greatest managers above are my enemies also, which is a sad situation. But they could not help giving it under their hands by last post, that I had [done ?] very great things, in drawing myself ye affidavits of 16 men and so much to ye purpose as to defeat our opponents.”

What his “enemies” seem at this time to have aimed at, above all else, was utterly to destroy his credit, and the steps which he took to defend himself in this respect are indicated in another letter written from Galtvadog, 14 Dec. 1753, to his brother William :—

“I find it necessary to provide against next term some affidavits from the county of Anglesey, to guard against some malignant and spiteful affidavits that have been filed against me last term, in order

¹ “My wife is returned from Mathafarn and praises the place much, and the neighbourhood, *pobl ddinireidtiach a mwy cymdogol na Sir Aberteifi*. I have apply'd for a lease for R. M. for Mathafarn in Sir W[atkin] W[ynn]'s family after the most prudent manner I could.” (Letter of 1 Dec. 1753.)

² Dr. Thomas Rees, in his vol. on South Wales in *Beauties of England and Wales* Series (1813), referring to Esgair-y-mwyn says (p. 414) :—“The late Lord Lisburne claimed it, but Government sent down a party of Scots Greys under the command of the Custos Rotulorum, the late Thomas Johnes, Esq., who took possession of it for the Crown. The Duke of Newcastle, while Minister, granted a lease of it to 'the late Earl of Powis's father. This lease has been long expired, and it is now worked on sufferance.”

to throw dirt on my character, and to insinuate that I was but of a mean family and very little or no fortune, and not to be trusted with such a great concern as the mine in dispute, with abundance of venomous stuff of that kind; praying that a new receiver might be appointed and that I might be called to an account. The chief part of their requests were denied by ye Court, but I suspect they will make a fresh attack the first day of next term, by filing more affidavits to ye same purpose, for they now know what answers I have sent from hence to their last attack; and that those are not from my native country."

He then proceeds to name some Anglesey people who might be asked to assist him in the manner suggested, and encloses drafts for their use. But there was no time to be lost, for the affidavits had to reach the Solicitor to the Treasury in London "by ye 19th or 20th [of February] at furthest, to be copied and briefs drawn to Council against ye first day of Term." Some excellent affidavits, "very bitter and biting", were got ready, but the motion did not come on on the first day of Term as expected. "I should be extream glad", says Morris, however, "if our affidavits were read in Court, for they would expose them [his opponents] with a vengeance."

But the defence of his own character was not the only legal work which devolved upon him. The Treasury officials relied almost entirely upon him for the necessary evidence to establish the right of the Crown to the mine, and Morris must have been more than fully occupied during the earlier months of 1754 in interviewing likely witnesses, and in taking down proofs of their testimony:—"I shall be extream busy, and don't expect a night's easy rest till the month of June, however things will turn out",

¹ On 24 Dec. 1753, he wrote to William another letter, to the same effect. This is not included in the collection before me, but appears to have come into the possession of Chancellor D. Silvan Evans, who supplied a copy of it to Myrddinfardd, in whose *Adgof Uwch Anghof* (1883) it is printed (p. 4).

was what he wrote to his brother William on the last day of January, and, as it happens, the 8th of July is the date of the next letter of his which is preserved in this collection, though most probably the correspondence between the brothers was not wholly suspended in the interval. Belonging to this period, however, is a small memorandum book, inscribed "Witnesses examinati[ons]," originally containing (according to its table of contents) the proofs of ten witnesses, though only those of seven are now preserved in it, all of which is in Morris's own handwriting. When the time came for him to proceed to London for the trial he was accompanied by "near four score witnesses" from the country, and those whose names are given in this book are numbered 18 to 26, and 50. I think it is well to reproduce *in extenso* at least two of the proofs thus preserved, as they disclose to us the nature of the evidence on which the Crown relied, and also something as to the thorough method and the legal acumen of the Crown Agent.

"Margaret Richard, of parish of Gwnnws, the widdow of Jenkin Richard that sold Llwyn y mwyn to William Richard, aged about 62, was wife to Jenkin Richard when he sold Llwyn y mwyn and Cilfach y rhew to Wm. Richard, the father of ye plaintiffs, and had been for some years before. That the chief rent that Jenkin Richard used to pay to Lord Lisburn for Llwyn y mwyn and Cilfach y rhew was 22s. a year, and called Rhent Brenin, i.e. king's rent. That one Morgan Jones once took a lease of Llwyn y mwyn and Cilfach y rhew of Jenkin Richard for about £10 or £11 a year, but not liking his bargain did not come to live there, but gave Jenkin Richard about eight Pound or eight Guineas for takeing up ye bargain, who now says he had a lease of Esgair y mwyn. That she lived at Llwyn y mwyn with her husband for several years, and that neither she nor her husband ever claim'd further than the boundary fence to belong to Llwyn y mwyn freehold, and that Esgair y mwyn mine is on the Mynydd (or Common) and is not on the freehold of Llwyn y mwyn or Cilfach y rhew, or on any freehold. That her husband paid suit and service at the Court of ye Lordship usually kept at Llanilar, and that she remembers her husband had a law suit at ye Court kept at

Llanilar when they lived at Llwyn y mwyn. That there used to be more of ye Commoners cattle grazing on ye bank of Esgair y mwyn than of ye cattle belonging to her husband. That she often heard the *mynydd* or Common where Esgair y mwyn mine is, called *Tir y brenin*, i.e. King's land, and was also reputed so, and that particularly one time her husband J. R. told her a miner Lewis Richard, a nephew of his, wanted to take a bargain of him to raise ore on ye bank of Esgair y mwyn in an old trench there, and that Jenkin Richard told her he had refused to meddle with it because it belonged to ye King, or to that effect."

The following additional notes are added in the margin :—" M. R. shewed boundaries to Wm. Richard. Cattle turned to ye common when Wm. Richard attempted to distrain for rent. Morgan Robert, one of Mr. Powell's witnesses advised her to pretend sickness, and not to be a witness for the Crown."

" Richard Thomas, of Ty'n y banadl, in ye parish of Lledrod, aged about 52, born in ye neighbourhood of Esgair y mwyn and hath known it for above 40 years. Knows the mountain fence and all ye Tenements adjoining on it by name. That the said fence is ye boundary between ye freeholds and common, That from ye said fence to Claerwen and the lordship of Ysbytty is all an open Common, except a few huts which belong to particular persons ; that there is neither land mark nor division on ye said Common from ye mountain fence of Llwyn y mwyn and Cilfach y rhew to Claerwen. That the mine of Esgair y mwyn is on ye said Common, and not on ye freehold of John Williams or Lewis Williams, or any other freeholds whatsoever, and that it is on ye waste or common belonging to the Lordship of Mevenyth whose Courts Leet and Baron are usually kept at Llanilar within ye said Lordship, and sometimes at Lledrod, sometimes at Llan y Gweryddon. That he hath been often on ye Jury in that Court, and that formerly the said Courts were kept by Deputy Stewards under Mr. Brigstock in the King's name, and that the said Court was, since this deponent remembers it (which is far above 30 years past), always held in the King's name, or the name of ye Prince of Wales. That the tenants of the Lordship of Mevenyth attend the said Court from eight parishes, Gwnnws, Llanilar, Llan y Gweryddon, Lledrod, Llanddeiniol, Llanrhystyd, Rhosdie, Llanychaiarn, who send there eleven constables appointed by said Court. That the borderers on ye Common fence from Marchnad river to the river Teivi, attend and do suit and service in said Court. That the bank of Esgair y mwyn hath been always for 40 years past grazed in common by the inhabitants of ye Upper parcel of Gwnnws. That a Mayor and Biddle to gather Chief Rents in ye said manor are appointed yearly by ye Leet Jury of said Court, and that he hath

heard that Lord Lisburn hath a grant from ye Crown of certain Rents out of some tenements in the said Lordship of Mevenyth. That several of ye Tenants in ye Freeholds adjoining to ye Common take the Cattle and Sheep of distant Freeholders under their care to look after them on the Common, paying for the sd. care and keeping of them a few pence per head for ye season, as they have the opportunity of seeing them daily, and not that they have a greater right to the Common than others."

The proofs of the other deponents contain somewhat similar statements, which may be summarised as follows: That there was a boundary fence between the freeholds and the common, and each freehold went no further than the boundary fence; that from the fence of Llwyn y mwyn, Cilfach y rhew, Llwyn llwyd, etc., to the river Claerwen was all a Mynydd or *Communs*, without mere or division, which during the last thirty or forty years had been called sometimes Tir y brenin, and sometimes Cae Siors "(i.e. George's field), meaning that it was a common belonging to King George"; that it was a common to all the inhabitants of the upper parcel of Gwnnws, and was the same common as that on which Rhos fair was held three times every year; it was on this open common, and not on any freehold, that Esgair-y-mwyn mine was situated, and the Commoners depastured their sheep and cattle on Esgair-y-mwyn bank, as well as on any other bank on the said common, without let or hindrance.

As to the boundary fence, one of deponents, a man of sixty, adds that "ever since he remembers it, he hath seen it repaired by ye Tenants of adjoining freeholds, and hath heard always that it was presented at ye said Court Leet (usually held at Llanilar) if not repaired against summer. Also that the borderers on ye Common do now and then chace ye Commoners' cattle from their boundary fence, but that he remembers to have heard of their being punish'd for it by Justices of the Peace."

Another deponent, aged 67, referring to turf-cutting states that "the first that opens a Turf pit on ye common keeps it till he leaves it off". Some other interesting facts are added by another deponent, from whose proof a few concluding extracts must I think be given, especially as they further indicate the nature of the evidence on which the claimants relied.

"John Edward, of the parish of Gwnnws, aged about 66, born and bred at Llwyn y Gwyddyl in ye said parish, where he has lived ever since. Hath been a constable of ye upper parcel of Gwnnws above 20 years ago, to which office he was appointed by ye Jury of ye Court Leet of a Lordship whose Courts are kept usually at Llanilar, and that he hath also been appointed a sightman by ye said Court about 20 years ago and often since, to view and present ye great boundary fence dividing between ye freeholds and ye common in ye sd. upper parcel of Gwnnws, which fence reaches from ye river Marchnad to ye river Teivi. . . . That about 30 years ago or more he remembers the Tenants living at Llwyn y mwyn sent to his father to desire assistance to repair ye great boundary fence between Llwyn y mwyn and the *Mynydd* or *Commons* where Esgair y mwyn mine stands, it having been presented at ye Leet Court for being out of repair, and that deponent's brother was sent there to assist them to repair ye same against ye following Court.

"That about 7 years ago Deponent cut Turf for firing in a bog near Esgair Ddu on said Common in right of his Tenement of Ty'n rhos in said upper parcel of Gwnnws, and having no conveniency of carrying them home directly, he thought of makeing them into a stack at a place called y Garn wenn, because there were stones there to keep ye cattle from throwing them down that had been gathered by some other persons, but recollecting that some 30 or 40 years ago he had seen Turf there stacked, belonging to the mother of Jenkin Richard, once owner of Llwyn y mwyn, he was afraid that John Williams, present owner of Llwyn y mwyn, would give him some interruption, because his Predecessors might have been ye persons that had rais'd those stones for that purpose, and therefore he went to said John Williams and told him he had seen the Turf of ye aforesd. old woman in ye said *Garn wenn*. and asked him whether there was any harm if he laid his turf there that year, meaning that as he imagin'd the former owner of Llywn y mwyn had raised those stones to defend their Turf, John Williams might have some claim to that turf stack site, and Deponent saith that he had no manner of notion that John

Williams had any better claim to ye mountain from ye boundary fence to ye river Claerwen than all others of ye inhabitants of ye Lordship. And this Deponent hath cut Turf near Esgair Ddu without interruption for about 13 years past, and that his father used to cut Turf for fireing at Rhos maen gwelw on said common for about 60 years or as long as this Dept. can remember any thing. That he hath rais'd Tythes of Corn with his father on said Tenement of Llwyn y mwyn on a part of it below the great boundary fence, commonly called rhwng y ddeuglawdd, and within ye freehold of Llwyn y mwyn, which bank is also called Esgair y mwyn, because it is a continuation of said bank of Esgair y mwyn on ye Common.

"That about ye beginning of April 1754 Thomas Richard, an Agent of Lord Lisburn, came to this Deponent and charged him not to go to Mr. Lewis Morris, the King's Agent, at Esgair y mwyn, to testify anything in relation to the said mine, and that none of my Lord's tenants were to go and give their evidence at their peril, this Deponent being one of Ld. Lisburn's tenants."

Three documents relating to this case (which was intituled *The Attorney-General v. Lord Lisburne and others*) are preserved at the Record Office:—

1. The bill of complaint or information of the Attorney-General—a huge document measuring 10ft. by 3ft.
2. Answer of John Williams and Lewis Williams, two of the defendants; and
3. Answer of Lord Lisburne, Charles Waller and William Powell, other defendants.

Great must have been the excitement in North Cardiganshire towards the end of April 1754, where the forces of the contending parties were being marshalled, and the witnesses, in two separate armies, were being got ready to proceed to London for the impending battle. On King George's side, Lewis Morris (who left home on or about April 26) brought up with him "near four score witnesses that he had subpoenaed in the country", and after his arrival in London with this personally conducted party, his time was taken up in assisting the Solicitor to the Treasury (Mr. Sharpe), taking care of the witnesses—no

light task!—and “drawing releases of their several Titles and other matters”. When this had been going on for about three weeks, lo! the end came like a bolt from the blue, and the Cardiganshire folk were deprived of the honour of being actors in a great dramatic trial.

An arrangement partaking of the nature of a compromise was arrived at, “upon the Government’s agreeing with the claimants for their rights in the mines,”¹ but it was, in effect, an almost unqualified victory for the Crown, for on the 24th of May “the Claimants suffered a non-suit.” At the same time, the Crown also discontinued its intended prosecution of the ringleaders of the riot of Feb. 1753, for their riotous conduct, and their assault upon the King’s Agent. Morris himself was, however, far from approving of such leniency towards his enemies, especially as “Lord Mansfield, then Solr.-General had declared upon the consultation on the affair at the house of Sir Dudley Rider, then Attorney-General, that upon an action being brought for the false imprisonment, etc., a Middlesex jury (he did not doubt) would at least give a verdict for £500” in Morris’s favour. With very proper caution, the Treasury took steps to perpetuate the testimony of the witnesses who had been brought up to London, the versatile Morris being naturally requisitioned “to settle their affidavits . . . to be ready for a future defence.”

Though a sort of compromise had been arrived at, it does not seem to have covered all the points at issue, for even subsequent to the non-suit, Morris, according to his own account, “assisted to give instructions to the Attorney-Genl. in drawing a bill to be prefer’d against

¹ In another connection it is stated that “the property of the said mine was establish’d by some releases made to the Crown by the several persons that litigated the Crown’s right.”

the Claimants, Mr. Powell, Lord Lisburne and others," but this bill must have been subsequently abandoned under circumstances to be mentioned later on.

The litigation, even so far as it has already gone, had cost at least one of the claimants more than he could well afford, if common gossip was to be believed, for Powel of Nanteos was said to have been obliged to borrow more than £1,500 to go on with it,—and "he calls for his rents before hand, and curses the hour he ever meddled with this Lawsuit."¹ We shall see later on how there came to the relief of the claimants a *deus ex machina* in the person of Mr. Chauncey Townsend.

After the non-suit Morris was not long detained in London, for he appears to have reached his home at Gallt-fadog on or about the 19th of June. Here he found himself the hero of the hour, for there was now no lack of people who openly proclaimed themselves as his partisans, and they celebrated his triumph in characteristic fashion at the annual fair held on the 2nd of July at Ystradmeurig, which was only some two or three miles distant from the mine. A graphic account of this affair, together with other interesting information, is contained in a letter which he wrote from Esgair-y-mwyn to his brother William a few days later—8 July.

. . . . "I am here [*i.e.* at Esgair-y-mwyn] at ye Quarter's pay, paying miners, carriers, washers, witnesses, &c., *nid llai na mil o bunnau a gludais i o arian oddicartref i dalu iddynt.*"² A prodigious affair, no wonder people should run mad about it. Mae'n debyg mae

¹ Letter 8 Sept. 1754.

² The magnitude of his transactions about this time may be inferred from a letter he wrote to his brother more than two years later (12 March 1757). "I have had above £8,000 in money in ye house at ye same time, where ye meanest shepherd might have come at them, but such is ye honesty of Card[igan]shire in that respect, and their Ignorance, that I never was robbed of any."

fi yw'r sobraf o'r holl genedlaeth ag yn cadw lleiaf o swm yn ei gylch ac yn cadw fy lle yn lew hyd yn hyn er gwaetha'r gelyn ddyn. I have a fine prospect of Lead ore on a Tenement that I have a Lease of on ye forefield of Esgair y mwyn, the same vein. This will drive them madder then ever, we are raising some ore there and I believe it will answer. . . . Notwithstanding all the surprising schemes of my Enemies I have defeated them surprisingly, and trust in God I shall hereafter. . . .

"Yr ydym ni wedi gorthrechu 'r Gelyn am *fobbio* yn glir lân. Ni fu'r fath *Lachio* erioed yn Llanerchymedd ag a fu yma yn ffair Ystrad meurig yr wythnos ddiwaethaf; fe ddarfu ein pobl ni drwy nerth *cocâdes*¹ a'r cwrw ei Sgwrrio nhwy'n *Deifs* ag yn Wyddelod drwy'r ffair yn ôl ac ymlaen, dros bedair Battel a wnaethont, roedd yno gantoeidd o Gloliau cochion i bawb a waeddai *Bowel for Ever; King George* a *Mr. Morris for ever* oedd yn ei charrio hi yn dëg. Would any man believe such a thing possible? But so it is. Fair honest dealings and punctual payments, and an open behaviour hath outdone all their schemes and villanies, and hath brought the body of ye country [on] our side."

Another source of much gratification to Morris was the great and increasing confidence that the Earl of Powis now seemed to place in him. By this time, the Earl had probably become interested in some of the numerous mines of the upper part of Cardiganshire. If so, it was probably about these mines that Morris would be so consulted. At all events, he informs his brother (in a letter dated 8 Sept.) that he was then in such high favour with the Earl that his lordship did nothing of importance without first consulting him "and there is often two messengers in the same week from him to me". No wonder that many were jealous of Morris's good fortune, and, as he says, were full of venom, "*O achos fod dynyn truan yn mynd rhagddo*" . . . "It is envy more than anything else that poisons the mind of Collector Smith," and he, whoever he might be, was only a type of the many, for "this affair [of Esgair-y

¹ The royal favours, the black cockades of Hanover, as distinguished from the white cockades of the Stuarts.

mwyn] is vastly magnify'd in all countries to be a prodigious affair for my profit."

The success which had hitherto crowned nearly all his efforts, led Morris to believe that he was the object of special protection at the hands of a kind Providence. "The Gods take care of Cato", he quoted in one of his letters to his brother (26 Oct. 1754)—"and why not of me? You see they do, and everybody sees it. Then what signifys the efforts of little mortal animals to hurt me?" What he might have feared, however, was that there should be a Nemesis pursuing him, on account of the undue share of good fortune which had fallen to his lot. Already some events had happened which might have served him as warnings, but for his placid optimism, and the almost overweening confidence which he had in himself. The political situation, on which much depended, had undergone considerable change through the death of Henry Pelham, in March 1754, even though his brother the Duke of Newcastle succeeded him as Prime Minister. A Ministerial crisis or a General Election might bring some of Morris's opponents into influence and power. He soon had reason to believe that some of the Treasury officials, notably West and Sharpe, were probably not too well disposed towards him.¹ A letter from West, dated 19 June 1754, forbade him to dispose of any more ore. An incident which occurred later on in the same year illustrates the kind of treatment he received from the Treasury. Morris's own account of it,² though somewhat lengthy, deserves reproduction.

¹ "Mr. Sharpe always endeavoured to hurt me since the year 1745, when I had some dispute with him about money, and there are gentlemen belonging to the Treasury who know it and were concerned in that affair."—(From a Memorandum written by Morris, probably in 1757.)

² In a letter to William Morris from "Galltvdog, Oct. 26th, 1754."

"It was contrived by some little malicious fellow in ye Exchequer the other day to get an Exchequer process directed to ye Sheriff of Cardigan to distrain on me for £100, money remitted me in ye year 1745 and 46 to be laid out to Lawyers, &c. for the King's service and for which I was accountable. I had accounted for the money and for several hundreds after that, but for all this the Sheriff distrained, and I gave him a note for £100. Doth not this look odd, think you? The very person on whom depends all their affairs here to be distrained upon by a Tory Sheriff. Now a passionate man (as they call me at ye Treasury) would have thrown dirt in their faces, and kick'd all about him. But another of ye Gods of ye ancients called *Patience* told me that it was impossible this could come from the leading men my superiors, for it was too ill-timed a thing if they had a mind to fall out with me, and it was the direct way to drive me off with what money I could lay my hands on, and to suffer all to go to wreck and ruin. Therefore I immediately wrote to ye Sollr. of the Treasury [John Sharpe] to desire him to put a stop to these Excheqr. processes, for that I should be never safe to enjoy one penny of ye money paid me by ye Treasury for my services while this gate was open. How slippery is our situation! A man may be thunder-struck with a writ from ye Excheqr. for money he hath accounted for ten years ago, and all his effects swept away, and it shall cost him a London journey and a Quarter of a year's application before he can recover his own, and yet not know as long as he lives from whence the bolt comes. . . . The Sollr. was never more surpris'd at anything than at this proceeding, and doth not know how it came about, wrote to me that he wd. get an order of ye Treasury to the Sheriff to return me my note, &c., &c., &c., and that I was to have all the countenance, assistance, &c., as I could wish to have: *diolch i chwi ebr finau.*"

More than two years had now elapsed since Morris had been appointed Superintendent of the King's mines, but as yet he had not submitted to the Treasury any statement of his receipts and disbursements. While actively engaged in preparing the case for the Crown, he had scarcely time to attend to the matter, but after the non-suit, he was probably expected to do so forthwith. But the fact that he did not promptly respond to a request to that effect gave room in the official mind to that suspicion of his conduct which his opponents had sedulously fostered by insinuating that he was not to be trusted with the

management of so great an affair. As his delay in this respect appears to have been the source of almost all his subsequent troubles, his own explanation of it, given when he was placed in the position of defendant, ought to be here quoted.

“ This deft. admits that he did for some time defer to deliver in his accounts after he had been required there to by the Sollr. and Secretary of the Treasury, by reason that this deft. did not think it safe for him so to do, not only as this deft. was at a constant considerable expence in working the said mine and in raising of ore where some Hundreds of persons were concerned under deft's. management and on his credit, but also as several other persons litigated the property of the said mine, and in case such persons could have made it appear that they had a right to such mine, this deft. was afraid he might be answerable over to them for such money as then remained in his hands. And what increased this deft's. fears was that, by a letter dated June 19th 1754, defendant was forbid by Mr. West, Secretary of the Treasury, to dispose of any more ore, the consequence of which was, that the money in deft's. hands must be laid out to carry on the mine or else that the raising of ore must be stop'd.”

In the following autumn, Morris did, however, make preparations for proceeding to London to pass his accounts, and, as the unsold ore was accumulating in the warehouses, he wrote (5 Oct. 1754) to Sharpe, inquiring whether he might not sell it as he “purposed to come to London that winter with his accounts”. The prohibition was not cancelled, but Morris was assured (31 Dec. 1754) that if any ore were lost during his absence, he would not be held accountable for it. Immediately on receipt of this letter (on or about 3 Jan. 1755) Morris stopped the raising of ore, dismissed all the workman except an agent (William Jones) and a number of men who were kept on to pump the water and to keep the works in repair generally.

Having made these arrangements for his absence, Morris, on the 21st January, set out for London with his books of account, being accompanied by his nephew, John

Owen,¹ to whom most of the book-keeping had been entrusted. Towards the end of February, or early in March, he delivered "an Abstract of his Payments and Receipts in relation to the mine", for submission to the Duke of Newcastle, who required such an Abstract (so Morris had been informed) so that "he might see how matters stood, and that he might the better judge how the accounts were to be pass'd, and what allowances were to be made" to Morris, "and that he might also inform himself of the value of the mine and how to Lease it." In this Abstract, which extended from 1 July 1751 to 3 Jan. 1755, Morris stated his receipts at £13,684 12s. 11d., and his disbursements (including payments made by order of the officers of the Treasury) at £12,594 11s. 6½d., which left in his hands a balance of £1,090 1s. 4¾d. An obvious discrepancy, which told against Morris's accuracy, whatever about his honesty, did not escape the notice of the Treasury officials. He had charged for the washing and carriage to Aberystwyth of 1,767 tons of ore, but had accounted for only 1,611 tons of it as sold. Morris does not appear to have been told of this discrepancy immediately it was detected, and it would seem that it was a considerable time after that he was asked to explain it.²

¹ John Owen (who like Edward Hughes had come from Anglesey to Cardiganshire) was a son of a sister of Morris. He eventually became a purser in the navy and died at sea, some time between 1759 and 1762. He was a promising poet, and a friend of Ieuan Brydydd Hir and Goronwy Owen.

² Morris's explanation was that the remainder of the ore was supposed to be in the warehouse at Aberystwyth, unless it had been stolen, either in 1753, when Morris was put by the rioters in Cardigan Gaol, or "after the soldiers were taken off who, for some time, by order of the Government, guarded the warehouses where the said ore was kept; those warehouses have been often broke open by storms and sometimes (as defendant verily believes) by ill-disposed persons, upon a presumption that the mine and the ore was the

In fact, Morris assumed an attitude of haughty aloofness so far as the Treasury officials were concerned, and having understood that they doubted his honesty he would not condescend to go near them, unless specially requested to do so, and did his business with them chiefly by correspondence, though he had taken lodgings quite close to the Government offices, viz., "at Hopkins and Taylor, the corner house in St. Martin's Churchyard, St. Martin's Lane, Westminster".

"I have a kind of spirit that cannot bend," he wrote to his brother at Holyhead on 14th May, "and now they call me here about ye offices the *Proud hot Welshman*, oblegyd¹ er fy mod yn Llundain er dechreu Chwefror, nid eis i etto i ymddangos nag i ymostwng i un o wyr y Treasury er cymaint ydynt; nid oes ryfedd ynteu fy mod yma cyhyd. Gadewch iddo. I will have it done in my own way, or it shall not be done at all. Mi² af i Ffraingc, mi af i Fflandrys, mi af i Gaerdroia, cyn y caffont y gair i ddywedyd fy mod i yn dwyllwr, nag yn rhagrithiwr. This was attempted, and all the ill offices that could be done me. I was the greatest rogue in ye Kingdom, not to be trusted with money, or with the King's effects. Was it not my business to clear these affairs up before I went to cringe to any of them? I don't want their favours, if I have but fair play I shall get off with money in my Pocket, a³ draen yn eu coppiau."

He had by this time fully realised that there were in-

property of the public." There was another explanation possible: by order of the Government Examiners (Paynter and Tidy), the ore remaining in the neighbourhood was weighed out—without any notice given to Morris, and in the absence of the Examiners themselves—by "strangers who they knew to be [his] enemies, and declared them so, . . . who might give what account and what weight they pleased."

¹ For though I am in London since the beginning of February, I have not yet gone to show myself or to bend before any of the Treasury people, great though they are. No wonder I am here so long. So let it be.

² To France, to Flanders, even to Troy will I go before they can say I am a cheat or a hypocrite.

³ And thorns in their heads.

fluences most inimical to his interests working against him at the Treasury; "I have powerful people against me, tooth and nail", he wrote as early as Feb. 11—then in Welsh—"nor is my own party weak. The great sledge hammer¹ says I shall suffer no wrong." Then some two months later (19 April):—"I am obliged to fight hard here and gain ground but by inch and inch, so strong are the party against me in the Treasury, who have suffer'd my opponents to do surprizing illegal things against me."

By the beginning of April, if not indeed earlier, he must also have discovered that the Treasury had been somehow influenced—probably through secret channels—to show a more yielding disposition in the matter of its title to the mine, and had practically abandoned the position which Morris himself had taken up and had so valiantly defended. What appears to have happened was this: some time after the non-suit in the Exchequer Court, Chauncey Townsend (M.P. for Westbury, and Alderman of the city of London),² purchased from the claimants

¹ Morris elsewhere applies this expression—*y morthwyl mawr*—to the King, who seems to have been approached on his behalf, but I think Newcastle is meant here.

² Townsend, who was a wealthy merchant of Austin Friars, London, had, among other properties, extensive collieries and copper works in the parish of Llansamlet, just outside Swansea, being in fact the originator of the coal trade on the East, or Kilvey, side of the river Tawe. He first leased the Birchgrove colliery area from Mary Morgan, widow, of Llansamlet (*circa* 1746-50), and subsequently acquired further coal measures from the Mansels of Margam, under leases of the 7th Nov. 1750 and 1 Sept. 1755, the latter being confirmed by a Private Act of Parliament in 1767. His 4th son, Joseph Townsend (1739-1816), became known as a geologist and mineralogist, and is noticed in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*. A daughter married John Smith, of Drapers Hall, London, who thus acquired the Birchgrove leasehold and settled at Gwernllwyn-chwith close by—whence the Smiths of that place. Townsend and Smith had also an interest in Lead Works, at Upper Bank, Swansea, and are said to have worked lead mines at Pengored, near Llechryd in South Cardiganshire (see

what Morris called "their pretended right and title to the mine," paying therefor, it was said, about a Thousand Pounds, and promising also to pay the costs of the law-suit. Townsend then approached the Lords of the Treasury, and *mirabile dictu!* succeeded in persuading them to buy him out, so as to save further law-suits.¹ For his title he was paid £3,500, and was also allowed all the unsold lead ore then lying on the bank of the mine, which ore alone Morris asserted to be worth about £4,000, and he had every opportunity of knowing, for the ore was delivered by his agents to those of Townsend between April and September 1755.

It is scarcely necessary to add that, under these circumstances, the bill which the Attorney-General had intended to prefer against the claimants would naturally be abandoned. In October, Morris suspected that "Townsend's people were upon playing tricks" with the under agent, William Jones, "as they find he is a fool." Here is "a bold attempt a-making by Townsend to abolish the bargain made with Evan Williams and the two Morgans"; "I pre-

Grant Francis' *Smelting of Copper in the Swansea District*, 117-120). Meyrick (*Hist.*, Intro. pp. 225-6) says that Townsend also worked the Goginan and Llanfair lead and silver mines, and that the mines of Cwmervin belonged at one time to the "heirs of Townsend, Smith and Co." (Walter Davies, *Agricultural Survey of South Wales*). He also had "works" at Llanelly, in Carmarthenshire, in 1754 (Mee's *Llanelly Parish Church*, pp. xxii, xxvi, and 97). Townsend died in 1770.

¹ In the bitterness of his heart Lewis Morris thus mentions the matter in a letter to his brother (12 June 1755): "The Lords of the Treasury know that Townsend is a rascal and a Bite, yet they suffer him to make fools of them before their faces." Referring elsewhere to the mine at Nant y creiau, where Morris had raised a few tons of ore, and had left it on the bank unwashed, he says (*Meyrick*, p. 564): "Being called for to London to pass my accounts, I had no sooner turned my back, but Powell and Townsend's people, John Ball, &c., went there and dressed the ore and carried it off by a mob of the poorest people they could find."

sume Oliver," whoever he was, "is at the bottom of it." This was probably the beginning of much trouble.

Affairs had thus taken a turn which assuredly was not to Morris's liking, but he was as confident as ever that eventually all would be well with him. However numerous his enemies, he felt that he could count upon all the influence that the Earl of Powis could exercise in his favour, while the Duke of Newcastle had also flattered, and perhaps deceived him, with some vague promises of his protection. His changing mood during this period of uncertainty is doubtless reflected pretty accurately in his letters to his brother William. He is never weary of praising the Earl, who at times would visit him at his lodgings almost every day, sometimes even twice a day. "It is a great honor to be concern'd with such a man even in writing, dictating, contriving, and planning Letters." "He waits on me instead of my waiting on him." "Have I not done surprizing things¹ to bring such a great man to wait on my Levie!" he jestingly exclaims, though as if suddenly sobered, he adds—in Welsh—"But God help me, I am poor and friendless enough, and without a single man of sense in my service, a terrible case." He however reports in the same letter (14 May), that the Duke of Newcastle had said that he (Morris) was in the right.

¹ Morris greatly pleased the Earl by presenting him on 19 April 1755 with "a most noble MS. upon vellum with the pedigree and arms of ye Herberts finely drawn and proved from ancient records. deeds, MS., histories, &c." On the birth of the Earl's only son (Lord Ludlow), in July, Morris induced his friend Goronwy Owen to write an elaborate ode in Welsh and Latin to celebrate the event. But it was not delivered to his Lordship till August 1756 (see *Works of Goronwy Owen*, ed. R. Jones, p. 246). About the end of 1756, Morris further presented the Earl with a fine collection of shells and mineralogical specimens, the acquisition and the classification of which in a specially constructed cabinet, had claimed the attention of the brothers Lewis and William for several months previously.

A month later (12 June), he is somewhat puzzled at the way in which the Government's patronage was being dispensed :—

"I have made surprizing defences here, and God visibly help'd me by unsearchable ways. If this great opposition had not been made to me, I should have been no more known among them than *Lolŷr Gŷyddl*, but now my name is as well known at ye Treasury and at ye D. of N. Castle's Levy as the name of the Attorney-General.—'I don't know how this man came to be made boatman at Aberystwyth' said one of his Secretaries to the Duke the other day. 'Lewis Morris used to have the Nomination of the officers in that country. I must give the Commissioners [of Customs] a rebuff about this affair.' And yet, at the very same time, this sneak is ready to undermine me. Its a servant of Powel's that they have made Boatman there! I am offended to the very marrow."

Morris thought it was the work of Commissioner Gwyn Vaughan, in order to spite him, "a weak stroke of malice, thank God that greater things are not in his power." In his anger, he felt disposed to throw up his collectorship of Customs, but on second thought, "I shall exchange it, if possible, for a better, so that I may not be under a malicious sneak."

But there was another matter that augured still worse for him than this appointment of the boatman. The sitting member for Cardiganshire, John Lloyd of Peterwell, was expected to die shortly, which in fact he did before the month (June) was out, and Morris heard to his chagrin that Lord Lisburne's son was to be put forward as a candidate "through the interest of the Government!" "Monstrous! the man who the other day made them spend thousands of pounds on the lawsuit, through his joining Powel and the Jacobites."

The correspondence during the summer months was more than usually voluminous, some twenty letters being written to William during July, August and September. So far, the contest with the Treasury officials appears to have chiefly related to the questions how and by whom

the accounts were to be taken; the impression which the correspondence conveys is that of a succession of intermittent "alarums and excursions," which left the parties in pretty much the same position, though Morris felt convinced that he was steadily gaining ground, thanks to Lord Powis's unceasing exertions on his behalf. More than once he compares himself to a wether entangled among brambles (*llwdn dafad mewn drysi, cant o fieri a gafael yn fy nqwlan*) and set upon by a gang of sheep-stealers. "I have just got free from one bramble bush, so Lord Powis tells me to-day," he writes on 23 June. On 4 July¹ he reports that the Earl had paid another visit to the Treasury, "and I hope he hath carried the point we wanted, as our adversaries have fortify'd themselves so well by bribery and corruption we are obliged to fight our way inch by inch," but he hoped to undermine them very shortly as there remained "only one tower unconquered". "The more I advance in my affairs, new difficulties start, as if they had a mind I never should have an end", was what he had to confess on 15 July; "but they use Lord Powis as they do me, so I suffer in good company, and I would not desire better. I shall hear to-day from Lord Powis how this last contrivance is like to turn out: surprizing people, made up of Pride, Ignorance, and Falsity". On the 21st he declares himself "tired of writing accounts, &c." and is uneasy because he had not heard from Lord Powis, who was so busy about christening his son that there was "no seeing of him".²

¹ A day or two before this, Morris removed from his lodgings at St. Martin's lane to "Mr. Prestwood's over against the coffee-house on Great Tower hill," where he would be near his brother Richard at the Navy office.

² In the same letter he says: "God hath sent away two of the dogs that bark'd at me in Ceredigion, one of them ye very worst in ye world: he died last week at a Tenant's house of mine, a public-house, with ye d—l in his mouth. A Rare breed!"

were to be put

[illegible]

At the end of July, the Treasury officials seem to have gone away on a holiday. Morris remained in town, utilising his leisure in preparing a work on Mines, and in endeavouring to get a living for Goronwy Owen. "If my affairs were determined," he writes on 2nd August, "he would be sure of a living, but I cannot push things on so heartily as affairs are now circumstanced. Things are in a fair way of doing well, but that we move slow." He was chafing at being obliged to stay in London instead of pushing on matters at his own mine of Cwmervin (which "will make a good thing"). By the 22nd September he was able to inform his brother that he was then expecting orders to begin the examination of his accounts.

When at last the order came (by letter of 2nd October from Mr. Harding, Secretary to the Treasury) Morris was jubilant at the choice of Examiners on behalf of the Crown. An effort had been made on his behalf to secure the nomination of two old Anglesey friends—Williams of Geirchog, and William Parry, of Gwredog.¹ But this was frustrated through the Treasury obtaining information of their being friends of Morris. The persons eventually selected were John Tidy (steward to the Earl of Darlington, who was then one of the Lords of the Treasury) and John Paynter, who has been previously mentioned as resident manager of the Cwmsymlog mine under William Corbett. Morris alludes to Paynter as "formerly of Penrhyn" [? Penrhyn Deudraeth²], refers to their old acquaint-

¹ Parry was Deputy Comptroller of the Mint. Goronwy Owen, in 1755, invited him (in a *Cywydd* printed in Owen's *Works*, ed. R. Jones, p. 178) to visit the poet at Northolt. He was the *Cofiadur* or Recorder of the Cymmrodorion Society in 1759.

² After perusing a pedigree communicated to me by Mr. Charles E. Paynter, of 61, Devonshire Road, Cloughton, Cheshire, I have come to the conclusion (though it is not directly suggested by the pedigree) that the Paynter of our text should be identified with a John Paynter

tanceship, and never for a moment questions the staunchness of his friendship, though the Treasury officials were not to know anything of this. It was on Lord Powis's recommendation that Paynter was selected,¹ and Morris readily accepted the selection.

The efforts made to secure the appointment of a friendly examiner, and Morris's elation at his success in that respect, coupled with some vague allusions to what he hoped to gain thereby,² seem to suggest that it was not merely

who, in 1734, married one Elizabeth Perks, by whom he had four sons—Andrew, Thomas, John and William. Andrew (1735-1802) became an officer of the customs, and married a daughter of Joseph Cox, comptroller of customs at Pwllheli, by Ellen Wynne, of Glasgoed, Llanddeiniolen. He was buried at Llanfrothen; his widow removed to Amlwch, and the High Sheriff of Anglesey for 1871 (T. Wynne Paynter, of Amlwch) was their grandson. (*Cymru* for Jan. 1896, x, 29-36.) Andrew's customs appointment was perhaps secured through his father's connection with the Corbett's, and William (born 1741) was probably the "William Paynter, Navy Office, gent.," who figures in the list of Cymmrodorion members for 1759, being described as a native of Denbighshire. The third son, John, married a widow named Eleanor Morris. It is not improbable that she was Lewis Morris's daughter of that name, who married (for her first husband) Richard Morris, of Mathafarn. John and Eleanor Paynter lived at Aberdovey, and were buried in the parish churchyard of Towyn, the husband on 28 Oct. 1815, aged 78, and his widow on 21 Sept. 1820, aged 90. The earliest Paynters were interested in lead mining, and most probably came to Wales from Cornwall. There is no traceable connection between them and the Paynters of Dale in Pembrokeshire, which is believed to have been an offshoot of the Paynters of Boskenna, near Penzance in Cornwall. (For pedigrees of these latter families see *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1875), p. 1062, and Supplement, p. 54.)

¹ Onid oedd Arglwydd Powys lwyd a minau yn bobl ryfeddol ei hymladd hi hyd yma, a chael Sion Painter y dyn clifria yn y deyrnas am y fath beth? Oeddem, Oddem" (Oct. 13, 1755).

² In referring to Tidy as Earl Darlington's Steward he says—"Os yw'r gwas fal y meistr, mi wnawn o'r goreu ag ef." In fact Tidy is represented somewhat as a lay figure, Paynter wielding the controlling and directing power in the whole proceedings. As to the Treasury officials—"if they are other people's fools, pan na fyddant i minnau?"

fear lest he should suffer injustice at the hands of hostile examiners that influenced him, but that there had been some irregularities which he wished, if possible, to be passed over lightly. On the other hand, one cannot too much emphasize the fact that, though these letters were written confidentially to his brother, their whole tone is that of righteous indignation at injustice done to Morris by the Treasury officials, and there is not a single statement from which one could reasonably infer that he had been guilty of anything worse than slight irregularities, if so much,—certainly not of the systematic speculation which was the hitherto unformulated charge against him.

On 9 October the two Examiners commenced their investigation of Morris's Abstract or "General Statement of Payments and Receipts," and Morris, who had handed in his books and vouchers, "assisted them almost every day", until the conclusion of the audit on the 28th, when the Examiners "seem'd well pleased" with the explanations that had been furnished them. Two days later, according to the Answer which Morris filed in the subsequent proceedings, Paynter came to his lodgings and informed him that "he and Tidy had been the day before with Mr. Sharpe, who was ordered by the Treasury to assist them, and that they had shew'd to Mr. Sharpe a draught of [Morris's] accounts as stated by them, and had taken his directions how to make the report, and that Sharpe had approved of the said accounts, and that they would be passed as they were in his books, except some few trifling articles which he said they had struck off to shew their assiduity". Paynter at the same time shewed to Morris a draft of the report which he and Tidy intended to make. No report was then, however, presented; and Morris subsequently alleged that the object of the Examiners in declining to report was "to delay the

time and to continue their employment by the Treasury, as they were greatly paid by them"—their remuneration being at the rate of Two Guineas a day each—and also to secure thereby the appointment of one of them to succeed Morris in the management of the Mine.

A fuller account of the interview with Paynter on 30 Oct. 1755 is contained in a long letter written on the same day by Morris to a certain noble lord, undoubtedly the Earl of Powis.¹ In this, the writer reproduces Paynter's account of what he had heard at the Treasury. Sharpe had shown the Examiners a letter addressed to the Treasury by a "Mr. Knightley", which Morris believed to be a fictitious name assumed to cover an anonymous attack on him. "No doubt it came from Commsr. Welles and Townsend", writes Morris, and to the latter he attributes its "venom and low cunning".

"He hints, there should be a *View of the Mine*, that [it] is going to ruin, that these Examiners are men of knowledge and would discover my frauds; That he had heard my character in travelling from Swansey to Aberystwyth, and was desired to *let them know* by word of mouth that the gentlemen of the country are not Inclined to be rebels (tho' they go to law about ye mines) unless they are *provoked to be so* by such an *Incendiary* as L. M.: and he is surprised people of their sense should suffer me to go on at that rate, and abundance of the like stuff throwing dirt. Such a letter in other hands would be construed to my advantage for *all the King's Enemies call me an Incendiary*, which gives me great pleasure. It seems Mr. Sharpe is uneasy about Townsend, having not yet received the £1,350 of him which he was to have paid me, and I hope he'll never pay it, nor the money of the last ore where he had promis'd. I know Townsend is in London, but they have not seen him yet. I think your Lordship's putting off coming to town to the 9th Nov. gives them an opening to play tricks. I am sure these people's report may be ready in a few days if you were here to egg them on, for they have now nothing to do but to write their abstract and report. The scheme

¹ I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Davies for a copy of this letter, which is preserved at the British Museum.

of this Fictitious letter may perhaps be taken hold of, if they have a mind for a Colour to put your Lordship's grant off again by sending these Examiners to Cardiganshire, and I presume it wd. not be a disagreeable jaunt for them."

The Examiners' version of Morris's conduct may perhaps be gathered from certain denials subsequently made by him in his Answer. They seem to have alleged that in the course of the examination Morris declined to assist them with such information as he was possessed of, and that they told him they were unable "to reduce his accounts to method or form" unless he supplied them with some further papers, which, however, he did not do, alleging that the documents he had already handed them "contained all his receipts and payments". The result was that the Secretary to the Treasury issued an order, on 21 Nov. 1755, directing the Examiners to proceed to Cardiganshire so that they might there further investigate Morris's accounts. In justice to Morris himself, it should be stated that several passages in the letters which he wrote to his brother during the progress of the examination, tend to corroborate his statement that the Examiners made no complaint, and, in fact, "seemed well pleased" with his explanations.¹

¹ On 13 October—four days after the commencement of the audit—he writes: "Just now Lord Powys's agent, and John Paynter and self sitting together over a Bowl of Punch in my room." Six days later he reports:—"The examination goes on glibly, *Sion baintirr yn ddyn rhyfedda fu erioed* [Paynter the strangest man that ever lived], all pride and vanity, and good sense, extraordinary parts, a heap of contradictions." On the 20th he refers in somewhat similar terms to a person whom he calls *Pagan Spardunog*, undoubtedly Paynter. Morris himself is speaking fairly (*finneu'n dyrcedyd yn deg*, &c., &c.) to the Examiners, who "seem to be convinced of the reality of my case which ye other rascals have a mind to conceal." By the "other rascals" he meant Sharpe, the Solicitor, and West, one of the Secretaries to the Treasury, for he jestingly proceeds to derive the word "scroundel" from the Welsh *Hys crwn*,

Once more Cardiganshire became the scene of action. It was a race from London there between Morris and the Examiners, each party being eager to be first at the mine. But Morris's haste involved him in an accident for on his way home, accompanied no doubt by his nephew, John Owen, who had remained with him in London all the time, he had the misfortune to fall from his horse, and this seems to have enabled the Examiners to reach the mine before him, which they did on 10th December. At Rhayadr, they had been met by William Jones, the agent left in charge of the mine during Morris's absence, but at the mine itself they were unable to obtain possession of the house (called the King's house), which Morris had built for his accommodation as manager. In it, Evan Williams, one of the three partners in the original taking of the mine, was living with his wife and family as caretakers, and as he had previously held possession of it by Morris's directions "tho' attempted often to be thrown out by the sheriff of the county," he who had been "a constant and true friend of the cause of the Crown," refused admittance to the Examiners, as they were strangers to him and he had no knowledge of their authority. Without waiting to eject him, or making any sort of inspection of the mine, the Examiners proceeded immediately to Aberystwyth, which place they made their headquarters.

Down to this stage Morris seems to have maintained—

y drel—"a rhywogaeth y drel hwnnw yw'r Llym yma a'r Gorllewin. O Fileiniaid! ar fedr andwyo dyn ai deulu i borthi eu pendro gythreulig—worse than dogs or serpents". In a letter of the 24th he again describes Paynter as "a grotesquely curious man, but as the steel all the same [*ni welais i erioed ei ail o ddyn gwrthun, ond mae ef fal y dur er hyny*]. Self interest is ye great tye. The last part of my vouchers I delivered to-day, *ag rwyn gobeitho y gwnant report gonest mewn ychydig ddyddiau* [and I hope they will make an honest report in a few days]."

outwardly at all events—his friendly relations with Paynter: “I often attended the Examiners at Aberystwyth and dined and supped with them, and they appeared always very friendly during the course of their examination, and did not require any explanation of me, except the Partners’ or Bargain takers’ account for the first year (1751),” which was not however forthcoming. But Morris subsequently discovered, according to his statement, that Paynter was all this time plotting his ruin. “At the same time that the Examiners behaved to me so civil, Mr. Paynter told several persons that now he had an opportunity to be reveng’d on me for speaking against him when he was agent of mines to Mr. Corbett, and that he would paint me as black as the devil, and that he would represent me to the Treasury as one ignorant of everything relating to mines.”

But the account subsequently given by Morris of the conduct of the Examiners at this time must necessarily be accepted with caution, for allowance should doubtless be made for the fact that this account was not written till after the lapse of some eighteen months; when, moreover, he had to defend himself against charges which were based upon the Examiners’ reports as to his stewardship. On the other hand, as Morris’s allegations against the Examiners were made in the course of legal proceedings, they were all liable to be rebutted, especially as they related for the most part to specific facts, and such rebuttal would have had the inevitable result of destroying Morris’s credit and reputation; and unless there was, therefore, some foundation in fact for his allegations he would scarcely have been so reckless as to place them formally on record in his pleadings.

According to Morris, whose version we think it right to give, subject to the foregoing reservation, the Examiners,

before proceeding to examine the mine, spent five or six weeks¹ "chiefly in visits at the houses of the claimants of the mine," and also "in keeping an open house of revelling, balls and entertainments at Aberystwyth, with harpers and fiddlers," by which means they "persuaded several persons to make complaints against [Morris] in their drunkenness, which they afterwards owned they were sorry for."² And the people that they chiefly carress'd

¹ They had a good excuse for not going to the mine, for they could not do so "for frost and snow".

² The following is from one of Morris's numerous memoranda: "Mr. Paynter, on his first coming to Cardiganshire on ye examination of my accounts publicly declared in my presence and of several others that the Treasury were so surfeited with affidavits from Cardiganshire they would have no more of them, but that he would take all examinations about my accounts without the ceremony of an oath, and that if anybody had any demands upon me he would pay them on their making their complaints. This occasioned a vast number of poor indigent people to make demands where there was no colour, and several to deny their hands to the receipts they had given, so that according to this way of examination all my payments might be struck off, if all the persons concerned had as little conscience as some had."

Elsewhere he states that "they took down in writing whatever any drunken fellow, whom they had treated, had the conscience to say against me, telling him beforehand that he need not be on oath—and this in a country where I had made me so many enemies on the King's account, by endeavouring to maintain his right."

Among the specific instances which Morris gives are the following:—"Two of the Partners were made drunk at the Examiners' lodgings, being persuaded by Mr. Paynter to make complaints which they were told need not be on oath, and that he would make me pay them more money, and offered to help them to file a bill in Chancery against me. When they grew sober they came to me and own'd what they had done, and sign'd papers (which I have) testifying to the contrary."

There is also a note stating that the wife of one of the washers in the bargain of 1751, was given a guinea by Paynter at Lord Lisburne's house, with the view of her proving that she had washed more ore than was accounted for, &c., but when told by Morris's nephew, John Owen, that later on she would be required to substantiate her statement upon oath, she also retracted.

and entertained in those revells were the very people that always opposed the title of the Crown to the mine, and were [Morris's] utter enemies on that account."¹ Moreover, Morris complained that the Examiners, though they had paid only one visit to his house, which was near to their lodgings, "were frequently at the Houses of Mr. Powell and Lord Lisburn, who had given the Crown so much trouble by claiming the mine, and there examined the persons who Mr. Powell and Ld. Lisburn could persuade to say anything against me because I had so strenuously defended the King's right against them".

Either the Examiners were not empowered to take evidence on oath, or they elected not to do so, for it appears that they obtained all their information by means of unsworn testimony, that Morris was never allowed to be present when witnesses were examined, and that they "never would let him know what complaints there were against him [so as] to give him an opportunity of clearing himself, though he expressly desired of them to let him bring persons to answer some complaints that he had heard had been made."

¹ Another memorandum contains the following serious allegation:—

"To aggravate the country against me on their examination, Mr. Paynter read publicly the letters I had wrote to Mr. Sharpe and others during my maintaining and disputing the rights of the Crown with Lord Lisburn and Mr. Powell, which I presume were given him for the purpose by Mr. Sharpe, and as I am inform'd Mr. Paynter gave up to Mr. Powell and Lord Lisburn my original letters to Mr. Sharpe, to see if they could get any handle against me. This is a proceeding never used by any person or office, to expose their Agent or Attorney's letters, who perhaps might be sometimes too warm in his expressions, when ill-used by his antagonists, but it is however a Caveat to others never to be too faithful to their trust when employ'd by the Government, lest some of those they oppose should turn to be useful members in the House of Commons, as Lord Lisburn's son and Mr. Townsend now are."

Morris claimed that he had given to the Examiners, so far as they would permit him, all the assistance in his power, and especially that he had delivered to them all his books of account relating to the period of his superintendence. Paynter, however, wrote to him that "some folks (such were his words) thought it would be proper they should see the Partners' accounts for the year 1721," to which Morris replied that owing to the bargain-takers being illiterate no regular accounts had been kept, and that moreover the venture of 1751 was "a private concern", as to the receipts and expenses of which the Crown could not justly demand an account. But even in this respect he seems to have made some concession later, for, referring to the matter in his Answer, he states that the Examiners "might, if they had thought proper, have settled and adjusted the account of ore got out of the mine in 1751, as he had delivered to them the accounts of the sale of the said ore, and all the names of the Buyers, who were all to be spoke with," but what enquiries they had made of the merchants who bought the ore, Morris was unable to say.

On 22 January 1756, the Examiners "contrived an artful malicious letter" to Morris, complaining that a caretaker, by his directions, withheld from them possession of the King's house at the mine, "against the order of the Lords of the Treasury." Two days later, without waiting for Morris's reply, they wrote to West at the Treasury, enclosing a copy of their letter of the 22nd, and alleging that Morris would not suffer any of the King's servants to go near them, a statement which, he says, after Euclid's manner, was absurd, as there were then no King's servants to be so prevented, all having been discharged above a twelvemonth before, except William Jones, the agent, and some twelve pumpers "who were always in the mine and at the Examiners' command";

all which the solicitor to the Treasury (Sharpe) "knew very well, though to aggravate the Treasury and to promote Mr. Paynter, he wink'd at this falsehood that I hinder'd the King's servants to appear." There was nothing left to the Examiners, so they seem to have represented, but "to proceed in the best manner they could, without the inspection of such books and papers as Morris had withheld from them"; while as further proof of their assiduity, or "to prolong time", they also examined the custom-house books, though Morris explained to them that "no officers of the customs enter in their books out of what mine any ore comes, no more than out of what farm any corn comes."

On 26 January, they wrote to Morris informing him that, by the authority of the Treasury, they revoked and determined his superintendency of the mine, and that he would have further directions concerning the Balance "pretended by them" to remain in his hands as soon as their report had been considered by the Treasury. At the same time, or very shortly after, Paynter himself was entrusted by the Treasury with the management of the mine, an object which had been secured, so Morris contended, "by malicious and false representations" of his conduct.

The Examiners presented two distinct accounts, one of which, described as drawn up from such books as Morris had thought fit to produce to them, showed a balance of £2,910 11s. 3d. due from him to the Crown. The other, in the preparation of which the Examiners had "considered themselves as two indifferent Referees, abstracted from all prejudices, collusions, or misbehaviour in him (Morris) and made him all just and reasonable allowances," showed as due from him, a balance of £3,468 5s. 1d. In the bill of complaint subsequently filed against Morris, the former

sum was claimed on an account stated, while the latter sum was claimed in the alternative. These results were obtained by striking out many payments which Morris claimed to have made (*e.g.*, in respect of "double stems" worked), and also disallowing his salary, "alleging, perhaps from their ignorance of these things, that he deserved no salary."

No balance was, however, demanded of Morris, nor was the result of the investigation directly communicated to him, though shortly after the Examiners' return to London it was commonly reported that "some officers of the Treasury wanted to arrest his body for about £3,000." But he lost no time in going himself to London, where he arrived on 22 March, not to return home till about Christmas 1757, or possibly the beginning of 1758.

As he believed that his opponents were plotting his ruin, it was necessary, if possible, to check their machinations, and in sheer self-defence go in for counter-plotting. A break in the correspondence leaves us, however, in the dark as to what was being done between April and July. The veil is lifted by the following letter or report written to the Lords of the Treasury by their solicitor, John Sharpe, on 28 July 1756.

"In obedience to your Lordships' commands signify'd to me by Mr. Harding's letter of the 16th July instant, I have laid the several reports of Messrs. Painter and Tidy concerning the conduct of Mr. Lewis Morris, agent to the King's mines in Wales, and the state of his accounts, and their report of the value and condition of the mine at Esgair-y-mwyn, with the authority given to those gentlemen, with a proper state of the case drawn up by me, before Mr. Attorney General, and have taken his opinion touching the method by which the King's interest in the said mine may be most properly secured, whether by a lease thereof in the manner proposed in one of the said reports, or by what other method, and also what will be the best method of recovering the money due from Mr. Morris, and I herewith lay before your Lordships the said case with Mr. Attorney General's opinion."

The subsequent course of events enable us to infer the purport of that Opinion. Meanwhile, however, another blow was aimed at Morris by his dismissal, early in August, from the collectorship at Aberdovey. Writing to his brother at Holyhead on 28 August, he said that the Duke of Newcastle solemnly assured him that he was not privy to his dismissal—that it was the work of other people.¹ But, observes Morris,

“He dare not refuse the Jacobites anything they ask, an odd mortal, without bottom or solidity. I know they’ll carry their spight against me to ye utmost, and [he] hath neither courage nor honesty to stop them, but there will come a time soon that the scenes will be chang’d.”

It was well on in the following year before he had much to communicate to his brother as to the dispute with the Treasury. Meanwhile he busily occupied himself with preparing a cabinet of mineralogical specimens, which he intended for, and eventually presented to, the Earl of Powis. He was also keenly interested in Lord Powis’s endeavour to obtain a lease of Esgair-y-mwyn mine from the Crown, a project which Paynter also favoured and worked for, but for ulterior objects of his own which Morris had as yet no suspicion of. “Who knows but I shall go again to Wales *Deheubartheg*,” he optimistically exclaims on receipt of a letter from Lord Powis that everything was going on all right. “I find,” Morris writes (25 Sept. 1756), “that Smedley came to town a few days ago by ye direction” of Harding of the Treasury, a bitter opponent of Morris’s party, but after offering 40s. per ton royalty, he hurried home, incontinently complaining that he had been made a fool of, as the lease would be granted to Lord Powis, whatever royalty his Lordship offered. Townsend also offered “twice

¹ “Am fy materion i, yr un fath er pan agrifennais ddiweddfaf. Fe dyng y Cast. newydd na wyr ef ddim oddiwrth fy hel i o Ddyfi, ond mae gwaith pobl ereill oedd.”

as much as the thing would pay", but "he was too light in the scales against Lord Powis, tho' he had another member to be a partner with him (Vaughan of Crosswood) and it seems he could not give proper security. However Smedley has been a complaining to a friend of his that nobody has any chance with Lord Powis, for that he insisted upon having it, and he could lead ye *Morthwyl mawr* as he pleas'd."

Meanwhile Paynter was down at Esgair-y-mwyn, "going on after the same wild manner, building and throwing down . . . even in the depth of winter" (30 Nov. 1756)—"driving levels, sinking engine shafts, rioting, &c., &c." (4 Feb. 1757), but slipping away for a few days at Christmas, apparently to visit Lord Powis at Oakley Park. But "these things will be over by and by," says the poet, "and that honest *Iuddew* [Jew] known there as well as in other places." Even Powell, of Nanteos, declared that Paynter was not to be trusted, and that Morris would once more return to the mine. So firmly did Morris believe this himself that he instructed "honest Evan William" to purchase about £200 worth of timber in the district, so that Lord Powis could have it to work the mine, but "for certain reasons" it was "bought in Evan Williams's name" (Jan. 1, 1757). During the winter months, Morris was much troubled with asthma and a persistent cough, which prevented his resting in a prone position. An illness of Lord Powis's also delayed matters, but the lease of Esgair-y-mwyn from the Treasury to his lordship was eventually signed on February 24th, 1757. "God knows how it will affect me!" was Morris's comment to his brother.

His lordship shortly afterwards, in addition to this lease, appears to have obtained a lease of the manors of Myfenydd and Creuddyn, and all mines and minerals

within those manors except Esgair-y-mwyn, the rent reserved being £2 for the manors, £2 for the mines, and one-tenth of the ore. This second lease expired on 2 April 1788, its term probably being thirty-one years, which was then the usual term for mineral leases from the Crown.

It was probably with a view to these leases that Morris had presented Lord Powis, in December 1756, with his histories of the manors of Creuddyn and Myfenydd.

Not long after this, Morris thought that Lord Powis's manner towards him was less cordial than it used to be. At first he fancied that this arose from an unreadiness on his lordship's part to refund the money which he had paid for the timber, and he now feared that in so paying, he had done "an indiscreet thing". He was probably nearer the mark as to the cause of the estrangement when he informed his brother (6 May 1759) that Paynter was in London, "pushing his long nose no doubt into Ld. P.'s ears."¹ It is, at all events, clear that Lord Powis retained Paynter as his agent and manager of the mine at Esgair-y-mwyn.

Moreover, the change of Ministry which happened about this time did not prove to Morris's advantage. Early in

¹ Paynter's departure from Esgair-y-mwyn had been somewhat mysterious, and Morris believed that he had escaped in disgrace or in fear of the law (letter of 8 April 1757):—"A messenger from London arrived in that neighbourhood [Esgair-y-mwyn] ye 26th March, and 27th early before the man came Paynter took horses and slipt away to Salop, and some think to London. I suppose his pride and folly reached ye ears of ye Treasury, and that they sent a man to supersede him. I believe in my heart he has drawn Arg. Po[wis] into a scrape. . . . The London messenger, after looking about him, and seeing Paynter had given him ye slip, went back to London, and a change happens in the Ministry at that very crisis, nobody can pretend to determine how it will turn out." And then he introduces a morsel of folklore which is worth preserving: "It is surprising what confusions money will make. Is it any wonder that the d—l should sit cross-legged in *ogo maen cymried* to guard the treasures there."

May, proceedings were launched against him to recover the balance which Paynter and Tidy had reported as still due from him to the Treasury. John Owen was joined as co-defendant, "with a view to take off his evidence from being on his (Morris's) side". Writing to William Morris on 13 May, he says :—

"My Treasury enemies caused him [J. Owen] to be served with an Exchequer writ ye beginning of this month, at ye suit of ye Attorney-genl. by Information. . . . I had notice of it beforehand and ordered him out of ye way, but he was so Hypd. [? Hypochondriacal] that he could not move an inch, or did not think my information was of any consequence. You see what low shifts my enemies are put to, to seek out for matter of Information against me, for this is intended for that purpose. Ond ebr yr hen ddihareb ni thwyllwyd a rybuddiwyd; felly minneu wnaf y goreu o'r gwaethaf."

He probably owed his early knowledge of these proceedings to some friendly official at the Treasury, for on 21 May he writes :—"I have opened a door into 'r *drysorfa*, a kind of a private access, by which I shall discover the intentions of men. I wish I had seen it sooner, but this was only a work of providence, and could not be sooner." By the end of May, a bill of "three skins of parchment" had been filed against himself and Owen. It is signed by Robert Harley (the Attorney-General) and George Perrott, and is still preserved at the Record Office, where also are to be seen the Answer of the two defendants, and the Crown's Exceptions thereto, both of which will be referred to later. Owen's presence in London now became necessary, and, on 18 June, Morris wrote to his wife (who had removed to Penbryn in the spring) bidding her despatch Owen to London with all speed, and giving directions as to the journey. "The neighbours need not know where he goes that they may not have business to talk." He also gave instructions "to push Cwmervin on", but owing to heavy floods during the summer, the output there fell short of what it might otherwise have been. As to Esgair-y-

mwyn, Paynter had now returned, but there was "no work (raising ore) going on yet". As to the lawsuit, "I am fighting them now in equity", he writes to his brother (18 June), "and have the same Counsel as was against the King in the great trial.¹ Must not I change sides as well as others?" He was busily preparing his answer, which was to be filed during the Michaelmas term. But he also devoted much time to literary work and scientific research. It was at this period that he wrote the greater part of his *Celtic Remains*; he also made a collection of coins, and studied their inscriptions; he presented his brother William with a microscope, which he had made with his own hands. Writing to William on 28 September he sends him important news from Cardiganshire:—

"This post brings me news that Johnes, of Abermaid, was on ye 21st instant carried to Cardigan Jail by a mob of 100 men, and that about a 100 men of his mob, hearing of his being decoyed into their snare, have marched on ye 23rd at night to Cardigan to carry him off. We shall hear next post, I suppose, of a Battle there. Herbert Lloyd decoy'd him into their trap, who pretended to be his bosom friend. *Lladdant eu gilydd a chroeso. A Duw gatico'r gwirion.*"

Some ten days later he gives further news of this flare-up (*rhyfel bentan*) between the factions of Abermaid and Llanvair y Clywedogau (*sic*):—

"140 men of a side or more. Abermaid hath several allies, Nanteos, Trawsgood, Aberllolyn, and Llandudoch. Llanvair hath strong allies, colliers from Pembrokeshire, miners of Es(gair) y mwyn, Grogwynion, Llwyn y gwyddyl, Lewis Llanchairon, &c., all under arms. You never heard of such madness since the attempt or attack formerly on Esgair y mwyn."

The attempted rescue seems to have proved unavailing, for on 18 October Morris reported that Johnes was then

¹ The Counsel who subsequently settled the defendants' answer, and also argued on their behalf against the exceptions thereto, was Edmund Starkie. Morris's attorney was Thomas Cross, of Wine Office Court, who was a member of the Cymmrodorion Society, his qualification being that his mother was a Welsh woman.

in the King's Bench, "where he was like to end his wicked life," but the writer had no sympathy to waste on him. The great county quarrel was in his eyes a case of "dog eat dog." Paynter, on the other hand, was "cutting a most astonishing figure" in Cardiganshire, "building, taking great farms, &c., in short, driving "ten times hotter than Jehu." Towards the end of October, he (accompanied by his brother) went up to London, leaving the work on stop, except one small level, and, as Morris heard, hatching some plots against himself, which was likely enough. "If the Treasury want a tool of destruction, he is the fittest man in the world for it." On Dec. 1, in a postscript to a letter of the previous day, Morris mentions a rumour that Lord Powis had surrendered his lease of Esgair-y-mwyn to the Treasury owing to the unprofitableness of the undertaking: "If it is so," adds Morris, "there is one of Paynter's tricks in it, for there has been a vast deal of unnecessary work done there since they began, of levels, shafts, building of houses, and great wells and ponds, &c., and I am told all brought to ye account of ye mine under the title of labour, in order to induce the Treasury to grant a lease on better terms."¹

Meanwhile, the end of the long vacation was drawing near, and Morris's Answer was not yet ready; he had to urge on his lawyer, and even drank hard with him so as to "drive instructions into him." "According to my de-

¹ Some further references to this matter are given in the Appendix. It would appear that Lord Powis did, in fact, surrender his lease, and that a new one was subsequently granted to him, on easier terms, for a lease of Esgair-y-mwyn to him (at a rent of 5s. a year and $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the ore) expired on the 20 Dec. 1795, when no new lease was granted (see Whittle Harvey's Returns of the Land Revenues of the Crown 1831, p. 24). In a subsequent return (Appendix 3 to *Report of Land Rev. of the Crown* 1833), there is this note as to Esgair-y-mwyn: "These mines were some years since surrendered to the Crown by Lord Clive."

mands", he adds, "they owe me above two thousand pounds, and as yet I don't know what will be the consequence." The result of this dilatoriness was reported by Morris in a letter of 14 November 1757.¹

"For want of bringing in our Answer the first day of term, owing to the Tardiness of my Lawyers, there is an attachment taken out against Jo. Owen and self in order to make us give bail to stand a trial. But they shall not attack me unless they break doors," while he had also warned his nephew.

At last the formal Answer was, however, sworn to by the defendants before Chief Baron Parker on 25 November 1757. In it Morris, of course, denied that there was due from him to the Treasury the sum of £3,468 claimed, or any other sum. On the contrary, Morris insisted that if a fair account were taken of his receipts and payments, and of the proper allowances, which ought in justice to be made to him, and which he humbly hoped would be allowed him as set forth in the two schedules annexed to his Answer, there would appear to be justly due to him (defendant) the sum of £2,385 1s. This amount was made up as follows:—

Expenses while in Cardigan jail, 41 days at 2 guineas a day, £86 2s.; damages for assault and false imprisonment, £500; expenses in London after being bailed out, 155 days from 4 April to 6 Sept. 1753, £325 10s.; expenses attending the trial, 55 days from 26 April to 19 June 1754, £115 10s.; expenses and journey of himself and John Owen "to London by the order of the officers of the Treasury, to settle his accounts with the Treasury, being out 305 days, from 21 January 1755, to the 21st November following, at 3 guineas a day for both, £960 15s.; salary

¹ By a slip he has written 1755, but internal evidence proves that beyond doubt it should be 1757.

as superintendent of Esgair-y-mwyn mine from 1 Jan. to 26 Feb. 1756 (at the rate of £500 a year), £578 1s. 7d.; cash paid on 2 April 1755 by order of Sharpe to Stephen Edwards, Attorney, "for business done in the defence of the said mine", £118 17s. 3d.; payments since the delivery of his accounts:—to the Examiners under 5 separate orders from the Treasury, £404 7s. 9d., and expenses of the mine from 3 January 1755 (*i.e.* the date to which his abstract had been made up) to 28 Feb. 1756, "with other bills inserted in this account by Paynter and Tidy of their own private expenses," (which the Under-Agent at the mine was ordered by them to pay), £385 18s. 10d. All these items made up a total of £3,475 2s. 5d., out of which there was to be deducted the sum of £1,090 1s. 5d., which Morris, in his abstract, admitted to be the cash in his hands on 3 January 1755, leaving a balance in his favour of £2,385 1s. For most (if not all) of his disbursements, Morris had vouchers, and, in many cases, specific orders also.

It was characteristic of Morris that on the very day on which he attended before Chief Baron Parker to have his Answer sworn to, he should also occupy himself with copying *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwendydd* ("a monstrous long thing of 128 stanzas of *Engl[ynion] milwr*") and *Marwnad Trahaern Brydydd*, besides writing one of his usual long letters to his brother William. A fortnight later (15 Dec. 1757) he writes again to William, and mentions that with a view to returning home he had packed the greater part of his impedimenta in some ten boxes which he intended directed to Mathavarn (Mont.), whence he could have them home by degrees. He was uncertain whether he could leave London before Christmas. But his return home was not long postponed, and his protracted absence of some 21 months was at last brought to

an end. His nephew, John Owen, however, remained behind in London, though no regular employment had yet been secured him, and in a few months time "he shew'd great uneasiness at being detained in such an inactive, precarious state of suspense." Morris was perhaps not able to sympathise with his nephew's restlessness any more than with his brother Richard's easy-going temper.¹

The next step in the Exchequer suit was that the Attorney-General,² as the informant, took Exceptions against Morris's Answer as "imperfect, evasive and insufficient." The Exceptions, which were nine in number, were filed on 13 February 1758, and were set down for argument on the 25th. The interval was too short to obtain instructions from Morris in Cardiganshire, so "instead of coming to a hearing upon the insufficiency of the Answer," his Attorney, Thomas Cross, moved for an adjournment till the ensuing term, "which with some difficulty was obtained." At the same time "a peremptory rule was made either to submit to amend and put in a full Answer by the next term or argue the Exceptions." At this critical period Cross was deprived of the assistance, not only of Morris himself, owing to his being in Wales, but also of Richard Morris, who was away at Portsmouth attending a Court Martial. The Attorney, however, laid the whole case before Counsel, and also wrote to Morris (2 March 1758) for full instructions.

"Whatever intimation or hopes you might have given you before

¹ "Dyma fi yn ymadel a Sion [Owen], fal y gallo fynd i'r mor neu'r mynydd: a thoughtless vain lad, God help him. Ac ydyw'r Gardiwr wyf yn i adel arno [Richard Morris] fawr well." Owen was still in London in May 1758, but he eventually went to sea.

² Camden Pratt (afterwards 1st Lord Camden), by this time held office.

you left London," he tells him, "they seem determined to shew you no favour.

"If the last exception to your answer should hold, the proceedings will be extended to an endless length. The books delivered in by you, as apprehended, are no more than quarterly payments. You are wanted to account from the first entries or journals, which if destroyed when the quarterly books were made up, will be looked upon and construed as done to serve certain ends."

Morris's instructions to Cross were contained in a letter dated "Penbryn, March 13th 1758". He could prepare no further account, as all his books and vouchers were in the hands of the Examiners, and the only further answer that he could give would be to refer to Paynter and Tidy's acknowledgment of the documents which he had delivered to them, and to state that they had also received from the under-agents the day-books, "to be examined with the quarter-books", and that the Examiners had "detained these as well as the rest," but "they gave no receipt for the day-books." As a good deal depended on these day-books, Morris gives the following account of the way they were kept:—

"The first entries, or day-books, of the transactions of the mine were not made by me but by ye several under agents who were on ye spot, and who I superintended, and the books containing the quarterly payments are actual entries made by the under agents of each particular miner's account, of work done, and subsistence received within that quarter, and posted as soon as possible by the under agents out of the day-books from time to time, and prepared for me by them against the quarter's end, at which time I my self paid the people their ballance publicly and took their receipts under their accounts in the said original journals or Quarter Books, attested by some person that could write his name, of which there are not many among miners. No day-books were destroyed by me, nor could it be my interest, but in a great measure I neglected them after I had examined and compared the accounts in the Quarter Books with the day books, and accounted with ye under agents for the money I had left in their hands to subsist the mine."

Morris contended that no account ought to be based on

the day-books, but only on the quarter-books, which were all properly attested, "each miner setting his hand to a receipt under his account." Furthermore, "the times of my quarterly payments were always proclaimed, and I paid publicly at ye mine in the presence of all the miners." As the Exceptions would come on for argument in the ensuing term, Morris instructed Cross to retain "the ablest Counsel that you can get, and as many as are sufficient." As to the possibility of mediation by some friend at Court, Morris writes:—"You mistook me if you thought I expected any favour from the officers till application was made to them, which is not yet made, but depends upon other circumstances which may or may not come to pass."

During the next two months Richard Morris acquainted his brother in Cardiganshire "how his affair with the Crown and ye Exchequer was being transacted." It had turned out rather unfavourably to Morris, as may be seen by the following extract from a letter written to him by his Attorney, Cross, on 20 May 1758.

"On the 29th April (after being put off three several times, twice on your part and once by the Crown) the Exceptions came on to be argued. The two first were got over, but the 3rd being allow'd, all the subsequent, by the rules and practices of the Exchequer, were likewise allow'd *with costs*, which I shall pay, as I have engag'd, as soon as I can get the bill from the Clerk in Court.

"The Monday following, the Crown, upon motion, obtained an order to amend their bill or information, and that you and Mr. [John] Owen shall answer the same at the time of answering the Exceptions. This procedure will in some measure be instituting the suit *de novo*. As yet they have not given notice of their amendment, tho' I expect they will by the first day of the ensuing term. I presume that it was from the arguments and observations of Mr. Starkie (who did not spare them) that they discovered their own defects.

"If the names of certain personages (who you flattered yourself would be your friends), had been set forth as they ought, it might have been eventually of more service than all their promises. It's

strongly insinuated that you have withheld and secreted several material books relative to the mine account, which, if produced, will discover great frauds, which I apprehend will be the principal additional charge. . . . The affair, from the nature of it, must terminate in an account to be stated and settled between you and the Crown. But the time when, or the manner how, that might happen seems at present very remote and doubtful. That it is intended to be made as tedious and expensive to you as possible, is beyond question."

Owing to Morris's absence from London, Cross expressed his intention to try and get an extension of time till Michaelmas term for answering the amended bill and Exceptions. Whether the amended bill was ever delivered, and if so, when, and what manner of answer (if any) was made to it, I am unable to say, as the documents before me throw no light on the subject. But the trial itself never came on, nor was any account decreed to be taken. Some friends of Morris advised him to make an end of the dispute with the Treasury "in a summary way", and they promised to assist him with that object. How the compromise was to be effected does not appear, but at all events Morris wrote (from Penbryn) to his brother Richard, on 5 January 1760, asking him to obtain from Cross all the documents in the case. "The sooner you have them the better, for you'll be called upon very soon at the Navy Office for the papers, and I hope the affair will have the desired effect." To Cross himself he wrote on the same date the following letter, which is the last in this bundle relating to the law suit :

"As I am advised and promised assistance to get clear of the dispute I have with the officers of the Treasury, in a summary way, you are upon receipt of this to deliver to my brother, Richard Morris, of the Navy Office, all papers that I have left in your hands, as also of the proceedings since, that there may be no loss of time. And I desire and direct you will not proceed any further in that affair in my defence or otherwise."

That a settlement out of Court was eventually arrived at, there can be no doubt, but there is nothing in the papers now before me to show what were the terms agreed upon. Morris's numerous enemies seem to have spread about the report that he had been defeated and ruined—and as bad news travel far, this story was told even to Goronwy Owen in far Virginia by a Merionethshire parson, who emigrated to America in 1763 or shortly after.¹ There is reason to believe, however, that the settlement did not involve any dishonour or disgrace on Morris, though the litigation undoubtedly proved very costly to him, and its anxieties told heavily on his constitution. At home in Cardiganshire he does not seem to have lost any of the respect in which he was previously held, though he still had his enemies. In 1760 he was admitted a burgess of the Borough of Aberystwyth, and in the following year he was placed on the Commission of the Peace for the county of Cardigan, though it is doubtful whether he ever qualified.

Other law-suits, however, still continued to claim his attention. Writing to William from Penbryn, Sept. 3, 1761, he says:—"My wife set out yesterday to Cardigan and Haverfordwest, on account of some troubles in the Bishop's Court given by the most reverend Wm. Powel, of Nanteos, in relation to her father and mother's personal effects, who died intestate."² Then referring to another action, he says:—"We are on the brink of making

¹ See *Llythyrâu Goronwy Owen*, ed. Professor J. Morris Jones (1895), p. 135. "Sion ap Huw, Cymro o Feirionydd . . . a ddywed, i mi fod fy Nghyfaill Lewis Morys wedi cael ei daflu yn y Gyfraith, ai ddiswyddo ai ddifetha, cyn iddo adael Cymru; ond nis clywai mo'i farw."

² The same letter has the following:—"Nid oes yma ddim ond Cyfreithio ac aflwydd a dryrswch, a chlefydon—very disagreeable companions."

some end in Chancery about the mortgage of Dan y Castell.¹ *Och yn nghalonnau 'r Cyfreithwyr cas.*" In a later letter (20 Oct. 1761) he refers probably to the same action. He had been away from the 3rd to the 15th, in various parts of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire and at Brecon, searching for certain deeds to enable him to answer a Bill of Powel's (doubtless of Nanteos): "I have met with some intelligence that I hope will give him a fall, with his iniquitous scheme." But more than three years had still to pass before Powel's suit against him was determined, as may be seen from a letter sent by him on 18 Jan. 1765 to his brother-in-law, Owen Davies, of Holyhead (quoted later on).

During this time his health was, however, rapidly failing. Each winter he was prostrated by asthma. "A salt herring boil'd and eaten with boil'd eggs" gave him ease, so also did raw oysters, which had much liquor in them, "muscles and cockles in their own liquor boil'd, in short all sea fish which had plenty of the sea salt in them." At other times, rheumatism or gout crippled him. He complained, in a letter of 23 April 1760, that he could only get about on a pair of crutches.

In view of a Parliamentary contest in Cardiganshire in the spring of 1761, he was anxious to be well enough to go to Cardigan to support the Whig candidate, John Pugh Pryse, of Gogerddan, but it would cost him his life (he wrote on 13 Feb.) unless he could have a chaise to travel in; but when a Whig was picked for the shrievalty,² the

¹ A paragraph in an earlier letter (dated 11 Oct. 1757), refers to this mortgage:—"Powell Nanteos told my wife the other day, *Well I believe we shall be friends again*, and offered to take the interest on the mortgage, and the principal too, being in great want of money he pretended. I don't know as yet how my affairs here will turn out, therefore it is no proper time to pay money."

² Walter Lloyd, of Coedmor.

opposition of Vaughan of Trawscoed (who had sat in the previous Parliament) and of his staunch supporter, the squire of Nanteos, crumbled away.¹ Morris was thus relieved of the journey to Cardigan. Not long after, he seems to have had a slight paralytic seizure, but on 27 July he was able to write to his brother William, though with a less steady hand, to report that he was then gaining a little strength—*ond yn bur fusgrell ac yn benhoeden dros ben*: “I have the vertigo as described by Dr. Shaw, but sometimes in both eyes, and only one of them is partly blind, with bright oblique pillars and coloured flowers playing in the optic nerve. . . . I hate vomiting and cupping, and I can get nobody to bleed me in the jugular as Shaw directs.” “A vial of that extra-ordinary spirit the æther of Liverpoole” gave some relief, though in mid-September he was unable to walk for shortness of breath. Early in October he was, however, able to journey to Brecon as already mentioned, but he was somewhat worse after his “laborious ride”.

Vertigo and gout troubled him again,² and he discusses with his brother various remedies for these and other complaints. For years past, he had paid considerable attention to the study of medicine, one of his chief author-

¹ On 1st March 1761, he writes:—“Maent yn dywedyd fod Trawsgoed a Phowel yn Ildio gwedi ini gael siryf o'n hochr ni. Wrth hyn roeddynt o'r blaen yn ymddiried, sef cael false return.” On 29 March he adds:—“We are not certain yet whether Trawsgoed will make any show of opposition, but we suppose they will not. However, our people are upon their guard.” Pryse was returned unopposed on 20 April.

² “Eich brawd troetrwm Lln.” is his signature to a letter of 21 Dec. 1761, to William. This letter contains a reference to the printing press which Morris had set up in 1735 at Bodedern, Anglesey, and which he had never disposed of. He asks William—“Pwy ydyw'r argraffydd a fynai brynu y wasg? Oni phrynnir hi, gwell ini ei chael yma o dippyn i dippyn.”

rities being Dr. Shaw's *New Practice of Physic*. He seems to have thus acquired no little skill both in medicine and surgery. Referring to the Bloody Flux, which he describes as being "very rife about the waterside of Llansantffred, Llanrhystyd, &c.," in Cardiganshire, he details the process of its cure which he "formerly used at Aberffraw and cured Hundreds." Mining enterprise continued to attract him despite his enfeebled health. In 1760 he recommenced operations at Cwmervin.¹ In May 1761 he procured very detailed information about a small copper mine on Tan y garreg in the parish of Bettws, Carnarvon, with the view of buying that and an adjoining farm called Bryn y Glog. A few days before Christmas 1761 (when he had with him at Penbryn a merry juvenile party consisting of six of his own children and three grandchildren from Mathafarn) he asked William for news of Sion Dwyran and the mines of Anglesey. Early in 1762 he commenced mining operations on Llain y felin—"part of a lease on Mr. Pryse's ground in my holding." "The mines have a very promising aspect," he writes on 8 March; "attending on them will add to my health if my torn constitution can hold out," but "a sudden rain after a hard frost brought a sad fit of the asthma last night." He procured a white goat to supply him with milk, but continued very feeble till well on in the summer.

He hoped to get well enough to go and see some mineral property in North Wales, particulars of which he

¹ In a letter written in 1760 by Lewis to his brother at the Navy Office, he says:—"I begin to clear Cwm Ervin again, in hopes of a peace—*Rhung Ned Huws feddw feddal, a Jack Owen ddifeddw!*—Cwm Ervin has been hundreds of pounds out of my way. Goginan is to be sold: I am anxious to have it. *Mi wn fod mwyn iw gael yno, ped fai eiddo fi*: it is as rich ore as any in the county, and just at the door of my house." (See Davies' *Agricultural Survey of S. Wales*, ii, 513.)

wished his brother to obtain from good Jack Salisbury. He might take a lease of it, or could, at all events, advise its owner—"yr unbennes" (query the Dowager Lady Watkin Wynn)—as to how to let it to advantage. But most probably the journey was never taken. On 21 Jan. 1763 he signed an agreement for a lease for twenty-one years, of the minerals under Troed rhiw las, the property of William Jones, of Dol y clettwr, in Llangynfelin. But, even to his last day, no mine could have interested him so much as distant Esgair-y-mwyn, now in Lord Powis's hands, though he was fully conscious that his connection with it had for ever ceased, and that others were to reap the benefit of his labours in the early stages of its development. When news reached him from time to time of the way it was now being managed (or as he thought mis-managed), and how the interests of Lord Powis were being betrayed, he must have yearned for a few more years of health and strength, though he also knew that his days were already numbered. However, he could at least write once more to Lord Powis, give him the benefit of his own experience, and warn him against some who would only betray his confidence. This he did about the middle of July 1763, and as this was perhaps the last letter of any importance that he wrote to anyone outside his family, a lengthy extract from it may be given.¹

"My Lord. I recd. your favour of the 30 June, and am very glad my poor endeavours seem to have pleasd you, but to understand me the better it may not be amiss to let your Lordship know that my Scituation is very particular and uncommon: I am neither in want nor in great plenty, but enjoy contentment of mind. I have no connection with any people in power and am not solicitous of

¹ This letter was not included in the bundle originally submitted to me, but came to my hands after most of this article had been printed off.

obtaining any favours except it was a sinecure, my hands and feet being scarcely fit for any business of activity at present. I find myself by the decay of my materials to be drawing towards a dissolution, and my passions, which are few, I am not over fond of gratifying. I have hit on ungrateful masters in the Treasury, and I look on all the pains I have taken to come at knowledge as thrown away foolishly by a mistaken application; so that my whole life has been in a manner a cypher. When I am gone hence all that I have at present any care of are a wife and 7 small children, the welfare of whom it is my duty to study, that they may not be a load on the world. My other children and grand-children are provided for pretty well. And this is the chief reason that makes me trouble myself at all as to what comes after my time. The few friends that have assisted me in my troubles I look upon as my guardian angels, among whom your Lordship was my chief prop, and I look upon the remainder of my life as entirely your property, to dispose of it as you please. I shall set no price upon it, nor desire any, but wish it was worth your acceptance in some shape or other. If you can hit upon the way, perhaps it might be of some small service to you. Your affairs in this country, I know, if carried on with good œconomy may be made of vast consequence, and without proper œconomy they may either, by an extravagant scheming head, or a miserable griping hand, be not only of small profit to your Lordship, but ruin. . . . The height of the art is in rearing a mine-work from nothing under all difficulties imaginable, defending it from encroachers, and making room for several hundred of men to get their bread and profit to their employers. This I did at Esgair y mwyn, and the world sees how they rewarded me. The very persons that oppos'd me and who strived to thwart the Treasury, as Ball, Townsend, Jonas, &c., have been the people that reapd most of the profit from it."

He then refers to Sharpe's endeavours to ruin him for no reason, but that he had been

"So imprudent and honest as to oppose that infamous sale of the ore on bank to Townsend, who choused not only those wise heads of the Treasury, but also Powell and Lord Lisburn who expected great things from that well contrived purchase of Jno. Williams's right, after they had been fairly non-suited. And Townsend's attempt to get the Lease between him and Vaughan of Crosswood should not be forgot."

But these things were irretrievable, and as their repetition was likely to carry the writer beyond his "just

bounds", he proceeded to refer to "some things that might be serviceable" to his lordship. He gives minute particulars as to how an exhaustive survey of the manors leased to Lord Powis should be carried out. He also warns Lord Powis, in the plainest terms, against certain "sharks" whom he had admitted into his confidence, though he was "happy in the acquaintance and friendship of Mr. Herbert, whose long experience must have made him a proficient in mining" and capable of judging whether Morris advised his lordship rightly.¹

There is something of the old feudal relation in his loyalty to Lord Powis, and few things could be more convincing as to the injustice that Morris suffered at the hands of the Treasury officials than his pathetic reference to the manner they had "rewarded him".

At his home at Penbryn, he still had his consolations. One source of great pleasure to him was his garden, with

¹ Morris also refers to three enclosures (marked A, B, and C), which were to be forwarded with his letter, and contained some damaging information about Ball and Townsend. Owing to his difficulty in writing, these were copied out by his eldest son, Lewis, "a child of 12 year old only".

Paper A contained an account of Ball's dismissal in 1753 from the employment of the company of mine-adventurers, whose secretary (O'Connor) however saved him from being prosecuted. At this time the court of directors requested Morris "to receive their stores from Ball, and to put another agent in the house in his room, and dispose of their ore on bank and warehouses." Ball was subsequently reinstated by Townsend, who succeeded in getting elected "a board of directors of his own contriving, whereby he (Townsend) got all the company's works in Cardiganshire either assign'd or sold to him, and Ball had their management under him."

Paper B contained "the miners' complaints in 1754, against Martin O'Connor, who was drawn by Ball to side with him against the interest of his employers."

Paper C contained Ball's history down to date, including a subsequent dismissal and re-instatement by Townsend, with whom he had been concerned "in some dirty work about *Esgair y mwyn*."

its abundance of flowers, cherries, apples, plums of every sort, quince, medlar, and several varieties of pears—"particularly a pear called in Pembrokeshire *Peran Mary Harry* (supposed to be the orange pear from beyond sea) got from a ship at Milford." William, who was no mean naturalist and had now become almost his only correspondent, sent him from Holyhead rare seeds and plants, and duplicates from his collection of shells and fruit.

They were timely gifts, for William's end was not far off. The last letter that Lewis wrote to his favourite brother was that of the 25th November 1763 (unfortunately torn), in reply to one commenced by William on the 9th and finished on the 16th. "Something tells me," says Lewis (who was himself very weak and on crutches), "that the next letter from Holyhead will bear a black seal." William died before the end of the year, leaving several sons and daughters behind him. On 2 Jan. 1764, Owen Davies (a brother-in-law who lived at Holyhead), wrote to Cardiganshire as follows:—

"Dr. Brother—This will Lett you know that your sister and I and what is left of both families are well. Our Lewis wrote a line the day your Bror. died, and we buryd him next day,¹ for the corps swelld verry fast. He made no will. . . . I wrote to Bror. Richard to desire of him to solicit with Mr. Myrick for to have his place for our Lewis, whom is twenty years old now, but our collector has applyd for the Salt. And I am thinking if I should happen to live so long as Robin Morris comes to be of age to leave this and go to Pentreirianell, and Robin to have one of the two places. . . . I shall endeavor to have a cywydd made by Bardd Coch if he can do

¹ The late Mr. J. Lloyd Griffith, M.A., at my request, kindly searched the Holyhead Parish Register, and found that William Morris's burial is there entered under December 29, 1763. He therefore must have died on December 28th. Most biographers incorrectly state that he died in 1764. In his letter to me, Mr. Griffith added—"I have made inquiries for W. M.'s grave, but nothing is known."

it, for the best old man that ever Anglesey bredd. . . . Robin has no mind to sell his father's shells and books."

Morris's reply, dated "Penbryn, Jan. 12th," contains some interesting matter :—

"I was very weak and decrepid before I recd. this dismal acct. of my poor bror.'s death, but now much more so. God help his children. . . . I wish you success with Mr. Meyrick, but I am afraid he is indolent, and no great good can be expected of him. As for my Bror.'s Books and Curiosities, they should be sold by-auction by all means, for if keeping of them is attempted, they'll be pilferd by piece-meal by all comers and goers, so that by the time the boy is of age and discretion if ever he comes, they'll be dwindled away to nothing. . . . I desire you would take care for me about the following articles. If my tenants were not very forward they have hardly paid my Bror. All Saints rent for last year. If they have, pray secure it for me, or if they have not, pray receive it. When my Bror.'s effects are apprais'd pray take care to lay by the following things belonging to me, which I left in my Bror.'s care. A small spinnet that was once with W. Lloyd, a guitar or two and a Welsh crwth, and a French Hautboy, my Printing Press and materials, a Madagascar spear with iron heads, given me by Bror. John. These are only curiosities, and only of little use, but if I live I should be glad to have them. I left behind me also several books when I left the place . . . let them and others be sold for the children's benefit, only I should be glad if you'd buy for me at the sale the old manuscript of Gwern Eigron, beginning thus, with part of a poem of Meilyr, *Ked galwad unyc nid oet ofynawc*, and a MS. of my Bror.'s own handwriting, called I think *Y Prif Feirdd Cymreig*, containing the works of Taliesin, Llywarch hen, &c., of which poems I sent him a vast number. I'll give for them more than is bid by the highest bidder; they are fit for few people besides myself."

A twelvemonth later he wrote again,¹ probably for the

¹ On 2 Dec. 1764, Morris had written to his wife's uncle, Rees Lloyd, at No. 4, Middle Temple, with reference to Lloyd's wish to get some little post he could manage in the Stamp Office :—"Sir Ilerbert Lloyd, the present member for Cardigan [Borough] is my particular friend, and when he comes to town in January, on the meeting of Parliament, I'll give you a letter to him, as he will be on the spot, and I'm sure he'll do you for my sake any service in his power. You'll know better by that time what to apply for."

last time, to his sister and her husband at Holyhead. It is the last letter in Morris's handwriting contained in this collection, and as he died within three months of its date, he probably wrote but little, if anything, subsequent to this. It runs as follows:—

“ Penbryn, Jan. 18, 1765.

“ ANWYL VRAWD A CHWAER.

“ I receivd. Lewis's letter and yours of ye 13th Decr., and am glad you are all well, and that Mr. Meyrick is in the way of helping you.

“ Sr. Herbert Lloyd is gone to London, and is a good back on occasion, but I hope you will want none of his assistance. I can't tell whether he and Sr. Wm. Owen be friendly, but shall enquire. Should be glad if I had my famous cap here, perhaps it might do my head good. I have an excellent pair of scissors for sister if I could send it, and if I had the Tywridyn rents laid out in butter and cheese and got here they would be of great service here, for I have a great undertaking in a rich mine going on here soon, which will require such things, and I must endeavor to pick up a few crumbs for these poor children before I depart, *I believe it will be a great thing*. My commission with Powell is over, and common report says I have carried it by a pike's length, but the decree of the Lord Chancellor is not yet come out. We know, however, that he has not been able to prove anything, and how can he have money, without something to shew ?

“ I have been extream ill after my Pembrokeshire journey, being caught by the easterly wind, but hope I have conquerd. it.

“ Will Parry (Jo. Parry's son) was here lately, and he promis'd. to bring my press and letters,¹ &c., with him, in his return from Liverpool to Aberdovey. Cannot you send by him as much butter and cheese as you can get moderately? Cheese was sold lately at Aberystwyth (from Pwllheli) at 21s. a hundred, and salt butter is now there 4d. a pound or 5d. sometimes. I have heard nothing from Bror. Richard this 2 months, but expect daily.

“ Your affectionate Bro., L. M.”

The journey to Pembrokeshire, whatever may have been its object, probably proved too much for him, though

¹ Morris's printing press and type were eventually acquired by Dafydd Jones, of Trefriw, but this was probably after the lapse of several years, as the first book issued by Jones from it appeared in 1777. (See *Cymmrodorion Transactions* for 1898-99, p. 107 ; Rowlands' *Llyfryddiaeth*, pp. 367-370.)

when writing he thought he had got over its effects. He died on 11 April 1765, and was buried in the chancel of the historic church of Llanbadarn Fawr, but there is no manner of memorial to him there. By his will he had appointed his widow and his son Lewis co-executors of his estate, and on 10 May, two neighbours, David Morgan and William Jones, made a valuation of his personal effects. The appraisement would seem to be unusually low, even for probate purposes: 20 horned cattle and 100 sheep were valued at £45; "two old horses and four old mares" at £9; the household furniture (of which an interesting inventory is given) at £4 16s. 6d.; the dairy utensils, farming implements, and the contents of the smithy at £2 7s. 6d.; a watch and wearing apparel at £3 13s.; and "a cabinet of curiosities, a pair of old globes, a parcel of books, mathematical and musical instruments, £2 2s.," making a total of £66 19s. The cabinet, with some of its drawers still full of mineral specimens, is now in the possession of Sir Lewis Morris at Penbryn. But how much would we not have given for the parcel of books? Of course nothing is said in this inventory as to the extent and value of Morris's real estate. But however much it may have been, it is obvious that Morris did not die a rich man—not as rich as might have been expected, considering the very large and profitable transactions he had at one time been engaged in. Had he been spared for a few more years to watch and direct the development of his mines, they would probably have brought him a rich return. But there was no member of his family experienced enough to carry on his work in this respect. Confident of ultimate success, Morris had invested not only his own money, but that of his wife also, in his mining operations, and the surviving brother Richard sent the widow what advice and consolation he could, living away in London as

he did. The following passages from a letter of his, dated 23 Dec. 1766, throw some light on the position of the family :—

“Dear Sister—I received all your letters, and inclosed you have one from your son, Lewis, who has left school, and I must endeavour to get him into some business to get a livelihood as soon as I can, and hope to be able to get him something to his advantage, but this money is the misfortune, there is no getting any good birth, excepting by great chance, without money, which sets all the wheels in motion. I am very sorry that you should give yourself the least uneasiness at my mentioning anything about your money, which I find my poor brother sunk in trials for ore, &c., to a very large amount, and it can in no other way be accounted for. I heartily wish things were better for the sake of yourself and numerous family.”

The dead poet's old antagonist, Dr. Powell, of Nanteos, seems not to have ceased his attacks on the family, for Richard reports that he had consulted a legal friend at the Temple, William Myddelton, about a note sent by Powell to the widow “which I thought was intended to take advantage of you unknown to Mr. [Stephen] Edwards,” the family solicitor, at Aberystwyth. Ieuan Brydydd hir had been on a visit to Penbryn, but Richard Morris was glad to hear that Mrs. Morris had not let him have any books, “for he would have lost them all.”

At Morris's death none of his children by his second wife had attained years of discretion, the eldest being only about 15, the youngest less than four. By his first wife, Elizabeth Griffiths, the heiress of Ty-wridyn, near Holyhead (not Ty Wrdyn as given by all his biographers), Morris had one son and two daughters. The eldest, Margaret (“Peggy”), who was wilful and headstrong “like her mother”, married (in 1756 or perhaps a year or two later), somewhat against her father's will, one Richard Lance. In 1761 they were living at Llanbadarn. The second daughter, Eleanor (“Elin”) married, about Nov.

1753, one Richard Morris, of Mathafarn, near Machynlleth,¹ and Lewis Morris had a high opinion of his grandchildren, "the Mathafarn boys", so much so that he removed his own boys from "Ned Richards's school" at Ystradmeurig, to a Machynlleth school, which his grandsons attended. The late Rev. Morris Hughes, of Pen-traeth, Anglesey (who died a nonagenarian some fifteen years ago), was descended from the Mathafarn line. I have already suggested² the probability that after her first husband's death, Elin married John Paynter, son of her father's old enemy of the same name. Strange irony of fate if that was so! By his second wife, Morris had five sons and four daughters; of these, the eldest, Lewis, died in 1779 at the age of 29, in Jamaica; John ("fierce as a tiger," while Lewis was "tractable"), died at Penbryn, probably in the same year as his father; Jane, died 28 Oct. 1753, aged nine months. A second daughter of the same name (? born July 1754), married a Mr. Cuthbert, whose son, Lewis Morris Cuthbert, bequeathed £30,000 away from the family to charities; Richard, died about 21 August 1755, aged two months; Elizabeth (? born 11 December 1756), who married a Mr. Crebar;³ William, who on Lewis's death, succeeded as eldest surviving son, and through whom the line was continued; Mary, born April 1760; and Pryse, born August 1761, died September 1797.

¹ Goronwy Owen celebrated the event by writing a "Wedding Song", printed in Robert Jones's ed. of *G. Owen's Works*, p. 98.

² See Note 2, p. 40 above.

³ A "John Crebar, gentleman" was buried at Eglwys Newydd on 14 June 1774. He was probably the Mr. Crebar who, with another, worked the Bwlchgwyn for a year, about 1740. A "William Crebar of this town, gentleman," was admitted burgess of Aberystwyth at the Michaelmas Court Leet, 1784 (G. Eyre Evans's *Aberystwyth, &c.*, p. 147).

William Morris married Marian Reynolds, the heiress of the Blaennant estate in the parish of Llanfeigan, Brecknockshire, daughter of George Reynolds, of Aberystwyth. Her mother, Lucy Williams, was one of the Williamses of Ffrwdgrech, near Brecon, afterwards of Blaennant (see their pedigree in Jones's *Brecknockshire*, ed. 1898, p. 517), a junior branch of the family of the same name (but originally Boleyn or Bullen), of Abercamlais (*Ibid.*, pp. 508-9). William Morris repaired and almost rebuilt the dwelling-house of Blaennant, where he resided and died, being survived by his wife (*Ibid.*, p. 460). They were both buried at Llanfeigan, and the parish registers there contain numerous entries as to their family, which consisted of eleven children. The eldest child, Lucy, married David Williams (brother of Archdeacon Williams), master of Ystradmeurig School, and in that post, he was succeeded by his brother-in-law (one of William Morris's sons) John Williams Morris. Another son was Lewis Morris, who settled as a lawyer at Carmarthen, and became the father of the present Sir Lewis Morris, Knight, whose residence just outside Carmarthen bears the same name of Penbryn as his ancestor's home near Aberystwyth. The perpetuation of this name would have doubtless gratified the subject of our article, still more so the new lustre which the present holder of his name has cast on it. Referring to his eldest grandson of Mathavarn, he once wrote, "Lewis will make a poet, a musician, and is full of wit." After probably his last visit to Mathavarn, he again observed (19 Dec. 1754), "Dyma fi gwedi bod yn Mathafarn yn gweld fy wyr Lewis Morris; gwyh o'r cynyddu y mae 'r enw hwnw. Pwy wyr na fydd gor-wyrion etto o'r enw?" Who knows—he asks—but that there will be great-grandchildren bearing that name—Lewis Morris?

APPENDIX.

JOHN PAYNTER AT ESGAIR-Y-MWYN AND HAFOD
(1757-1775.)

It may not be inappropriate to append a few further notes with reference to John Paynter's connection with Cardiganshire subsequent to the transactions dealt with in the text above. It has already been stated that when Esgair-y-mwyn was transferred to the Earl of Powis, under the Crown lease of February 1757, his lordship continued Paynter's employment as manager of the mine. The manager immediately launched into great expenditure, and in some memoranda, prepared by Lewis Morris, most probably in December 1757, "for Lord Powis's information," on "Mismanagement at ye mine in 1757," it is stated that it was the common report that Paynter and John Ball "had combined to bring unnecessary charges on the mine so as to put Lord Powis out of conceit with it, and to induce him to surrender his lease to the Treasury, on the ground that the terms were too hard, viz., "a duty of half ye ore," . . . "and that while Lord Powis solicits for a better bargain, Mr. Townsend will take it up on the terms his lordship had it, for the sake of getting ore for his smelting house."

It is alleged that "by a forced push," 284 tons of ore were raised for the Crown, out of the bottoms, in less than two months' time, in the early part of 1757. "How happens it then," asks Morris, "that there was an account of but 50 tons given to Lord Powis, and said to be raised out of the bottoms for him in 8 months' time?" He indeed suspected that a great deal of his lordship's ore had been thrown into the waste hillocks which Ball had bought of Paynter before Lord Powis had his lease, "but the common report is that they are partners in the waste, and that it was a collusive sale. Paynter, as well as Ball, knew what vast quantities of ore Mr. Townsend had thrown into the waste hillocks in washing the ore in that wise bargain made by the Treasury, therefore this sale was not

done through ignorance." At all events, it was said that Ball had actually got about 500 tons of ore from the waste hillocks.

Among other expenditure that Paynter had incurred was that of building a new "Square house" for himself, and of making gardens fenced in with a great boundary wall, on the mountain near the mine, though "the house that had been built by L. M., and in which Mr. Herbert lodged, was sufficient for any agent to reside in during his necessary attendance at the mine, as at other times he might have lived in the warmer vallies." But Paynter could scarcely have used the new house at all, for about the same time he secured the house and farm of Hafod, on a lease for life from the owner, Thomas Johnes, "at a great advanced rent." He at once set about repairing Hafod, cutting down timber for the purpose, "of which, when Mr. Johnes came to know, he ordered his agent, Evan Lloyd, to put a stop to, alledging that he had committed damages above a £100 on the trees."

The quaintest statement contained in this memorandum is "that Mr. Paynter had made a great pond of water near the new house, which he calls *Pwll dialedd*, i.e., the pool of punishment. This pool is not for the use of the mine, being below it, but is contrived to frighten Bailiffs or any persons that have the confidence to come and demand money of the agent, or that have otherwise affronted him. Several persons have been threatened with it, and even carried to ye brink of it by a body of miners, by Mr. P.'s order, particularly Evan Thomas, the sheriff's bailiff." It is evident that Paynter did not show the same promptitude as Morris had done in paying wages and other claims, and this was the cause of serious disputes between him and several of the bargain-takers who at one time had been friendly with him.

A letter written by one of them—John Charlton—on 9 December 1757, to Morris, contains a comic account of the reception accorded to them on one occasion:

Paynter had "ordered that we should come up on a Sunday and make up our account; and, instead of settling, his servant, when I went to the door, threw the stool at my face, and, with hearing of a noise, Mr. Paynter asked what was there, his servant answered 'that Rogue Charlton'; with that Mr. P. came out with his stick and began to beat me as hard as ever he could, instead of settling accounts. Then his lady came with a stick and begins to beat me, then when they seed [saw] yt there was John Ball and Kennion, Richd. Owen,

John Jones, clerk, Julian Willcock, Michael Rogers, and George Smeadley—his servant and their wives (?), they set on a throwing stones as hard as ever they could, and told me as they should murder me, (to) which I made answer—it was a fine way to pay debt; they sent for the pumpers out of the work, followed me down below Cricklas to Marchnat, Mr. Paynter and all of them bare-headed. P.S.—He sent 14 men after night again to look after me a horse-back."

He desired Morris's assistance "for to know what he should do with these gentelmen," adding—"there is several other people unpaid besides us, which I hope your honour will look unto." It is not likely that Morris was able to render much, if any, help in the matter, for we find that Paynter was rapidly gaining further power in the district, and that, in the use of it, he brooked no opposition, but ruled the inhabitants with a rod of iron. He was placed on the Commission of the Peace, and was most active in the discharge of his magisterial duties.¹ He filled the office of High Sheriff of the county for the year 1763. He also appears to have succeeded Morris as Deputy Steward of some of the Crown manors, or at least of the Manor of Creuddyn, and in this capacity he soon asserted his authority. In the parish register of Eglwys newydd—which was practically a chapel-of-ease for Hafod—is preserved a copy of the minutes of the Leet Court held for this manor in the autumn of 1759. The Court met at Tavarn Newydd on 9 October; thirteen jurors were sworn, but as they failed to agree as to their presentments, an adjournment was made to the following day, when there occurred what would now be described as "a scene in Court". According to the record, Paynter "attended the Court as steward thereof, and two of the jurymen not appearing when called," they were fined one and two guineas respectively. "Cornelius Griffiths, one of the jurymen, was likewise fined in the sum of 10 guineas for uttering abusive language towards the said steward in the execution of his office, and for creating a disturbance in Court, whereupon the Court was again adjourned to the 7th of November following. By the time of the adjourned Court, most of "the jury aforesaid" were probably docile enough to adopt without protest whatever presentments the steward

¹ Morris refers to this in a letter of 2 December 1761 thus:—"Byw'r Iuddew brych yn eistedd yn ben ustus"; and another of 16 April 1762, "Mae'r Iuddew brych yn actio'r ustus yn bawdwr."

required them to make. Several ditches and fences were presented as out of repair, and those responsible for them, were, on further default, to be fined. Sixteen persons were fined 5s. each for keeping goats "to the annoyance of the publick." The jury saddled even themselves with responsibility by presenting that the high road leading from Pont rhyd y groes to Pentre, and the common Pound near Eglwys Newydd were out of repair, and ought to be repaired, and that a pair of stocks ought to be set up by the inhabitants of the upper parcel of Llanfihangel y Creuddyn, on pain of several penalties for default. As copies of the "findings" of the jury would, of course, be communicated to the Crown officials in London, they were cleverly utilised to discredit some former official—could it be Lewis Morris? The record on this point is as follows:

"It was proposed that Cornelius Griffiths¹ should serve the office of a Praepositor in ye room of John Parry, but two of ye Jurymen, Wm. Ball and Oliver Lewis, objected to the said Cornelius Griffiths as having no visible Freehold and being often not to be found, therefore unfit for an employment of Trust in receiving the Quit Rents payable yearly at his Majesty's audit, for which reasons the Steward of the Court directed that the said James (*sic*) Parry should continue in the receipt of the said rents for the ensuing year, the freeholders of the said Lordship having already suffered greatly by the insolvency of a Person who at this very time is charged by his Majesty's Audit with being considerably in arrear to the Crown, which Arrear must unavoidably fall upon the said freeholders or some of them."

Why the minutes of only this particular Court Leet were copied into the Church Register it is difficult to say, unless it was Paynter's desire that there should be a record in the locality to remind the inhabitants how he had asserted his authority. The same Register² also contains copies of the correspondence relating to Eglwys Newydd Church, printed in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (pp. 360-363). Paynter, it seems, had been for some time endeavouring to obtain for the church a grant from Queen Anne's Bounty. On 9th January 1762,³ the Bounty Secre-

¹ He was one of the Griffiths of Penpompren, being a brother of the High Sheriff of the County for 1757.

² I am indebted to the present Vicar of Eglwys Newydd (the Rev. T. Noah Jones), for kind hospitality, which enabled me to inspect and make extracts from the Register at his house, Pwll peiran, near Hafod.

³ Meyrick gives the date as 1760, but I think this is clearly a mistake for 1762.

tary (H. Montague), acknowledging the receipt of his "very pressing letters", writes to him thus:—

"From the great friendship I always have for you, I have at length surmounted the great obstacles that lay in our way to success, (but) in order thereto I have been obliged to strain a point in this office." Then followed the assurance that the Bishop of the Diocese (Dr. Squire), as well as the writer, was "a friend to Paynter and his religious design"—and that he would soon hear from the Bishop. On 4 February 1762 the Bishop did in fact write, putting some queries with reference to Eglwys Newydd, and graciously accepting Paynter's recommendation of its vicar (Hughes) for the vacant living of Llanilar. Paynter's reply, dated from Hafod 3 March 1762, brings out strongly the urbane and diplomatic side of his character. He assures the Bishop that he "would take uncommon pains to get the church first into proper repair, and to recommend a worthy clergyman to succeed Mr. Hughes." Then, after answering his lordship's queries, and giving "a few anecdotes" concerning "the first establishment of Eglwys Newydd," he proceeds:—

"Bishop Trevor, I am told, came once as far as Tregaron to confirm; now if your Lordship should chance to do the like, I may flatter myself with hopes of entertaining you and your retinue at Havod."

This invitation to the Bishop would doubtless have immensely tickled Lewis Morris, had he known of it, for on more than one occasion he suggests pretty clearly that Paynter's *ménage* at Hafod and elsewhere was not what would commend itself to the average moralist, least of all to a bishop, who should be a man of one wife. Judging from the fact that Thomas Johnes in 1773 described the church as then ruinous, Paynter could scarcely have carried out his promise to repair it. What he had however done before this, namely in 1760, was to construct a vault in the chancel, "designing it for himself and his wife." In June 1773, Johnes, as "the sole proprietor of the chancel," authorised that "when the time should come" the minister should "permit the interment of each of them respectively in the said vault." It did not long remain untenanted after this, for the Register contains the following entry, in the handwriting of the then vicar, David Williams:—

"1775, Dec. 19. Buried, John Paynter of Havod, Esquire."

The Register contains no entry relating to his wife. As to their descendants I have nothing to add to what is stated in note 2, p. 40 above.

One word with reference to Hafod itself. In his letter to Dr. Squire, Paynter refers to "the surprising singularity of this enchanting spot," which threw him into raptures when he "first accidentally saw it". In 1783, Thomas Johnes (the son of Paynter's lessor of the same name) decided to settle at Hafod. The old house was pulled down and a magnificent new mansion built instead. The greater part of this (including the library, with many of its priceless treasures), was burnt down in March 1807, but the mansion was soon rebuilt in all its original splendour. Col. Johnes died in 1816.¹ In March 1833, the estate and the mansion (together with all its contents, including the library) were sold for £62,000 to the 3rd Duke of Newcastle, who intended it as a country residence for his son, the Earl of Lincoln, and his wife. A grandson of Lewis Morris, the Rev. J. Williams Morris, head master of Ystrad Meurig School (*see* p. 77 above), was appointed domestic chaplain to the Earl during his residence at Hafod, the long arm of coincidence thus bringing the two families once more into close though temporary association. The 3rd Duke dying on 18 October 1834, the Earl succeeded to the Dukedom, but kept on Hafod, and many

¹ As much of this paper deals incidentally with the history of land in North Cardiganshire, the statement of a Government official affecting Col. Johnes deserves to be recorded here, though it should be borne in mind that it was not made till many years after his death. He is said to have "appropriated to his own use nearly 7,000 acres of waste, belonging to the Crown, adjoining his farms". Being steward of the Crown Manors in Cardiganshire, as well as Crown Auditor for Wales, "there was no check upon him". This was not discovered till the estate was sold, after his death, to a Mr. Claughton, who, with the aid of Chancery, "got rid of his bargain", presumably on the ground that there was no title to the encroachments. Johnes' executors and trustees paid £800 for the King's interests in the wastes, the minerals being reserved. It was then that the estate was sold to the Duke of Newcastle, who, after purchasing it, tried also to buy the minerals, but the Crown refused to sell. "The Duke, regardless of his application, and of the reservation, ordered his agent to discharge the workmen employed by the Crown tenants. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests are taking the proper steps to establish the right of the Crown and to prevent the Duke's encroachment." *See* Evidence of John Wilkin, Receiver of Crown Rents for Wales, 5 June 1834, before Lord Duncannon's Select Committee on Land Revenues of the Crown, questions 2965-67, and 3423.

improvements which he carried out there are still known by his name, especially the Duke's Drive. The subsequent owners have been Henry Houghton, who was High Sheriff of Cardiganshire for 1849, William Chambers (of Llanelly and of Bicknor, Kent), who purchased it in 1853, and T. J. Waddingham, Esquire, who is the present owner.

POSTSCRIPT.

When the greater part of the preceding article had been printed off, a letter book, containing copies, in Lewis Morris's handwriting, of letters and one or two other papers written by him in 1744-47, was forwarded to me by Sir Lewis Morris. They contain much that is of the utmost value as to the history of the common lands of the district, but this cannot be dealt with in a Postscript. A brief reference must however be made to their contents, in so far as they throw light on the commencement of Morris's official connection with the Cardiganshire manors. The following tells its own story as to the beginning of that connection:—

"Sr,—It being necessary for his Majesty's service to have a correct survey and plan of the Mannor of Cwmwood y Perveth in the county of Cardigan, These are therefore to authorise and desire you to repair to the said Mannor and Survey the same and make a correct Plan thereof, particularly describing the Wastes and Commons within the said Mannor belonging to the Crown and the lands belonging to the Freeholders; and also all Mines of Copper, Lead, Tinn, or other minerals within the said Mannor, but more particularly to describe a Lead Mine within the Parish of Llanbadarn Vawr within the said Mannor, concerning the Right to which Mine a dispute is now depending in the Court of Exchequer. And you are desired to transmit such Survey and Plan under your Hand to me with all convenient speed, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"T. WALKER, Surveyor-General.

"Burlington Garden, 2 August 1744.

"To Mr. Lewis Morris, Surveyor."

There are good grounds for believing that William Corbett (see p. 4 above) was in some way or other concerned in securing this appointment for Morris.¹ During

¹ Even before this appointment, Morris appears to have visited Bwlchgwyn mine, for in referring to it in a letter of 16 Nov. 1744, he says:—"Most that I know of it is from views I took of it formerly, as it was said to belong to a gentleman I had a value for."

the next two or three years he acted as Morris's correspondent in London, interviewing Government officials in his interest, and on at least one occasion receiving a remittance from the Treasury as Morris's agent. Morris, on the other hand, kept him duly informed from time to time as to the state of affairs in Cardiganshire. He thus wrote to Corbett a long letter on 14 September 1744, "to desire him to speak with Mr. Sharpe," of the Treasury, as to Morris's remuneration and expenses, and with Zachariah Chambers (an official in the Surveyor-General's Department), as to whether Morris could not be empowered to compel the deputy steward and other officers of the manor to produce their records for his inspection. Morris had, in fact, written to Chambers himself, on 17 August, enclosing a number of queries on points as to which he desired guidance, but the answers which he received on 13 September were "not at all satisfactory". His difficulties in Cardiganshire were very great, for his inquiries were met with a conspiracy of silence on almost every hand. The steward of the Crown manors in the county was Owen Brigstocke, who had been M.P. for the county, 1718-22, but he had never been in the manor of Pervedd since receiving the office.¹ He had, however, appointed three deputies, viz., Lloyd of Mabws,² Lewis (or query Thomas) Parry, and another (whose name is not given) for the south of the county. Parry was also attorney to Thomas Powell of Nanteos (who claimed Bwlchgwyn mine), and had "an estate of his own of above £100 a year in the very centre of this Lordship, and particularly a cottage or summer house upon the mountains which he called his freehold." So he was not likely to favour the claims of the Crown. In fact he, in conjunction with Powell, who was then M.P. for the county, gave notice

¹ In 1719, William Gower, of Glandovan (M.P. for Ludlow), had a grant of the profits, fines, and estrays of these Lordships, and was succeeded by Wilson Abel Gower, who held them in 1747, but neither of them had raised the fines imposed at the various Courts.

² Probably Richard Lloyd, who had stood against Powell of Nanteos in 1729, and Thomas Pryse of Gogerddan in 1741, in the Parliamentary Election for Cardigan Boroughs. He appears to have been friendly to Morris, and inclined to assist him, but as he had left all the work to Parry, he was unable to give much, if any, information. Moreover, he seems to have been about this time superseded in the deputy stewardship—perhaps owing to his friendliness to Morris.

to Morris that if he "dared to go on Freeholders' lands in the Lordship of Perfedd to survey them or the mines, he would be forthwith prosecuted for damages."

"Thos. Pryse, Esqr., another member of Parliament, who hath a great estate in this Lordship, hath also given me the like notice, telling me that he had given his attorney orders to prosecute me as soon as ever he could have proof I made advances that way. . . . As I was willing to have my residence near the center of ye Lordship, for ye readier carrying on the Survey, and to get what information I could, I took a House in ye mountains, but several attempts have been made to turn me out of it, and I have been publicly threatened to be drove out of the country." (Letter to the Surveyor-General, 11 April 1745.)

Morris had to confess that he had "not one man in the whole county to consult with"; and when Sharpe required him to recommend some one to act as solicitor for the Crown, he found that all the local men were "either interested or related to the persons that disputed with the Crown, or else guilty themselves of the like encroachments." Early in July he journeyed all the way to Llandovery with a view of retaining one James Pryse, an attorney of that town, but "he entirely refused to undertake the management of the affair for the Crown." Nothing daunted, he went the next day to Presteign to see an attorney named Jenkin Edwards, "a native of Cardiganshire, and a gentleman of years and experience (who knew) the country, and no way byass'd by ye great men thereof." Edwards promised to act on receiving instructions to that effect direct from the Treasury. Pending this, Morris drew up "a state of the case", and proofs of the evidence of his witnesses, to enable Sharpe to settle interrogatories, and (on 12 August) he begged Sharpe to hasten the "deputation" for him, by which it would appear that it was intended to confer on him powers to act as deputy steward for Perfedd, and probably for Mefenydd and Creuddyn also.

Powell seems to have based his claim to Bwlchgwyn on the following grounds:—(1) that it was in a small mesne manor belonging to him, and lying within the lordship of Perfedd; and that the beadle of the latter never raised the king's rent within his mesne manor. (2) That some 40 years previously the company of mine-adventurers, under a lease from one of Powell's predecessors, had cut trenches and dug for mine on the mountain at or near

Bwlchgwyn. It has already been stated (p. 10) above that Powell won this suit in the Exchequer, though I am unable to say when it was tried out.

Morris's letters contain a mass of interesting information relating to the lordship; he appears to have drawn up a formal report of his survey of it—three folios of the opening part of this report are wrapped up with the letter-book.

Brigstock, the Crown Steward, seems to have died in 1746, and William Corbett was appointed steward to succeed him, whereupon Morris was appointed his deputy steward for the manor of Perfedd. But the landowners in the district gave orders to their tenants not to attend his Courts, so that in his first two Courts only one freeholder appeared. It is indeed probable enough that the customs of the manor, as given by Meyrick (*Hist. of Cardiganshire*, p. 568), from some MSS. of Morris, were never sworn to at any court of survey in the year mentioned (1747), but simply drawn up by Morris in readiness for one of his abortive courts.

The conclusion that is forced on one in reading Morris's letters during the years 1744-47, is that in addition to being bitterly opposed by practically all the men of influence in Cardiganshire, while attempting to carry out a work bristling with difficulties, he was also accorded but very inadequate support by the Treasury officials, who seemed afraid lest he should create too many enemies to the Government among Cardiganshire landowners. Our knowledge of his loyalty to duty in face of these difficulties increases our wonder at the persecution he subsequently suffered. But was it not the same cowardly and inhuman Government that authorised the judicial murder of Byng? In a somewhat similar way, Lewis Morris also seems to have been sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. But his memory will ever be cherished by Welshmen as one of the most versatile sons of Wales, one of the sweetest of its ballad singers, and as the disinterested friend and patron of many a struggling bard and student of Welsh literature—notably of his poor neglected contemporary Goronwy Owen.

Saint Carannog.

BY THE REV. S. BARING GOULD, M.A.

CARANNOG is said to have been son of Corun ab Ceredig, by Rees in his "Essay on the Welsh Saints", and a *Life* is in the MS. Cotton., Vespasian A. xiv, which has been printed in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853. Having recently come upon another *Life*, which is in the Breviary of the Church of Léon, printed in 1516, and of which only two copies exist, and which seems to be generally unknown, I venture to note a few particulars relative to this very remarkable man, as a prelude to this Léon *Life*, which I propose to give.

Apparently there were two saints of a very similar name, and their stories have been fused together. The second Carannog, or as the Irish call him, Cairnech, was the son of Saran, King in Oriel, and of Babona, daughter of Loarn, King of Alba (503-508). Earca, sister of Babona, married first Murtoigh, son of Eoghain, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages (378-405), and was the mother of Murtoigh mac Earca, King of Ireland (513-533); and Murtoigh mac Earca married the widow of Lurig, brother of S. Cairnech. Earca married, secondly, Fergus, son of Conall Gulban (d. 464), and by him was mother of Fedlilim, and grandmother of S. Columba of Hy. The period at which Cairnech lived is accordingly pretty well fixed. He died in 545 (*Irish Nennius*, ed. Todd & Herbert, p. cx).

From this it will be seen that Carannog ab Corun belonged to an earlier period.

In the *Life of S. Carannog* (Vespasian A. xiv) we are informed that at the time when he was born, "The Scots (Irish) overcame Britain for thirty years, the names of whose generals were Briscus, Thuthaius, Machleius, and Anpachus." And again: "Ceredig held Ceredigion, and from him it received its name. And after he held it, the Scots came and fought with them, and seized all the country." So in the *Léon Life*: "In those days came the Scots and occupied the British region", and this was when Ceredig was "an old man". Here we have an intimation of two invasions, one before Ceredig arrived and expelled them, another, later, when they attempted to recover what they had lost.

The names of the Irish chiefs of the first invasion are not easy to identify in their Latin form; Tuathius may be Dathi, King of Ireland 405-408, and Anpachus may be Amalghaid, King of Connaught 438-449, and the name of a Mac Lear (Laoghair) may be disguised under Machleius.

According to the Latin *Lives*, Carannog, in Latin Carantocus, was son of Ceredig and not grandson. He went to Ireland "in the year of the birth of Saint David, son of Sandde." Unfortunately, it is exceedingly doubtful what year that was.

"He went to Ireland, Patrick having preceded him; and they met each other and resided together. And they consulted together what they should do, and they agreed that they should separate, one go to the left, and the other to the right, because many clerics walked with them, and others because they wanted health. And Carantoc went to the right part, and Patrick to the left, and they agreed that they should meet once a year."

The Léon *Life* is fuller. On account of the invasion by the Irish, and the advanced age of Ceredig, the chiefs met and desired to set his eldest son, Carannog, at their head. He, however, declined the honour, loving the Kingdom of Heaven better than earthly kingdoms, and he fled with staff and wallet till he came to a place called Guerith Karanktoc, where he set up his rest. But after some time an angel bade him go to Ireland and assist Patrick in his labours there. Accordingly he departed, and built a monastery in Ireland. This, apparently, is his foundation at Dulane, in Meath.

In the histories of S. Patrick, which we have, Carannog does not seem to have been intimately associated with him, except on one notable occasion; and the *Life* (Vesp. A. xiv) implies as much; the sphere of Patrick was in the north, that of Carannog in the south. The notable occasion referred to is the drawing up of the Seanchus Mor. When the bulk of the population of Ireland had accepted Christianity, it became advisable that the laws should be readjusted to meet the new condition of affairs. King Laoghaire saw this, and although not himself a Christian he is traditionally said to have appointed a joint Commission for the revision and codification of the laws. The Commission consisted of three Kings, three Brehons or Druids, and three Christian Bishops. Patrick, Benignus, and Carantoc sat as representatives of the Church. The code remained in force among the Irish throughout the Middle Ages, and in Clare even down to 1600.

The Latin *Lives* say not a word about this, which occupied Carannog and the other Commissioners three years, and was completed in or about 438, and which was the most important and far-reaching act of his life.

Whilst in Ireland, Carannog received as his pupil one who is called in Brittany Tennenan, and who is represented

as son of an Irish King, Tinidor. The names have not an Irish sound, but they are evidently corrupt. Tennenau being a leper, was excluded from the succession, and embraced the ecclesiastical life under Carannog, who, according to the legend, healed him of his leprosy. This may have an allegorical meaning, and imply no more than that by baptism he purged him of the leprosy of sin, or that whilst undergoing his training in the Monastery of Carannog, he got rid of a distressing skin disease which had troubled him in his youth. Can Tennenau be Finnian?

The *Léon Life* speaks of an Irish King Dulcemius contributing timber to the erection of the church for Carannog, but under this name it is not possible to determine what chieftain of South Ireland is meant.

After a while Carannog retired from active work in Ireland, and the Latin published *Life* goes on to relate that he retreated to a cave in Ceredigion, and founded the Church of Llangranog. After a while, taking his portable altar with him, he went to the Severn, and threw his altar in, resolving to settle wherever it was washed up. Then we are told that in those days Cado and Arthur ruled the land, and the latter had his dwelling at Dindrarthron. In the adjoining district of Carron was a dragon, which Arthur induced Carannog to overcome. Arthur meanwhile got hold of Carannog's altar-table and purposed appropriating it to his own use. However, when Carannog had tamed the dragon, he reluctantly surrendered the altar, which Carannog again threw into the sea.

Dindrarthron is Dinedor, in Herefordshire, and Carron is the marshy region of the Garran. Here there is a church called Llangaran. All this portion of the legend must be dismissed as an anachronism. It is not possible to make Carannog, who assisted at the compilation of the

Seanchus Mor in 438, a contemporary of Arthur, who fell in 537. It applies to the second Carantoc, or Cairnech, son of Saran.

Carannog crossed to Cornwall, and landed at a place called in the *Life* Gwellit (the Grassy). It was probably the long curious creek called the Gannel. Here he resolved to settle, and he borrowed a spade from a poor man, wherewith to dig the ground. He also cut for himself a staff, and at intervals, when tired of digging, he wittled the handle of the staff.

Presently he observed a wood-pigeon fly out of the adjoining grove, and carry off in its beak some of the shavings from his staff. He resolved on following the bird, and he found that she had dropped the chips in one particular spot. He determined to build a church there, and place in it his altar, which had been washed up on the shore.

We are then told that "a voice came to him from heaven and said he should go into exile, and leave his family. Innumerable persons were buried in that city, but he alone went to Ireland." Here we have the first summons, as given in the *Léon Life*, and this is an instance of the sad jumble of which the *Life* (Vesp. A. xiv) is made up. It is not possible to decide, with anything approaching to certainty, what the real order of events was in the life of Carannog; but this, at least, seems clear, that after having been for a while living a solitary life in Wales, he went to Ireland and did missionary work there, then, for some reason that we shall shortly consider, he left Ireland, and came to Cornwall, where he founded the church now called Crantock, and perhaps at the same time Carhampton in Somersetshire, a mile and a-half from Dunster, of which church he was considered the patron. The church passed into the

possession of Bath Abbey, where the festival of the Saint was observed on May 16 (Bath Calendar, *circ.* 1383, in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 10,628).

Now it is very noteworthy that Carannog or Carantoc has an extended cult in Brittany. There is a parish, Carantec, and another Tregarantec, that bear his name in Finistère, but he is also widely known as S. Caradec, as patron of St. Caradec, near Loudéac, of Saint Caradec, Priziac, and of S. Carreuc. He has, as well, chapels at Mellac, at Pontaven, and is honoured at Quimperlé. He has been dealt with by two writers, B. Oneix, *S. Caradoc en Bretagne*, S. Brieuc, Prud'homme, 1880, and by De la Borderiè, *Les deux Saints Caradec*, Paris, Champion, 1883, but neither being in possession of all known about him in Wales and Ireland, have been able to altogether unriddle the puzzle of his presence in Armorica. That Caradec or Careuc is the same as Carantoc is shown by the commemoration of this saint being always on May 16, which is that of Carantoc in the Irish Martyrologies, and also by his identification in the Breviary lessons with the son (or grandson) of Ceredig. His main settlement was Saint Caradoc near Loudéac, in Côtes du Nord, which is spoken of in the 13th cent. as "Monasterium Caradoci". He is mentioned in the *Life of S. Guenael*. That Saint had been to Britain, and he returned laden with books and followed by forty disciples. He landed first in the Ile de Groix, and then went overland to visit Caradoc, whom he held in high esteem. According to local tradition S. Gonnec or Connoc, and S. Gonery, were among the pupils of Caradoc. That Tennenan was so—but in Ireland—we have already seen. In Morbiban, as well, Carannog has two churches, S. Caradoc Hennebont, and S. Caradec Thégomel; and he is commemorated in the Vannes Breviaries on May 16, the same day of S. Carantoc.

Now it seems to me that the settlements in Cornwall and Brittany of such assistants of S. Patrick as Carannog and Mancen, or Ninio, mean a great deal, for which we look in vain into such scanty documents as have reached us, to find an explanation.

Patrick was supplied with a stream of missionaries serving under him from Britain and Armorica. There was a great nursery at Witherne, in Galway, that furnished him with men for work in the North of Ireland; and at Ty Gwyn, in Pembrokeshire, he had a great college under Mancen, otherwise called Ninio the Old, which sent over a supply for the mission field in South Ireland. But we find Mancen also in Cornwall and in Brittany, under the form of Mawgan or Méaugon, in Wales as Meugan. There are two Mawgans in Cornwall. The identity would seem to be established by Mawgan-in-Pyder Feast being observed on July 25, which is the day of Meugant or Ninio in the Irish Martyrologies. In Brittany, near S. Briec, is la Méaugon (Llan-Meugant), where the Pardon is observed on the same day. Is it not conceivable that Meugant or Mancen had branch establishments in Armorica and Cornwall to serve as feeders in Ty Gwyn? We know that there was close intercourse between Brittany and Wales and Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries. And in like manner I would conjecture that the object of Carannog's leaving Ireland was to undertake the very important task of establishing monastic settlements in Cornwall and in Armorica to serve the same purpose as those of Meugant or Mancen.

Tennenan, the disciple of Carannog in Ireland, followed his master. We have unfortunately no early life of this saint, all we know of him is from the lessons in the ancient Breviaries of Léon and Folgoët, which are full of fable. He is there said to have been the pupil of Karadoc

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LECT. II.

Tyrannus dixit Voca tamen deum tuum et si ceciderit tua est. Respondit Karadocus: Non est impossibile deo quicquam: et hec dicens oravit Dominum: completa oratione cecidit arbor radicibus extirpatis et stabant attoniti infideles. Credidit ergo tyrannus et baptizatus est et omnes sui cum illo conversi sunt ad fidem: et receperunt sacramentum. Hoc lignum artifices portaverunt in crastino ad opus incohatum et scinderunt in quatuor bases. Quadam nocte venerunt religiosi quidam aliunde ad locum et deerant ligna foco ad usum pernoctantium: tunc surrexit Karadocus ad unam basem de quattuor absciditque particulam ex illa. Artifex autem hoc intuens vehementer indignatus est: et decrevit abire: et ait Karadocus: Fili mi mane in hac nocte. Ille vero mansit invitus. Sole autem orto surrexit ut abiret: et exiens circa ecclesiam vidit basam illam similem aliis basibus non habentem in se cissuram.

LECT. III.

Erat illis diebus quidam sanctus in hybernia nomine Tenenanus et hic erat leprosus. Vinit igitur ad sanctum Karadocum: sed antequam venisset nunciavit ei angelus venturum ad se Tenenanium: Karadocus cum gaudio et exultatione preparavit balneum suo hospiti. Veniens ille cum exisset jam ecclesiam et orasset occurrit iste obviam illi et osculati sunt invicem benedicentes. Et ducto eo a monasterio ad refectarium cogebat eum oppido ut introiret lavacrum. Ille negabat et inveniebat causas satis ydoneas: denique Karadocus ait: si non intraveris non vives in vita eterna. Cum hoc audisset Tenenanus coactus intravit balneum: accedebat iterum Karadocus ut lavaret eum. Animadvertens igitur Tenenanus quoniam ad se ablucendum accederet dixit. Non lavabis me in eter-

num. Respondit Karadocus : Nec tu vives in eternum si non laverò te. Lotus est itaque et statim ut tetigit eum Karadocus sanatus est a lepra : et conquerebatur dicens : Non bene fecisti in me frater : quia forte superbus fiam a modo et multum deceptus ero. Nequaquam ille ait : sed pulchrior eris : et tua caro non erit fetida : tunc sanctus Tenenanus ait : Ingredere et tu ut laveris. Adjuratus ipse ingressus est balneum : Surrexit Tenenanus ut faceret obsequia. Habebat enim Karadocus septem cingula ferrea circa se : et mox ubi tetigit ea Tenenanus fracta sunt omnia. Tunc ait Karadocus : non bene egisti : tibi verum tamen dampnum hoc videtur reparabile. Ait Tenenanus : Nequaquam quia si venerint omnes fabri : non poterunt tibi fabricare cingulum : Et post hec verba laudaverunt deum et facta est pax et unitas inter ipsos.

I may add, in conclusion, that after many and vain efforts to obtain a copy of M. de la Borderiè's article on *The Two Saints Caradec*, on my application, the Bollandist Fathers at Antwerp have most courteously lent me their copy. I find in it that M. de la Borderiè has printed the Latin life from the copy of the Breviary he found in Paris. There are only two or three trifling differences between my transcript and his.

Old County Families of Dyfed.

THE WOGANS OF BOULSTON.

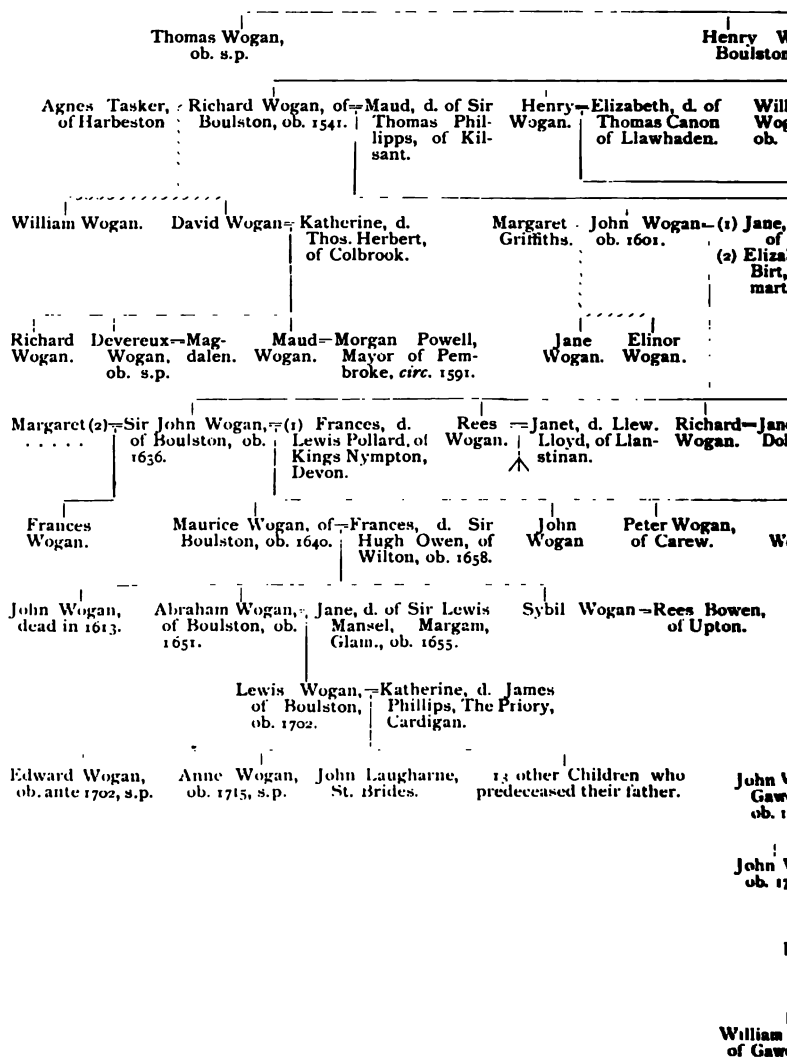
By FRANCIS GREEN.

It might naturally be imagined that the spread of education would tend to stimulate a love of county history amongst the rising generation, but so far from doing this its tendency, it is to be feared, is quite in the opposite direction. In days gone by, when books and newspapers were rarely accessible, folk-lore and the genealogies of the different residents in the neighbourhood were constantly discussed at the fireside, but these have now given place to the topics of the day, and as a result the ancient traditions and other facts in regard to county history are fast being lost to memory. In Pembrokeshire, for instance, a county that is overflowing with interesting features, historical and antiquarian, the old legends, and even the names of families, which not so very long ago must have been household words, are now almost forgotten. Few probably of the rising generation could tell an enquirer who the Wogans were, and even those of maturer age know little beyond the fact that there were families of that name who in days gone by lived at Wiston and Boulston. Yet it is barely a hundred years since the name of Wogan became extinct in the county.

It would be unfair to attribute the decadence of one of the most characteristic traits of the Welsh race from the earliest days to a change in the national disposition;

The Wogans of Be

Henry Wogan, of Milton, son of Sir John Wogan, W



Piston, Pembrokeshire.

1=Margaret, d. of Wilcocks Dyer, of Boulston.

1, of=Elizabeth, sister of Sir James
1499. ap Owen, of Pentre Evan.

=... d. of Elizabeth=William Daugh=Thos. Bateman, Margaret=William Mor-
... Cres- ap Owen ter. of Honeboro'. gan, of Mud-
ford, of David Gwyn. diescombe.

Richard Wogan, Anne Wogan=Henry Adams, Maurice Wogan, of=Elizabeth.
on. J.P. for Pem- Bloxham, Oxon.,
d. Robert brokeshire, ob. 1557.
erman of Car- 1591.

William Wogan= Margaret= Wogan.

Henry Maud=Morris Bowen, ...=William Ann=William Cecilia=Rev. Ro-
Wogan. Wogan. of Llochtrwy. Davids, Wogan. Adams. Wogan. land Lloyd
Regist'r of Fletherstown.

1=John Voyle, of Maud Elizabeth Jane=Wm. Jones.
Haverfordwest. Wogan. Wogan. Wogan.

John Wogan, of Gawdy Hall (probably a=Sarah, d. Robert Longe, of Fowlden, Norfolk, and
son of John, the brother of Maurice widow of Tobias Frere, the son of Tobias Frere,
Wogan), ob. 1707. M.P. for Norfolk in 1654 ; ob. 1684.

John Wogan, of=Elizabeth Sancroft, Walter Wogan.
Gawdy Hall, niece of Archbishop
ob. 1723. Sancroft.

n, of=Elizabeth, d. of William Sarah Wogan,=Rev. Gervas Holmes, Elizabeth Wogan,
Hall, Sancroft, of Suffolk, ob. 1764. of Fressingfield, ob. 1728, æt. 18.
ob. 1786. ob. 1776.

m, Elizabeth Wogan, Rev. Gervas Holmes, of=Rebecca Grimwood,
p. ob. 1773, spinster. Gawdy Hall, ob. 1796. ob. 1718, æt. 73.

John Holmes,=Anne, d. Rev. Wm. Rev. Gervas Holmes. Rebecca Holmes.=Rev. Wm.
Gawdy Hall, ob. Whitear, of Ore, Whitear.
Sussex, ob. 1877.

croft Holmes, Hester Elizabeth, d. Davies Gilbert, Anna Holmes, Charlotte Holmes.
all, ob. 1849 of Eastbourne, ob. 1885. ob. 1881.

ohn Sancroft Holmes, the=Edith King-cote, d. Henry
present owner of Gawdy Kingscote, of Kingscote,
Hall. Gloucestershire.

Now it seems to me that the settlements in Cornwall and Brittany of such assistants of S. Patrick as Carannog and Mancen, or Ninio, mean a great deal, for which we look in vain into such scanty documents as have reached us, to find an explanation.

Patrick was supplied with a stream of missionaries serving under him from Britain and Armorica. There was a great nursery at Witherne, in Galway, that furnished him with men for work in the North of Ireland; and at Ty Gwyn, in Pembrokeshire, he had a great college under Mancen, otherwise called Ninio the Old, which sent over a supply for the mission field in South Ireland. But we find Mancen also in Cornwall and in Brittany, under the form of Mawgan or Méaugon, in Wales as Meugan. There are two Mawgans in Cornwall. The identity would seem to be established by Mawgan-in-Pyder Feast being observed on July 25, which is the day of Meugant or Ninio in the Irish Martyrologies. In Brittany, near S. Brieuc, is la Méaugon (Llan-Meugant), where the Pardon is observed on the same day. Is it not conceivable that Meugant or Mancen had branch establishments in Armorica and Cornwall to serve as feeders in Ty Gwyn? We know that there was close intercourse between Brittany and Wales and Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries. And in like manner I would conjecture that the object of Carannog's leaving Ireland was to undertake the very important task of establishing monastic settlements in Cornwall and in Armorica to serve the same purpose as those of Meugant or Mancen.

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it is not that "Young Pembrokeshire" has adopted the tenets of Gallio, but that he has not the opportunity of gaining the knowledge. There is no history of the county that can be properly so called, and the only means open to the student is long and tedious research among the musty and in many cases almost illegible records belonging to the nation and private individuals in different parts of the country. Only those who have hunted these preserves are aware of the mass of chaff, so to speak, which has to be winnowed by the searcher in order to obtain a grain of wheat for his use. In the Record Office, for instance, there are bundles of documents for which there are no indexes, and one cannot help feeling that a good deal of money expended on procuring Returns for Parliament—many of them of no earthly interest to any one except the member desiring the same—might be much better laid out in making the records of the country accessible to the nation.

These are the reflections that occurred to me after delving into England's "Muniment Chest", in which I came across several incidents in connection with the Wogans, of so interesting a nature that I was induced to attempt a sketch of the family. I propose in this article to touch on the Wogans of Boulston, which although but an offshoot from the main stem at Wiston, at one time almost rivalled the parent line in importance and wealth of possessions. It is unanimously agreed by Welsh genealogists that the Wogans are of Welsh descent. The name is said to be a corruption of Gwgan, the son of Bleddyn ap Maenarch, Chieftain of Brycheiniog, who was slain about the year 1090 in a battle with Bernard Newmarch, the Norman Baron. Gwgan, according to the Welsh pedigrees, married Gwenllian, the daughter and heiress of Philip Gwys or Wizo, a Fleming, who then held

Wiston, and through this marriage that property came into the possession of the Wogan family, and remained in it over six hundred years. While there is no doubt that Wiston was owned for that period by the Wogans, it is plainly evident that the compilers of the pedigrees are in error as to Gwgan having married Gwenllian Gwys. Philip Gwys was alive in 1193, and Gwgan must have been born before 1090; it is therefore practically impossible that this union could have taken place. In all probability the genealogists have left out a generation or two, and it was a descendant of Gwgan who was the bridegroom on the occasion.

Another hypothesis, mentioned in Count O'Kelly's memoir of the family, is that the Wogans are descended from Ugus, a Roman Patrician from Florence. This derivation is so unsupported by even traditionary evidence in Wales that, but for the fact that it was again brought forward this year in an article in the *Cornhill Magazine*, I should not have referred to it. If the founder of the family was a foreigner it would be much more reasonable to suppose that he was a Norman. Yet there is no trace of the name in the Roll of Battle Abbey, although those of most of the *advenae* who settled in the county are to be found in it, including that of Perrott, a family that did not for centuries afterwards attain anything like the standing of the Wogans. On the whole, the preponderance of the evidence, if such it may be called, is in favour of a Welsh origin. First we have the testimony of the Welsh genealogists, and although they are frequently wrong as to details, I have generally found, where documents are available to test their statements, that in the main they are correct. It might be contended that the present pronunciation of the name does not very closely approximate that of Gwgan. I would suggest, however, that formerly the pronunciation

was much closer, and that at a very early date the first syllable was enunciated soft. In the earliest documents the name is spelled as at present, but as far back as 1331 it is written "Wougan", which was probably pronounced as in French, and some years later it is written "Woogan". The more convincing fact is the rarity of the name in England in early times. Prior to 1600 the name "Wogan", so far as I have been able to ascertain, was confined entirely to members of the Welsh and Irish branches. There was a family named Owghan at Woodham Walter, in Essex, in 1658, but probably this is merely a rendering of Orgen or Worgan, which is not an uncommon name in England. There was also a Wogan who owned lands in England in 1311-12. In a Fine made in 5th Edward II, a Richard Wogan and his wife Alice granted two messuages, $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of arable land, and 10 acres of meadow in La Cloude and Cameleye in Somersetshire, to Walter de la Haye and his wife Cecilia. This might suggest a Norman origin for the Wogan family, but on the other hand the Welsh pedigrees state that one of the earliest Wogans of Wiston married Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Adam de Staunton or Stanton, and this is to some extent borne out by a Patent in 1301, by which a John Wogan (probably the Justiciary of Ireland, and in that case owner of lands in Pembrokeshire) was granted the marriage of Margaret, the daughter and one of the heirs of Adam de Stanton, tenant-in-chief in Ireland. Now in 1311-12 there were Stauntons who owned property in Somersetshire, and as nothing is more likely than that John Wogan married Margaret Staunton to his son, or at all events a near relative, it is quite possible that Alice was the same person as Margaret, and that the lands mentioned in the Fine formed part of her jointure.

After this brief review of the origin of the Wogans we

will now turn to the branch which settled at Boulston. The founder was Henry, the son of Sir John Wogan of Wiston. Owing to the absence of dates in the Welsh pedigrees and the partiality of the family to the name of John, it has been impossible to decide with any degree of certainty which particular Sir John this is. The first Henry Wogan of Boulston, is described by Lewis Dunn as of Milton,¹ a property which was presumably given to him by his father. The Cheetham MSS. state that he married Margaret, or, according to Lewis Dunn, Joan, the daughter of Wilcocks Dyer, of Boulston, and it must have been through this union that that estate came into the possession of this branch. The Wogan tombstone at Boulston church describes him as Sir Henry Wogan, and there is little doubt that he is the Sir Henry Wogan who was a witness to a Release made by John Hogekeyn, rector of the church of St. Bridget, to John Don and John Elliott, of the manor of Robertiston and Nolton, in October 1453-4, and in which he is described as a knight and steward of Haverfordwest. (*Ancient Deeds Cal.*, p. 365.) Lewis Dunn, who is corroborated by Geo. Owen's MSS., states that the children of the marriage were:—

- (1) Thomas Wogan, who apparently died without issue. According to the Harleian MSS., No. 14,314, fol. 86*b*, he was the heir.
- (2) Henry Wogan, who inherited the property, presumably on the death of his brother.

The Cheetham MSS. make no mention of Thomas, but trace the descent through his brother Henry, while Vincent brings the line through Thomas. It is, however, the opinion of E. L., who edited an edition of the Cheetham MSS., that these records were the work of Sir

¹ In Burton parish.

John Wogan, who married Frances Pollard, and in that case they should be the better authority. The memorial stone in Boulston Church, and also Geo. Owen's MSS., trace the descent through Henry, so there seems little doubt that Vincent's Collection is wrong on this point. Possibly the explanation is that Thomas Wogan was a priest. Mention is made in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, taken in 27th Henry VIII (1535-6), of a Thomas Wogan, who was rector of Lawrenny, Nolton, and Henry's Mote in Pembrokeshire, all of which benefices were in the gift of John Wogan of Wiston. Unfortunately, the lack of details and dates renders it impossible to form any reliable opinion on the question. The problem is not assisted by the will of Henry Wogan—the earliest will of any of the family that I have come across—which so far as the date is concerned might have been made either by the brother of Thomas or by his father. The document was executed on the 31st Aug. 1499, and the testator describes himself as "Henricus Ogan." No address is given, but he desired to be buried in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, at Woran.¹ Now as Milton is very much nearer to Warren than is Boulston, the presumption is that the testator lived at the former place; this would suggest that the will was made by the first Henry, as one would naturally expect that his son would have come into possession of Boulston, and have resided there before his death. The assumption that the first Henry was the maker of the will is further strengthened by the fact that while the testator bequeaths a legacy of 100 Marks to Alicia "my daughter", he does not refer to Richard Ogan, whom he makes residuary legatee, as his son.

There are several other interesting questions opened

¹ Warren.

up by this will. A legacy of 6s. 8d. is given to the church of St. Mary at Woran,¹ 20s. to the church of St. David's, and 6s. 8d. to the church of Whitlakyngton, in Somersetshire. This again indicates that there was some connection between the Welsh Wogans and Somersetshire, and, thanks to this clue, just as this page was going to press, further evidence turned up which proves, beyond a doubt, that the testator was the second Henry. An Inquisition held at Bridgwater in the 15th Henry VII, on the estate of a Henry Wogan, states that he died on the 31st Aug. 1499, and that Richard, his son and heir, was then 22 years of age and more. The date of the death thus corresponds exactly with that of the will, satisfactorily proving the identity of Henry Wogan. The Inquisition states that he held a messuage and 101 acres of land, called Orchardiston, in Knightisby, in Somersetshire.

Further research in Somerset House revealed the existence of an offshoot of the family there in later times. Among the records is a will of John Wogan of Sylving,² in the parish of Whitelakington, dated 27th Oct. 1558, and proved on 7th May 1559. By this instrument the testator bequeathed 3s. 4d. to each of the churches of Pocklynchrokepe, Stocklynch Maude'hyn,³ and Puckington, and desired his body to be buried at Whitelakington church "amongst my ancestors". In his will only one child is mentioned, a daughter, Phillippa, to whom he gives £100 "towards her marriage", conditionally that she be "ruled by her mother", but it would seem that he also had another daughter. His wife, whom he makes residuary legatee, appears to have been Anne Rose, as the testator bequeaths to Nicholas Rose, whom he styles "my brother-in-law", his best gown. He also refers to his

¹ Warren.

² Syvinch.

³ Stocklinch Magdalene.

“brother”, Enthebert Rose. His wife Anne survived him, as she took out probate to the will, and I think there is little doubt that she was the Agnes Wogan whose will, dated the 8th Feb. 1574, was proved on 30th April 1575. This Agnes Wogan is described as of Sylvinch, Somersetshire, and she also desired to be buried in Whitelakington church. She made her daughter Mary, the wife of William Stourton, of Woemyster,¹ her residuary legatee, but omitted any reference to Phillippa. The *Visitation of Somersetshire* in 1623 (Harleian MSS., No. 1141) states that Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Wogan, of Sylvinch, married Robert Morgan of South Mapleton, Dorset. This is probably a mistake for Phillippa. Agnes Wogan was a lady of property. She devised her estates, which comprised lands and manors in Brent Marshe, in Crokern, in Meriatt, in Shepton, in Heachin, in Stocklinche-in-Sea, in Hilcom, in Chilworthye, in Buckland, in Croome St. Nicholas, Donyett Pisend’she, Langeporte, Estover, Westover, and Cwry Rivell, in the county of Somerset, to George Speake of Whitelakington, knt., William Stourton of Worminster, Esq., and John Morgan of Maperton, Dorset, gent., for the use of John Rose, son of Nicholas Rose of Shepton Beachin, in the county of Somerset. This Nicholas Rose I believe to be the testatrix’s brother.

We must now return to the direct line of the Wogans of Boulston. Henry Wogan, the son of Sir Henry Wogan, married Elizabeth, the sister of Sir James ap Owen of Pentre Evan in the Lordship of Kemes in Pembrokeshire, and the daughter, according to the Cheetham MSS., of Owen Bowen of Pentre Evan. The issue of this marriage was:—

- (1) Richard Wogan.

¹ Warminster.

- (2) Henry Wogan, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Canon of Llawhaden, and founded a branch which existed in Oxfordshire for a couple of generations. (Harl. MSS., No. 14,314, fol. 86b.)
- (3) Margaret Wogan, who married Henry Morgan of Muddlescombe, Glam. (Geo. Owen.)
- (4) William Wogan, who married the daughter of — Cresford of Clydon, and died without issue. (Harl. MSS., 14,314, fol. 86b.)
- (5) Elizabeth Wogan, the wife of William ap Owen David Gwyn. (G. Owen.)
- (6) A daughter, who married Thomas Bateman of Honeborough. (G. Owen.) Possibly the Alicia mentioned in Henry Wogan's will.

Richard Wogan, the eldest son, who succeeded to the estate, was the first of the family, so far as the records show, to reside at Boulston. He lived in the time of Henry VIII, and appears to have had little regard for the power of the Church, as it is stated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, taken the 27th of that reign (1535-6), that nothing had been received that year or for many years previously from the manor of Villa Clement, the property of the Archdeacon of Menevia, which formerly yielded £10 4s. 8d. per annum, because Richard Wogan, of Boulston, had seized and held it by main force, but by what title he did so the Commissioners could not ascertain. I have been unable to find many references to Richard Wogan, but fortunately his will is registered at Somerset House, and this document throws a good deal of light, not only on his family but on his surroundings. It is dated 23rd Nov. 1540, and was proved on 29th April 1541, by Matilda Wogan, his widow, who, it is thus clear, survived him. Matilda Wogan, or Maud as she is called by Welsh genealogists,

was the daughter of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Kilsant, Pembrokeshire, and the grand-daughter of Owen Donne of Picton. She was a much-married lady, for after the death of her husband, Richard Wogan, she married Morgan Jones of Harmeston, and, surviving him, married Nicholas Vaughan. According to Lewis Dunn (vol. i, p. 171), she was also the wife of Owen Barrett of Gellywick.

Richard Wogan in his will mentions only two children—a son and a daughter Anne—as being the issue of this marriage, but George Owen's MS. states that there was a daughter Jane. There is scarcely a doubt, however, that in this case the Pembrokeshire historian has made a mistake in the name. The children are as follows:—

- (1) John Wogan.
- (2) Anne Wogan, the wife of Henry Adams of Patrickchurch. (Cheetham MSS.)

The two children, John and Anne, were both under age in 1540, the date of the will, as the testator bequeathed to his wife his "Manor Place of Bulliston and Hampton duringe her widohed for ye tender age of the childerne", and both these properties are stated to be "socage tenor". To the church of Burton he gave 6s. 8d., the one half of the sum to the chancell and the other to the body of the church, and he also desired to be buried before the high altar of that church. It would appear that his wishes in this respect were carried out, as there is in Burton church a sixteenth century tomb in the position mentioned, on which are inscribed the initials, "R. W." The tomb is thus described (*Arch. Camb.*, Series V, vol. xv, p. 183) in an account of a visit by the Association in 1897:—

"There is a remarkable altar-tomb to a Wogan of Boulston, with a slab bearing a cross ragulé and two shields on the top, and the sides decorated with heraldic shields, one bearing the punning device of the sails of a windmill above a cask, meaning mill tun or Milton,

the Wogans being lords of Boulston and Milton. The slab on the top of the tomb seems to be of the fourteenth century and the rest of the tomb of the fifteenth or sixteenth century."

Besides the son and daughter mentioned in his will, Richard Wogan had two illegitimate children: William Wogan and David Wogan. Although not explicitly stated, the presumption is that their mother was Agnes Tasker—a pedigree in *Lewis Dunn's Visitation* states that she was—as the testator acknowledges that she holds a tenement in Harbeston of the annual value of seven Nobles for her life, and that after her decease the property was to revert to his heir. The presumption is strengthened by the fact that this clause comes immediately between the bequests to his son John and William Wogan. It is interesting to note that the "bar sinister" in 1540 was by no means such a disability as at the present day. It would appear, from the tenor of the will, that if the sons William and David were not brought up with their half-brother they were evidently held in high esteem by their father. Thus all the real estate, subject to certain bequests, is left by the testator to his son John Wogan, together with specified valuables which in the event of his dying without issue were to go to William and David Wogan. William is also made trustee of his half-sister Anne Wogan, as well as receiver of all the testator's socage lands, while he is left an annuity of 20 Nobles per annum for his life. Provision is also made for David Wogan. He is given a quarter-share in a barge and a quarter-share in the ship called the "Elbewe." As the other shares in these vessels were bequeathed to John Wogan, David was thus a partner with his half-brother. David was also given for his life a tenement with the lands appertaining thereto in Herston¹ and Therston. He married Katherine,

¹ Hearston and Thurston, in Burton parish.

the daughter of Thomas Herbert, and the grand-daughter of Sir Richard Herbert of Colbrook. From the marriage there was a daughter Maud, who married Morgan Powell, mayor of Pembroke about 1591; also two sons, Richard and Devereux. The latter died prior to 1616, and was a Citizen and Clothworker of London. He married Magdalen—who on his death took, in 1617, as her second husband, William Tailler, a Citizen and Merchant Taylor, of London. Devereux Wogan left no children. Of Richard, the son of David Wogan, I have found no further mention.

Richard Wogan of Boulston bequeathed all his “goods and cattalls”, with certain exceptions, to his wife Maud, and it is the specified items which make the instrument so interesting at the present day. He evidently kept a certain amount of land in hand, as he gave to his wife 200 sheep and “hed of beasts”; the number of the latter however is unfortunately left blank in the will. We also get an insight into the contents of his plate chest. Among the articles left to his wife were two bowl pieces of silver with one ewer and two flat pieces; a standing cup with a ewer, the top of the cover being ornamented with a squirrel; another standing cup of silver with a cover, on which was a little boy bearing a child; two salt (cellars) with two covers, one gilt and the other partly gilt; a silver taster; a with a silver band and a foot of silver; a chalice; two dozen silver spoons; a small silver cover and a “napple cuppe of silver.” In these days of women’s rights it is curious to read that the testator directed his wife’s “wering garments to be at her own pleasure and dysposytion”. These included a “Dymysent¹ girdell of clene golde with a dyamonde and a ruby therein, a chayne and a bullyon of

¹ Probably Damascene.

golde with a crosse of sylver and a crosse of golde withe a dyamonde in the mydde and a ruby one every quarter, an ooche of golde with a dyamonde in the myddest and also a great parle (pearl), also a chayne of golde of the weight of eight double Ducketts.” To John, his son, he left “myne owen broche, and it hath a garnet in the mydell as it is set aboute with pearles”.

Mention is also made of “two great gunnes withe their foure chambers”, which, with a great crock in the kitchen, the testator desired should be kept in the house of Boulston. What kind of guns these were can only be surmised, but there can be little doubt that they were intended for the defence of the Manor House, and possibly to command any ships passing up and down the river. Various legacies and bequests for life and in fee were made to servants and others, in most cases with the proviso that the recipients would faithfully serve his wife and his son John. The real estate so devised was briefly as follows:—

House at Slebech to Richard Miller for life.

House of Westfelde, on the east side of the said township, to John Taylor for life.

House in the same township to Richard Howell for life.

“Calbrocke,” in the fields of Prendergast, to Hugh Lloid for life.

The southeast house in Dale to Anne Tasker for her life.

Tenement and lands at Wiston to John Myller.

The other properties mentioned in the will were:—

(1) Lands of Repston; the manor place of Crapull, Williamyston, Frogholl, Spittell, Williamyston at the same place, and Crasselley.

(2) The lordship of Sutton; lands within the Burrowes of Haverfordwest, Cronett and Poyston; a Noble of Rent in Houston, Mylton, Flethershill, with a “tockynge” (tucking) mill, and Wolddale and Camros; a meadow by the Friars’ garden; the Bechem with my

¹ Ducats. The Dutch ducat weighed 3·494 grammes.

lands in Dale except the tenement given to Anne Tasker; lands within the Burrowes of Saint Davys within Chayltie. All which towns and villages were held by socage tenure.

The properties in the first paragraph were charged with a legacy of 200 Marks for a marriage portion for Anne Wogan. The sum was to be raised by William Wogan and kept, until that event took place, in the common coffer of the town of Haverfordwest or elsewhere, at the discretion of the overseers of the will. The overseers appointed were: "my brother, John Phillips of Picton, Thomas Johns of Haroldiston, Esquires; Master Thomas Lloid, Chaunter of Sainte Davyde's; and Master John Lewis, Treasurer" there.

On the death of Richard Wogan, which as I have pointed out must have occurred about the year 1541, his son John, on attaining his majority, succeeded to the property. According to the tombstone at Boulston church he was raised to the honour of knighthood, but curiously enough he is not so described in his will. He was Sheriff for Pembrokeshire several times, but owing to his son bearing the same name it is impossible in all cases to distinguish the respective offices held by each. Mr. Egerton Allen, in his interesting and useful work, *Sheriffs of Pembrokeshire*, states that Sir John Wogan, senior, held that office in 1566, 1574, 1584, 1598 and 1606, and that he was created a knight in the interval between 1584 and 1598. It is, however, certain that he was not sheriff in 1606, as I recently came across his will in the Carmarthen Registry, which appears in the index as having been proved in 1601.

All authorities, including the Cheetham MSS., agree that Sir John Wogan married Jane, the daughter of Richard Wogan, of Wiston, thus once more uniting the two branches of the family. After her death he took for

his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Byrte, of Llwyndiris, Cardiganshire, Alderman of Carmarthen, and Elizabeth, co-heiress of Edward Ryd, of Castle Moel,¹ Carmarthenshire. She was the widow of Einion Phillipps, the grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Kilsant, Pembrokeshire, and in the will is described as "Dame Elizabeth Wogan, *alias* Byrte." A portion of this instrument, which is as interesting as that of Sir John's father, has been torn off and some of the writing is illegible, but sufficient remains to enable the reader to ascertain not only the particulars of the estate, but also to obtain an insight into the life of that period. The first bequest is the munificent gift of 4*d.* to the Cathedral church of St. David's; then comes a number of bequests to Dame Elizabeth, including "all her apparel of all sortes, all her ringes and juelles with alsoe six of my best geldinge," all the movable and immovable household goods at the house of Porth Rynen in Cardiganshire, and similar articles, together with all the corn cut or growing on the dower house and lands "at Llanvernach . . . cauled Erwyon," and at the dower house and lands of Sutteine.² Dame Elizabeth was evidently an heiress, as not only are the lands at Sutteine, together with the stock, bequeathed "to remayne as yt is laye downe in the deade of gifte", but all the lands and leases of lands or mills, stock and household effects, "such as plate, or whatever the said Elizabeth was owner of at the day of my marriadge unto her the said Elizabeth, which to me hath desended and by reight ought to desend frome her unto me by the said marriadge, wherever the same may be in the counties of Pembroche, Carmarthen, or Cardigan," are also left to her. In addition, her husband gave her the cattle, goods,

¹ Green Castle.

² Sutton, in Lambston parish.

and lease of a house in Henllan Amgoed in Cardiganshire, the lease of a mill called Molfre Dyffryne, otherwise "Wyr gloedd", in the parish of Clydey, Pembrokeshire, and the cattle and chattels mentioned in a schedule annexed to a deed of gift by him to John Stradley and John Hogwent, gent., to the use of his wife Dame Elizabeth. Sir John Wogan also left his wife the messuage and lands of Milton, with the tenement thereunto belonging called "Milton Mylle", in the parish of Burton. This bequest, simple in itself, is important, as it sets at rest the uncertainty which existed as to the identity of the original home of the Boulston branch. The will also reveals that the testator kept Milton in hand, for he not only bequeathed "the store of cattle and stuffe" there to his wife, but gave, at the end of his will, the following list of the animals :—

A note of which cattle and sheepe I shall leave my executor :—
Imprimis, of cattle upon Boulston ground fourscore lacking one. Item, of sheepe there twoe hundred and fower.
Besides horses, mares and coultes, and besides the household stuffe.

The stock of Milton :—

Imprimis, of keyne	..	..	..	foreteené.
Item, of sheepe	..	..	..	one hundred.
Imprimis, of keyne	..	..	..	twelve.
Item, of oxen	..	..	..	twoe.
Item, of sheepe	..	..	..	a hundred.

Milton would appear to have been kept as a dower house, as his son and heir John, whom he appoints executor, is described as of that place. Sir John had two illegitimate daughters, Jayne and Elinor, the latter being the daughter of Margaret Griffith, the daughter of Jennet Webbe. To each of these two daughters the sum of forty pounds was bequeathed for a marriage portion, and their bringing up was entrusted by Sir John to his wife Elizabeth. In the event of John, the son and heir,

declining to act as executor, Sir John appointed his cousin Thomas Lloyd, treasurer of St. David's Cathedral, as a substitute. This Thomas Lloyd, according to Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, was the second son of Hugh Lloyd of Llanllyr, Cardiganshire, descended from the Lloyds of Castle Howell in that county. He died in 1613, and his memorial stone, erected by his son Marmaduke Lloyd, of the Middle Temple, is in the Cathedral at St. David's.

There is a curious memorandum appended to Sir John's will which indicates that if relations were not exactly strained between him and his sons-in-law, he placed very little confidence in them. The memorandum, which of course refers to the husbands of his legitimate daughters, runs as follows:—

It may be that my twoe sonnes in lawes will say that I owe them some mariadge mony, but I p'test before God I have payd them all the moneys I p'mised them, and to oony of them more than I p'mised them.

There can be little doubt that it was Sir John Wogan, senior, who sat on the *post mortem* inquisition held on the 24th Oct. 1578 (20th Elizabeth), at Haverfordwest, to enquire into the goods of his relative, John Wogan, of Wiston. In the Roll of a subsidy granted in 1562-3 (5th Eliz.) he is described as "John Wogan, armiger," and his assessment for lands in "Bulston" parish, valued at £10, is 23s. 5d. In the Inquisition referred to he is not described as "miles".

It is evident that Sir John Wogan, senior, on more than one occasion had difficulties with the Government. Mention is made in the Privy Council Acts that on 15th Sept. 1564, "Edward Vaughan, John Wogan, and Francis Laugharne, prisoners in the Flete, shulde be brought at oone of the clock at afternoone to morrow before my

Lords of the Counsell." It is possible that the John Wogan referred to may have been his relative of Wiston, but the fact of his being coupled with Francis Laugharne suggests that he was of Boulston. The imprisonment was apparently due to noncompliance with an order to deliver up nine of Cobham's men, as, on bonds being given on 30th Sept. for their constant attendance in London, they were released from their confinement. In 1579 we find John Wogan of Boulston in a more dignified position. It was at this date that George Owen was engaged in asserting his rights as lord of Kemes, in the course of which he instituted no fewer than four different suits in the Star Chamber. Party feeling ran high, and recourse was had to some extraordinary proceedings. George Owen was accused of having counterfeited the great seal of Arms of William, Earl of Pembroke, the first of that name, and of having forged a certain charter and deeds. As a result, a letter was sent from the Privy Council instructing Thomas Powell, the sheriff of the county of Pembroke, John Barlow, Morgan Phillippes, John Wogan of Boulston, and Eynok Phillippes, to search George Owen's house and to examine certain persons to be nominated by William Gwynne of Rickerston. An interesting description of the search is given in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, but it will suffice here to say that the charge fell through.

There is a passing reference to Sir John Wogan in 1588, when on Jan. 26, we learn from the Privy Council Acts, a certain William Cattell, James Dun and David Eastmont, were bound before him to appear personally before the Privy Council. In the same year Sir John was involved in considerable difficulties through the dealings of certain pirates with some of the responsible officials and inhabitants of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthen, and indeed there seems some doubt as to whether Sir John was not

himself mixed up in the transactions. There are several letters on the subject in the Privy Council Acts, and it would appear that there were at least two cases in which illegalities were committed. The first occurred in 1588, when a complaint was lodged by George Pery, John Osborne, William Erwyn¹ and James Brown, subjects of the "King of Scottes"—a description which reminds us that at that time Scotland had not been united to England. It seems that a vessel called the Elizabeth of Orkney, belonging to the complainants, which was laden with salt, had been captured by a pirate named Thomas Cooke and brought by him into Milford Haven, where the cargo had been sold to certain inhabitants of the towns of Haverfordwest and Carmarthen and the surrounding districts. These were:—Sir John Wogan; John Morryce, mayor of Carmarthen; Thomas Canon of Haverfordwest; John Lloyd of Haverfordwest; John Vaughan,² Customer, of Haverfordwest, and Jenkin David of Haverfordwest. The result of this complaint was that in Dec. 1588 Sir John Wogan was cominanded by the Council to make restitution to Mr. Robert Brown. This order seems to have been prompted by the interposition of Archibald Douglas, the Scottish Ambassador, as on 24th Feb. 1589, Sir John wrote the following letter, which is amongst the Salisbury MSS.:—

I can by no means as yet come by the Customer, neither by Jethro Biggs, John Moris, Maud Nothed, John Lloyd, or Mathew Synett. Neither shall I ever be able to apprehend those of Carmarthen. It may be well to send a warrant to apprehend and bind the mayor and bailiffs of Carmarthen to appear or else that they deliver the said

¹ The complaint at this date was made by Robert Brown, who is described as a Scotchman. He was probably the same person as James Brown. The particulars given are taken from later letters.

² Chief of the Customs.

persons to me, that I may bind them for appearance or commit them to gaol for the county of Pembroke. If they should be committed to the gaol of Carmarthen, they should have that favour that they would not care for the matter. The rest I doubt not to have before Easter, or else make them fly the country, which Synnett hath done. John Lloyd keepeth his house in Haverfordwest. If I knew that I might do it with their Honours' liking, I would break his house and fetch him out. If I cannot get them before Easter, then must new letters be sent.

This letter indicates the condition of the country in 1589. Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, like Galway, seem to have been a little west of the law. Some of the leading inhabitants of the former county, as well as of Carmarthen, were practically setting it at defiance, and there was more than a suspicion that Sir John Wogan was also mixed up in the transaction. The case was referred for hearing to the Ambassador for Scotland, the Judge of the Admiralty, and Mr. Beale, and Sir John was allowed to go to Wales to deal with the offenders. This was in the previous November, and the result of his efforts is recorded in the letter above quoted. The Council next ordered Sir John to appear in London—an order which he manifestly disliked and begged to be excused, as it would cost him at least £200. In a letter dated 11th April 1589, to Sir Francis Walsingham, and another two days later to the Scottish Ambassador, we get some further light on the case. According to Sir John's account the salt was brought into Milford Haven by John Kyfte and Cooke. A declaration made by Sir John on 22nd Sept. 1590 states that it was sold to Vaughan and Kyfte. The probable explanation of this discrepancy is that Cooke, the pirate, sold the cargo when lower down the Haven to Vaughan and Kyfte, and that they brought it up and resold it to the parties mentioned. Now John Vaughan was the "Customer" of Haverfordwest, in other words a custom-house officer, while John Kyfte was the local sergeant of

the Admiralty. Both John Vaughan and Kyfte had been mixed up in a somewhat similar transaction in connection with the pirate Herberde, in which Sir John Perrott of Haroldston was concerned in 1577; indeed it would appear that there was little compunction about such traffic shown by any of the residents. Sir John Wogan protested that he had had no dealings either with the ship or the goods, beyond that he had received sixty-six barrels of salt delivered to him at Haverfordwest by John Vaughan and John Kyfte, as a tenth due to the Lord Admiral, and that he had put his hand to no indenture of Prisement nor had he caused the same to be prised. When the salt was received he believed that it was, as then reported, "Portingalle's goods," and had no idea that it belonged to "Irish or Scottishmen," until they appeared in person to claim it. He concludes with the following appeal to the Scottish Ambassador:—"I have got with dealing in the commission many enemies in the conuntry, gentlemen of good account and others, therefore it is good for me to deal until the cause be ended as to leave. . . . Truly that salt hath cost me already one way and another as good as £200. I cannot come to London under seven or eight score pounds, which I hope you will consider, and favour me so much as I may save the same." (Salisbury MSS.)

The matter dragged on until 28th Oct. 1590, when it assumed international importance. On that date orders were sent to Dr. Awbrey, Dr. Caesar and Mr. Robert Beale, to do justice in the matter, and, before dismissing the parties, to report to the Council, so that it might acquaint the "King of Scottes" with what had been done for the contentment of his subjects, and consider "what shal be further meete to be done with the parties for their contempte in not appearing upon their Lord-

ships' sundrie warrauntes and messengers sent for them." The end of the matter was a kind of compromise. The Privy Council, on 26 Nov. 1590, issued an order that Sir John Wogan, then Vice-Admiral of South Wales, who had received seventy barrels of salt—it will be remembered that in his defence he owned up to only sixty-six barrels—should pay the sum of £32, or at the rate of 13s. 4d.¹ per barrel, as compensation to the Scotchmen; Thomas Canon, £13 6s. 8d., and John Kyfte, who was then a prisoner in the Marshalsea, presumably for his laches in duty, was mulcted to the tune of £30. John Vaughan was called upon for £40, and was to deliver up the ship "with her tacklings and furniture as she now remaineth." Any that refused to pay the respective sums were to be committed to prison until they did, and the other persons who had already compounded and had obtained acquittances were to be let alone. From this it would seem that the Mayor of Carmarthen, Jenkin David, and John Lloyd of Haverfordwest, had previously come to terms. Whether Synnett returned to face the music is not disclosed.

The second little complication in which Sir John Wogan was concerned was also in connection with a Scotchman. On the 4th May 1590, there was a letter sent by the Privy Council to the Judge of the Admiralty to examine into the charge of George Paddy, a "pore Skotchman", who complained that he had been "spoiled at sea by Sir John Wogan, whereby he alleageth to have been indamaged to the value of fower hundred poundes." From this it might be assumed that Sir John had started business as a pirate on the high seas, but it appears from a later order that he was merely "the occasion that

¹ The arithmetic appears somewhat weak, but this is as it reads in the volume published by the Record Office.

certaine persons bought the goods of a poor Scottishman," and he was instructed either to compel such persons to make satisfaction, assist in apprehending them, or to repair to the Court without delay. Whether the Council experienced as much difficulty in bringing this matter to a conclusion as in the other affair, is unfortunately left in doubt. All that is known is that in December of that year a warrant was issued for his arrest, and of the others concerned, unless he appeared at the Court to answer for his refusal to give satisfaction, and on 5th May 1591 another letter was sent to him requiring his immediate appearance to answer "certain matters objected against him."

It would appear that in April 1590 Pembrokeshire was alarmed by fear of a Spanish invasion. The Council, it seems, had been informed by certain arrivals at Milford Haven from sea, that they had seen a fleet apparently coming from Cape Finistere on a course towards Ireland, and as a result Sir John was instructed to order his Deputy-Lieutenant to put all the forces of the county into readiness to defend the same. From this it would seem that Sir John was Lord-Lieutenant of the county.

In a subsidy roll of the assessment of three payments of three subsidies granted on the inhabitants of the county of Pembroke in 1596-8 (39 and 40 Eliz.), John Wogan, miles, is down for 40s. for lands at Boulston of the value of £10.

Sir John Wogan apparently had no children from his second marriage. The issue from his union with Jane Wogan, according to George Owen, who died in 1630, and must therefore have been well qualified to speak on the matter, was :—

(1) John Wogan.

(2) Rees Wogan, who married Janet, daughter and

(according to an old MS. said to have been copied, by Thomas Tucker of Sealyham, from an original book) co-heiress of Llewellyn Lloyd, of Llanstinan, near Letterston, Pembrokeshire. From this marriage came the Wogans of Llanstinan.

- (3) Richard Wogan, who married Jane Dolbyn.
- (4) Henry Wogan.
- (5) Maud Wogan, who married Morris Bowen, of Lochtruye.¹ (Middle Hill MSS.)
- (6) — Wogan, the wife of William Davids, Registrar. (George Owen MSS.)
- (7) Ann Wogan, the wife of William Adams.
- (8) Cecilia Wogan, who, according to Lewis Dunn, married the Rev. Rowland Lloyd, of Fletherston.

John Wogan, the eldest son, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of Knighthood, succeeded to the estates. He was, as I have pointed out, sheriff for the county of Pembroke in 1606, and he also filled that office in 1630. He was twice married—a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of most genealogists. His first wife was Frances Pollard, the daughter of Lewis Pollard of Kingsnympton, in the county of Devon. From this union there were the following children:—

- (1) Maurice Wogan.
- (2) John Wogan.
- (3) Peter Wogan, who, according to a deed recited in the *post mortem* inquisition on the property of his father, lived at Carew in Pembrokeshire. He was educated for the Bar, and the Registers at Gray's Inn show that he

¹ ? Lochturfin, Pembrokeshire.

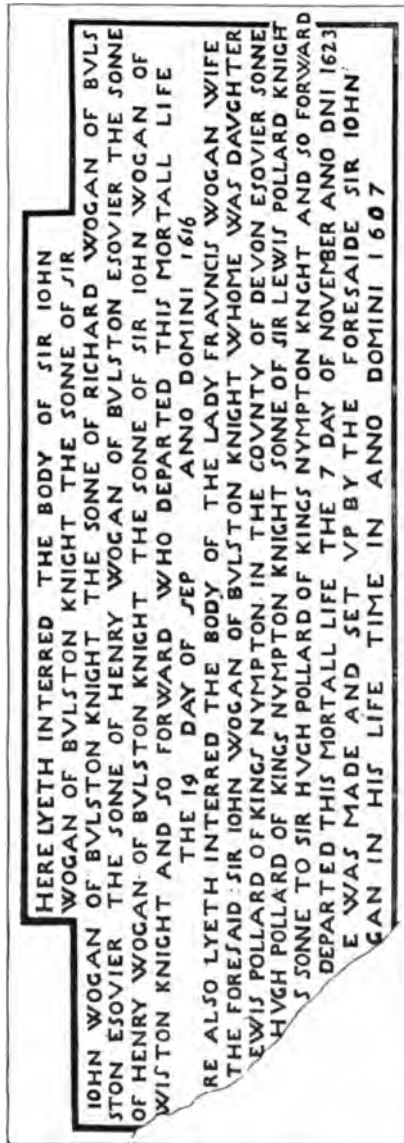
was admitted to that institution on 21st May 1617.

- (4) Ellen Wogan, who married John Voyle, of Haverfordwest.
- (5) Maud Wogan (Lewis Dunn).
- (6) Elizabeth Wogan (Lewis Dunn).
- (7) Jane Wogan, the wife of William Jones. (Tucker MS.)

After the death of his wife, Lady Frances, on 7th Nov. 1623, Sir John once more essayed matrimony. I have not been able to find anything to throw any light on the lady's identity except that her name was Margaret. The fact, however, that the trustees of the property set aside for her maintenance were John Gunning, an alderman of Bristol, and John Bush, a gentleman of the same place, suggests that she was probably a daughter or relative of one of them, or, at all events, that she was from that city. The only child of this marriage appears to have been a daughter, Frances, of whose after life nothing more is heard. These facts are gathered from the recital of an indenture, dated 26th Nov. 1632, in the *post mortem* inquisition held on the property of Sir John. In this deed Sir John assigns to the John Gunning and John Bush referred to, and to Peter Wogan of Carew, Sir John's son, one messuage called Neshooke in the parish of Lambton, upon trust after Sir John's death, for his wife Lady Margaret, so as to provide her with a maintenance suitable for her condition, with remainder to their daughter Frances Wogan and her children, and in default of such issue, in trust for Peter Wogan and his heirs in tail. This was not the only provision made for Lady Margaret by her husband. It appears that in the following year, on the 16th Oct. 1633, Sir John purchased from John Voyle, gent., William Voyle, his son and heir apparent,

and Maurice Canon, all of Haverfordwest, a capital messuage in Franklston, *alias* Frankeleston, in the parish of Penally, for £40. This property was conveyed subject to a life interest for Sir John, to Lady Margaret for life, and after her decease to their daughter Frances and her heirs in tail male, and in default of such issue to Maurice Wogan and his heirs in tail, with remainder to the right heirs of Sir John Wogan.

In the inquisition referred to Sir John is stated to have died on 14th Sept. 1636, but this does not agree with the date given on the memorial stone in Boulston church. This stone, of which a drawing is given, covers a tomb which has the Wogan coat of arms at the head, and lies on the north side of the chancel. The inscription is distinctly interesting, as



WOGAN TOMESTONE AT BOULSTON CHURCH.

From a Drawing by F. Green.

	£	s.	d.
Four acres of land in Yelbloke, held by knight's services of the Lord of Picton, and a free rent of 1s. 1d.	1	0	
One messuage and one carucate of land in Drenehill, held by knight's service, of the manor of Great Pulla	1	13	4
Twelve burgages in the town of St. David's held in socage of the Bishop of St. David's . .	1	4	0
The manor of Treglemes and one carucate of land and one corn-mill in Treglemes and Carnevaure, held by knight's service and suit at the Court of the Bishop of St. David's	1	0	0
One bovat of land in Trefflyne and Solvach, held by socage service of the Bishop of St. David's	1	10	
Four acres of land in Lloythred, held in socage of the Court of Erwgelly	1	8	
One and a half acres of land in the town of St. David's, held in free socage and a rent of 4d. per annum of the Chancellor of St. David's . .	2	0	
One acre of land in Caredway, held by knight's service and a rent of 1d. per annum of the Church of St. David's	1	0	
Five acres of land in Cared, held by knight's service and an annual rent of 1d. of the manor and lordship of Cared	4	2	
Five acres of land at Trefmanhier, held by knight's service and an annual rent of 1d. of Thomas ap Rees, armiger, as of his manor of Richardston	3	4	
Half a carucate of land in Bronghellys, held of John Barlow by knight's service as of his Court of Bronghellys	6	8	
Seven acres of land in Crankerbin, held by knight's service of the lordship and manor of Llandonoke	6	0	
Two bovates of land in Trefiny, <i>alias</i> Tregwy, held of Thomas Canon, knight, by knight's service, as of his manor of Trevoughlydd . .	7	8	
Six messuages and three carucates of land in Williamston in Rous, held by knight's service of the King's lordship and manor of Castle Wallwyn	6	18	0

The Wogans of Boulston.

129

	£	s.	d.
Three carucates and five bovates of land in Sutton, in parish of Lambston, as to the tenure of which the jurors were ignorant ..	4	3	4
One messuage and one bovat of land in Camros, held of the King's manor of Camros by knight's service and an annual rent of 8 <i>d.</i> ...	5	0	
Three burgages in Dale, held in socage of the Lord de Vale		3	
One messuage and one carucate of land in Wolfes Dale, held of Morgan Bowen as of his manor of Wolfes Dale, by knight's service and a free rent of 4 <i>d.</i> per annum ...	19	8	
One third of a carucate of land in Le Hill, held of Richard Newport, knight, by socage service and an annual rent of 1 <i>d.</i>		8	
Two messuages and two carucates of land in Boulston, held of Richard Phillipps of Picton, as of his manor of Picton, by knight's service and a free rent of 1 <i>d.</i> per annum	1	10	0
Three parts of one bovat of land in Llanelwy, held in socage of the Bishop of St. David's ..	1	1	
One acre of land near Measur Long, held in socage of the Bishop of St. David's ..	2	0	
Two parts of one bovat of land in Trefraneth, held in socage of the Bishop of St. David's ..	3	0	
(<i>g</i>) One messuage called Neshooke, in the parish of Lambton	6	8	
One capital messuage in Frankleston, <i>alias</i> Frankeleston, in the parish of Penally, held of the King's manor of Manerbeer and Longston by knight's service and suit at the Court of the Barony there	6	7	
(<i>h</i>) One messuage and 4½ bovates of land at the Hill, in the parish of Dale, held by knight's service of the King's manor of St. Thomas ..	6	0	
One messuage and divers parcels of land called Carfield, Crowread, Calvynes Parcke, Milhill, 4 acres called Calhynesparks, and one fulling mill, in the several tenures of Richard Howell, Jane Walter, widow, John Barlowe and Henry Bowen, in the parish of St. Martin; also a rent of 12 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> from two parcels of land of Sir Thomas Canon, knight, in Carfield,			

	£	s.	d.
held by free and common service of the King's lordship of Haverfordwest	1	5	0
Four messuages in the town and county of Haverfordwest, in the parish of St. Mary, in the several occupations of Thomas Hayward, John Barlow, Griffith Rees and Alban Leonard, and certain gardens there in the occupation of Arnold Jones; also a rent of 12 <i>l.</i> per annum from a messuage of the said Sir Thomas Canon, knt., in Ship Street, Haverfordwest, and a rent of 3/- per annum from a messuage of Jenkin Howell in St. Mary's Ward; three messuages in the town of Haverfordwest, occupied by Walter Webbe, William Williams and Arnold Thomas; a rent of 9/- from a messuage of Thomas Rymey in High Street, Haverfordwest; all held in free and common socage of the King's lordship of Haverfordwest	2	0	0

The properties under the sub-head of "a" were, by an indenture dated 10th Nov. 1603, being the marriage settlement of Maurice Wogan (son of Sir John) with Frances, daughter of Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon, Anglesey, and Orielson, Pembrokeshire, conveyed by Sir John and Frances his wife to the said Sir Hugh Owen, upon the following trusts: for Maurice and his wife for life and their first and other sons successively in tail; in default of such issue, for John, the second son of Sir John Wogan and his sons in tail, and should he have no sons then for his youngest brother Peter in like manner. Subject to a life estate for Sir John, the properties under the head "b" were to be held on practically the same trusts as those under "a". As to those under "c" Maurice took a life interest subject to Sir John's life interest, otherwise the trusts were the same, except that Maurice's wife took no benefit. It was specially stipulated, however, that the capital messuage of Boulston and the lands in Hampton and Norchard, the house and closes of Milston, and the manor

of Williamston in the parish of Harriston West, should be held by Lady Frances Wogan during the life of her son Maurice.

The properties under "g" were, as I have already mentioned, settled on Sir John's second wife. As regards the remainder of the lands of Sir John, previously settled as a jointure for his wife, they were to be held in trust for Sir John for life, and subject to his wife's life estate upon the trusts in regard to "a." Other property not so settled was to be upon the trust in regard to "d". On 11th Sept. 1609, a fine was levied, when William Wogan, knt., and John Owen, esq., were plaintiffs, and Sir John Wogan, knt., Frances his wife, and Maurice Wogan their son, described as of Williamston, defendants. Under it the following lands were re-conveyed to the custom of frank-pledge:—

Manors, lands and tenements in Roos, Sutton and Treclemes, 120 messuages, 24 tofts, 3 water mills, 1 fulling mill, 3 dovecotes, 43 orchards, 80 gardens, 2700 acres of land, 280 acres of meadow, 1,200 acres of pasturage, 240 acres of wood, 2,340 acres of gorse and heath, 100 acres of marsh, the Rectory of Boulston and 6/8 rent, with property in Sutton, Williamston Elmer, Hardstonwest, Carewe, Robbeston, St. Brides, Drynehill, Camros, Woodhall, Redberston, Yeldbleete, Boulston, Norchard, Rowston, Lampeter, Rotham, Marlos, Hill, Dale, Frogholl, Spitte, Milton, Croyshelly, Jeffreston, Cosheston, St. David's, Menevy, Llathdy, Trevinyard, Ewer-y-Koed, Whitechurch Salvaugh, Tremainhir, Kinheried, Tregwy, Llanhowell, Cradway, Trevyne, Llanrian, Carnevawr, Trevrayneth, Llandeloy, Kerbytt, Prestarawe, Treffwycke, Asklethe Manor, or Trenewydd, Treiva, Lloythredy, and also the property held by frank-pledge in Williamston, Sutton and Treclেমish.

To meet the requirements of the law £40 in silver was paid by the plaintiffs to the defendants.

At the time that the inquisition was held, Sir John's wife, Lady Margaret, and her daughter Frances, as well as Maurice Wogan and his wife, were residing at Boulston. Maurice is stated to have been fifty-three years of age when his father died, so he must have been born in 1583.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
held by free and common service of the King's lordship of Haverfordwest	1	5	0
Four messuages in the town and county of Haverfordwest, in the parish of St. Mary, in the several occupations of Thomas Hayward, John Barlow, Griffith Roes and Alban Leonard, and certain gardens there in the occupation of Arnold Jones; also a rent of 12 <i>d.</i> per annum from a messuage of the said Sir Thomas Canon, <i>knt.</i> , in Ship Street, Haverfordwest, and a rent of 3/- per annum from a messuage of Jenkin Howell in St. Mary's Ward; three messuages in the town of Haverfordwest, occupied by Walter Webbe, William Williams and Arnold Thomas; a rent of 9/- from a messuage of Thomas Rymey in High Street, Haverfordwest; all held in free and common socage of the King's lordship of Haverfordwest	2	0	0

The properties under the sub-head of "*a*" were, by an indenture dated 10th Nov. 1603, being the marriage settlement of Maurice Wogan (son of Sir John) with Frances, daughter of Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon, Anglesey, and Orielton, Pembrokeshire, conveyed by Sir John and Frances his wife to the said Sir Hugh Owen, upon the following trusts: for Maurice and his wife for life and their first and other sons successively in tail; in default of such issue, for John, the second son of Sir John Wogan and his sons in tail, and should he have no sons then for his youngest brother Peter in like manner. Subject to a life estate for Sir John, the properties under the head "*b*" were to be held on practically the same trusts as those under "*a*". As to those under "*d*" Maurice took a life interest subject to Sir John's life interest, otherwise the trusts were the same, except that Maurice's wife took no benefit. It was specially stipulated, however, that the capital messuage of Boulston and the lands in Hampton and Norchard, the house and closes of Milston, and the manor

of Williamston in the parish of Harriston West, should be held by Lady Frances Wogan during the life of her son Maurice.

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Manors, lands and tenements in Roos, Sutton and Treclemes, 120 messuages, 24 tofts, 3 water mills, 1 fulling mill, 3 dovecotes, 43 orchards, 80 gardens, 2700 acres of land, 280 acres of meadow, 1,200 acres of pasturage, 240 acres of wood, 2,340 acres of gorse and heath, 100 acres of marsh, the Rectory of Boulston and 6/8 rent, with property in Sutton, Williamston Elmer, Hardstonwest, Carewe, Robbeston, St. Brides, Drynehill, Camros, Woodhall, Redberston, Yeldbleete, Boulston, Norchard, Rowston, Lampeter, Rotham, Marlos, Hill, Dale, Frogholl, Spitte, Milton, Croyshelly, Jeffreston, Cosheston, St. David's, Menevy, Llathdy, Trevinyard, Ewer-y-Koed, Whitechurch Salvaugh, Tremainhir, Kinheried, Tregwy, Llanhowell, Cradway, Trevyne, Llanrian, Carnevawr, Trevrayneth, Llandeloy, Kerbytt, Prestarawe, Treffwycke, Asklethe Manor, or Trenewydd, Treiva, Lloythredy, and also the property held by frank-pledge in Williamston, Sutton and Treclেমish.

To meet the requirements of the law £40 in silver was paid by the plaintiffs to the defendants.

At the time that the inquisition was held, Sir John's wife, Lady Margaret, and her daughter Frances, as well as Maurice Wogan and his wife, were residing at Boulston. Maurice is stated to have been fifty-three years of age when his father died, so he must have been born in 1583.

His marriage with Frances Owen doubtless took place about the year 1603, just when he was attaining his majority. He does not appear to have held any public office—a fact which is no doubt due to his having only survived his father by three years. His death occurred on 2nd April 1640.

According to the inquisition taken on his death he appears to have owned all the property held by his father, except the portions under the head of “*g*”, and in addition the following:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One tenement and a half carucate of land in Thurston held of the Lordship of Burton by knight's service, the annual value being	6	8
One bovat of land in Trefilyn, held in socage service of the Bishop of St. David's	2	6
One tenement and one carucate of land in Burton, held of that lordship by knight's service, the annual value being	10	0
One tenement and four acres in Milford, held of the lordship of Burton by knight's service, the clear annual value being	1	0
One tenement and one carucate of land called Prontshill, held of the lordship of Burton by knight's service, the clear annual value being	10	0
One messuage in Williamston Erven, held of the King's Barony of Carew by knight's service, the clear annual value being	10	0
One messuage and two bovates of land and one ruined house and one parcel of waste land, held of the Lord of Dale in free socage, the clear annual value being	2	6
One messuage and one garden at Cosheston held of the King's manor of Cosheston by knight's service, the clear annual value being	2	6
One parcel of land called Dumlinhayes, five acres formerly common situated in a certain close of Richard Philipps, Bart., called “Fursey-close” in the parish of Usameston, held of Richard Philipps, Bart., by knight's service, the clear annual value being	1	0

One parcel of meadow land called "Vogen's Meadow," adjoining the tenement called "Hooke" in the parish of Rudbaxton, containing one jongam of land, held of the King's manor of Fletherhill by knight's service, the clear annual value being	2
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The *post mortem* inquisition held after his death states that Maurice Wogan left by his will, dated 18th March 1638, an annuity of £10 to his brother Peter, who was in good health at the time that the inquisition was held.

How long Frances, the widow of Maurice, resided at Boulston after her husband's death it is impossible to say. At the time of her death she lived at Philbeach,¹ now an ordinary farm house, the only old portion being a curious round chimney, shown in the illustration. The exact date of her decease is unknown, but her nuncupative will, under which her grandson, Lewis Wogan, was appointed residuary legatee, was proved in May 1659. The children of Maurice and Frances Wogan were :—



OLD CHIMNEY AT PHILBEACH.
From a Photo. by F. Green.

- (1) John Wogan, who died in 1613. (Lewis Dunn.)
- (2) Abraham Wogan, who succeeded to the property.
- (3) Sybil Wogan, who married Rees Bowen, of Upton. (Dale MSS.)

¹ In Marloes parish.

There are very few particulars available as to Abraham, and although he lived in the troublous times of the Civil War between King and Parliament, he appears to have taken no prominent part on either side. Practically, all that is known of him is that he was Sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1648, and in 1651 there was an order from the Compounding Committee instructing him to pay over £35 he had received as High Sheriff from John Bowen, for a debt of William Phillips. Abraham married Jane, the daughter of Sir Lewis Mansel of Margam. The date of his death is also uncertain, owing to the Registers at Boulston Church not going back to this period, and the memorial stone which records that he was buried at that church omits this detail. He must, however, have died prior to Jan. 1652, as his nuncupative will is proved on that date. His widow Jane survived some four years, as her will is proved in 1655. The issue of Abraham and Jane was:—

Lewis Wogan, who must have been a minor at the time of his mother's death, as she appointed Mrs. Katherine Nott to be his guardian.

Lewis is the only offspring of Abraham of whom I have been able to find indisputable proof, but I am inclined to believe that there was another son, James, as in a fine levied in 1653, a James Wogan and his wife Jane acknowledge the right of Jane Wogan, widow—evidently Jane the widow of Abraham—to the moiety of two messuages and 130 acres of land in Good Hooke. Now, a James Wogan of Good Hooke¹—presumably the same person—died prior to 1684, as in that year administration of his effects was granted to his wife Ann. There must, therefore, be a mistake in the name of his wife or else he must have been twice married. The inventory of his goods

¹ In the parish of Uzmaston.

shows that the value of live stock at this period must have been very low, even allowing for the fact that it was made for probate purposes. Fourteen cows and a calf are set down at only £16 8s.; four oxen at £6 10s.; four horses, three mares and three colts at £10 2s., and nine pigs at 36s.

Lewis Wogan, who succeeded to the Boulston estate, was Sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1672, and was probably Mayor of Haverfordwest in 1680; I say probably, as no address is given in the list, and his kinsman of the same name at Wiston was his contemporary. Lewis married Katherine Phillips of the Priory, Cardigan. She was the daughter and heiress of James Phillips and his second wife, Catherine, daughter of John Fowler, a London merchant. The mother of Catherine Wogan was a celebrated authoress in her day, who wrote under the name of "Orinda". One of her works was entitled, *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus*, the latter being a pseudonym for her friend Sir Charles Cotterell. She was, it is stated, particularly courted in the higher circles of society, and when visiting Ireland, to look after her husband's affairs, she received much attention from the Duke of Ormond.

Lewis Wogan died on the 25th March 1702, but although his wife presented him with no fewer than fifteen children, only one daughter apparently survived him. I fortunately came across Katherine Phillips' Bible—a fine old book bound in velvet with silver mountings. It is dated mdcxxx, and on the title page is the following:—"Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most excellent Maiestie; and by the assignees of John Bill." The owner had made entries of the births in the family, of which this is a copy:—

At Boulston.

Katherine Wogan was borne ye 6th of September 1672, being Fry-day betwixt 4 & 5 of clock in the afternoon.

Edward Wogan was borne the 26th of March 1674, about 8 of clock in the morning, on a Thursday.

Jane Wogan was borne the 22nd of March 1674-5, on Sunday, between ten and eleaven of clock at night.

Elizabeth Wogan was borne the 24th of Aprill 1676, being Monday, betwixt three and 4 of clock in the morning.

Anne Wogan was borne the 23rd of May 1677, being Wednesday, about five of the clock in the afternoon.

Francis Wogan was borne the 23rd of July 1678, being Tuesday, betwixt eight and nine of the clock at night.

Lewis Wogan ye younger was borne November the 5th 1679, about two a clocke in the afternoon.

Still borne.

Arabella Wogan was borne of a Wednesday, the 22nd of February 1681-82, about eight of the clocke at night.

Hector Wogan was borne the 15th of May 1683, of a Tuesday, between eight and nine in the morning.

Abraham Wogan was borne the 27th of March, about three a clocke in the morning, on a Friday, 1685.

James Wogan was borne March the 8th 1686-7, about two of clocke in the afternoone, on a Tuesday.

Lewis Wogan the youngeer was borne Aprill the 19th, on a Thursday, between seaven and eight a clocke at night, 1688.

Katherine Wogan was borne the 29th of August 1689, on a Thursday, a little after one of clocke in the morning.

Lewis Wogan was borne the 6th of March 1690-91, on a Fryday, neere eleaven a clocke at night.

Philippa Wogan was borne the 17th day of May 1699, being on Ascension Thursday, in the morning between six and 7 a clocke.

Each of the above entries are separated from the other by a line, and underneath are the following :—

One son dead born, February the 13th 1700, at St. Brides.

Rowland Laugharne was born at St. Brides the 15th of April, of a Tuseday, between five and six in the morning, 1701.

I believe that the two last entries record the births of the children of Anne Wogan, the daughter of Lewis, who married John Laugharne of St. Brides.

On the first fly-leaf of the Bible, written in ink, are the initials "K.P." and underneath, "Katherine Wogan, her Bible." On the next page, just above the birth entries is, "Katherine Philips was borne ye 13th Aprill 1656, being

Sunday morning, betwixt 4 & 5 of clock at ye Priory of Cardigan"—evidently the record of Mrs. Katherine Wogan's birth. With the exception of Anne, Edward Wogan appears to have been the only child who reached his majority. He was educated for the Bar, and was admitted to Gray's Inn on the 27th June 1694. According to the Tucker MSS. he married Mary, the daughter of Sir Hugh Owen of Orielson, but in that event he can have left no issue, as Lewis Wogan by his will bequeathed practically

THE FOVR GREAT GRANDFATHERS
AND
THE FOVR GREAT GRANDMOTHERS
OF LEWIS WOGAN OF BOVLSTON ESQR
WERE AS FOLLOWETH
SIR IOHN WOGAN OF BOVLSTON PEN
FRANCES POLLARD OF KINGSNIMPTON DEVON
SIR HUGH OWEN OF BODEON ANG
ELIZABETH WYRRIOT OF ORIELTON, PEM
SIR THOMAS MANSELL OF MARGAM GLA^{SHIRE}
MARY MORDAVNT OF TVRVEY BED
SIR EDWARD LEWIS OF THE VAN GLA
BLANCH MORGAN OF TREDEGAR MON

THIS STONE WAS DVG OVT OF
MAMPTON QVARRY 9^R 5^{JO} 1701
THE ABOVE SAID LEWIS WOGAN OB^T

INSCRIPTION AT BOVLSTON CHURCH.
From a Drawing by F. Green.

all his property to his daughter Anne and her husband John Laugharne, for their lives, with remainder to their heirs in tail. In default of such issue, the property was to go to John Wogan of Gawdy Hall in Norfolk, for life, with remainder to his sons in tail, and on failure of such issue, to Sir William Wogan of Gray's Inn—one of the Llanstinan Wogans; next, to Thomas Wogan of Treslannog, in the parish of Mathry, in the same way; then to Lewis Wogan of Wiston, and finally to James Wogan of Wiston.

Lewis Wogan, like his great-grandfather, did his share towards setting on record the genealogy of the family. In the little church of Boulston, which stands on the bank of the river a few hundred paces west of the old manor house, is a memorial stone erected by him in his lifetime, on which are given the names of his eight great grand-parents (see illustration p. 137). This stone is on the south wall of the chancel, and underneath is the tomb of Maurice, or as he is there described "Morris" Wogan and several of his descendants, covered by a slab with an inscription erected by Anne, the sole heiress of Lewis Wogan. It will be observed that in the illustration of the inscription to Morris the first few words have been duplicated. Presumably the sculptor commenced with the smaller lettering but afterwards de-

ES 2 WOGAN

HERE LIE THE BODYS OF MORRIS WOGAN AND FRANCES
 OWEN OF ORIELTON HIS WIFE WHICH MORRIS WAS SON OF SR JOHN WOGAN THE
 YOUNGER AS ALSO ABRAHAM WOGAN ESQ AND JANE MANSELL OF MARGAM HIS WIFE
 AND ALSO LEWIS WOGAN ESQ AND KATHERINE PHILLIPS OF CARDIGAN PRIORY HIS WIFE
 AND ALSO FOVRTEEN OF THEIR CHILDREN ONE DAUGHTER WAS BVRIED AT
 SAINT BRIDES FE SAID LEWIS WOGAN DIED MARCH FE 2 5 TH 170 2
 LEAVING BEHIND HIM ANNE HIS ONLY CHILD AND SOLE HEIRESS MARRIED
 FE 2 6 TH OF DECEMBER 6 9 8 TO JOHN LAVGHARN OF SAINT BRIDES
 IN THIS COVNTY ESQ WHO CAUSED THIS MONIMENT TO BE ERECTED

INSCRIPTION AT BOULSTON CHURCH.
 From a Drawing by F. Green.



OLD MANOR HOUSE, BOULSTON--WEST END.

From a Photo. by F. Green in 1901.



BOULSTON CHURCH.

From a Photo. by F. Green in 1901.

To face p. 122.

cided to use a larger size. The word "Esq." over the first line is evidently an afterthought, either of the original artist or of some irresponsible person, who apparently had some idea of making the inscription read "Morris Wogan, Esq., and Frances Wogan *alias* Owen".

Boulston church, as will be seen from the illustration, which shews the north side of the edifice, is a very plain structure and is badly in need of repair. It was last restored in 1813 by Col. Ackland, but it is now many years since services have been held there. It contains twelve pews, four of which are marked "free". The others bear the names of the different residences in the parish. Four are appropriated to Boulston mansion and farm, and one each to "Hanton", "Norchard" and "Rose in Green". In the north pillar of the arch dividing the nave from the chancel is a fireplace.¹

Anne Wogan married John Laugharne of St. Brides, the grandson of Rowland Laugharne, the Parliamentary Major-General, on the 26th December 1698, and she erected the tombstone to her father in Boulston church represented in the illustration. It is interesting to note that Lewis Wogan by his will bequeathed to the minister of Boulston church the tithes of Boulston. Unless the two entries in the Wogan Bible, to which I have referred, relate to the children of Anne and John Laugharne, there could have been no issue from the marriage; in any event none survived the mother, as by her will she somewhat unnecessarily bequeathed all her property (except those lands purchased by her father in Haskard and her husband's property), to John Wogan of Gawdy Hall for his life, with remainder to his sons in tail.

¹ Since the above was in type Boulston church has once more been repaired, and re-opened for public services, after an interval of nineteen years.

Her will was proved in 1715. The exact relationship of Anne Laugharne to John Wogan of Gawdy Hall, who came into the estate, I have been unable to ascertain. In the draft of a case for counsel in regard to the title of the farm of Glandover in Kilgerran, he is described as the cousin of Anne Laugharne, but the term "cousin" is somewhat elastic in Wales. If he had been a first cousin he would have been a brother of Lewis Wogan, yet Lewis in his will describes him as "my kinsman". It may have been that he was the son of Maurice Wogan, but on the other hand I have found no evidence of Maurice having any other children than the three mentioned above. The most probable theory is that he was either the son of John, the second brother of Maurice, or else he was John, the son of Rees Wogan of Llanstinan, and therefore the grandson of Sir John Wogan of Boulston and Jane the daughter of Richard Wogan of Wiston. However this may have been, it is evident that the owner of Gawdy Hall was most closely allied to the possessor of Boulston, as in the order of succession in Lewis's will the Llanstinan branch, which was more nearly related, was preferred to those of Wiston.

At first sight it appears strange that a Pembrokeshire scion should suddenly appear as the owner of a considerable estate in Norfolk, but the explanation is simple. It was merely that a Welshman adopted the old Norman principle in Wales and married a Norfolk heiress. Gawdy Hall had long been in the possession of the Gawdys. According to Blomefield's *Topographical History of Norfolk*, published in 1806, the estate was held in 1633 by Sir Thomas Gawdie, knight, and it was mortgaged by Charles Gawdie to Tobias Frere, who afterwards purchased it. There is little doubt that in the main this account is correct.

Through the courtesy of Mr. John Sancroft Holmes, the present owner of Gawdy Hall and a lineal descendant

of the Wogans of Boulston, I was allowed access to his old records and rolls of the manors which belonged to Sir Thomas Gawdy and afterwards to Tobias Frere. From them I ascertained that the last mention of a Gawdy as Lord of Redenhall Manor was in 1649, at which date Tobias Frere was Steward. It is stated in *Redenhall Parish Accounts* by Mr. Candler of Harleston, that this Tobias Frere was an attorney of good means. In 1654 he was a J.P., Sequestrator and M.P. for Norfolk. He died in 1655, leaving a widow Susanna, and a son Tobias. In 1649 Frere is mentioned as Steward of Hawker's Manor, and from 1666 to 1672 Sarah Frere was Lady of that manor, and John Wogan's first Court was held in 1672.

In 1656 there is an entry in the rolls of Witchington of the admission of Tobias Frere, junior, to the copyhold lands held by his father of that manor, which the latter had inherited from his brother Richard Frere. Tobias Frere, junior, married Sarah Longe, the daughter, according to Burke's *History of Commoners*, of Robert Longe of Foulden, who was Sheriff of Norfolk in 1644. From this marriage there were two children, a son Tobias, and a daughter Elizabeth, both of whom died in childhood. Their father died in Oct. 1666, and their mother, who appears to have come in for the property, subsequently married John Wogan, the "kinsman" of Lewis Wogan of Boulston. The marriage was by license, which is dated 31 Dec. 1667, and this document shows that the bride and bridegroom were then resident in Covent Garden, London. The license authorised the ceremony to take place either in St. Dunstan's in the West or St. Clement's le Danes in the Strand, and it states that Mrs. Sarah Frere was a widow of about 28 years of age. John Wogan is described as a bachelor of about 35, and it is therefore evident that he could not have been the brother of Maurice Wogan of

Boulston, though he might have been his nephew. The Rolls of Hawker's Manor confirm this descent, for they show that in 1656 Susanna Frere was Lady of the Manor ; in 1657 her son, Tobias, was Lord, and in 1666 his wife Sarah was Lady. From the union with Sarah Frere John Wogan had two children :—

(1) John Wogan, who was baptised at Redenhall church in 1668.

(2) Walter Wogan.

Whether the Freres ever owned the Manor of Redenhall seems questionable. A Court was held in 1659 by Robert Bransby the Steward, under Letters Patent from William Gawdy, "late lord of the manor", but from 1660 until 1664 James Hobart is mentioned as the Lord, and it was not till 1678 that John Wogan figured in that position. Presumably William Gawdy sold the Manor to Hobart, who in turn resold, in 1664, either to the Freres or to John Wogan himself. Mrs. Sarah Wogan died in 1684, and was buried at Redenhall. Her husband survived until about 1707, in which year his will was proved. John, the eldest son, was brought up to the Bar and was admitted to Gray's Inn on 11th Feb. 1686. He married in 1706 Elizabeth Sancroft, the niece of the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury of that name, and it appears from the will of his father that provision was made for him and his brother Walter in the settlement made on that occasion. It is interesting to note that under the will it was provided that in the event of neither of the brothers having children, the manors of Hawker, Redenhall, Holbrooke, Coldham, as well as Gawdy Hall, and other lands in Norfolk, would have gone to the heirs male of Walter Cuny of Pembroke. This Walter Cuny was a relative of the Wogans of Gawdy Hall—although in what degree I have been unable to discover—as John Wogan, the second of that name at Gawdy

Hall, describes Richard Cuny of Pembroke, no doubt the son of Walter, as his "trusty friend and kinsman", and appointed him trustee of the estates in Pembrokeshire until his son John Wogan came of age. Elizabeth Sancroft died in 1755, having survived her husband John Wogan by several years. Their children were:—

- (1) John Wogan, who was baptized in 1713, and succeeded to the property.
- (2) Sarah Wogan, who was baptized in 1729, and married the Rev. Gervas Holmes, vicar of Fressingfield in Suffolk.
- (3) Elizabeth Wogan, who died unmarried in 1728, at the age of 18.

Under the will of their father, Sarah and Elizabeth were each left £1000 and lands in Fressingfield and Cratfield, while Walter, the testator's brother, was given £40. Walter Wogan must, therefore, have been alive at this date, but this is the last mention I have found of him.

John Wogan, the third of Gawdy Hall, married his cousin Elizabeth, the daughter of William Sancroft of Suffolk, and Catherine, the daughter of Sir John Hynde Cotton, of Madingley, Cambridge, Receiver for that town. She was ultimately the sole heiress of Francis Sancroft, the grand-nephew of the Archbishop. The marriage took place at Gray's Inn Chapel in 1735, to which Inn the bridegroom had been admitted a member in February 1687. The issue of this marriage was two children—John and Elizabeth. The latter died unmarried in 1773. Her brother John was admitted to the Inner Temple as a student in April 1757, but there is no record of his ever having been called. He died a bachelor in 1763, in his father's lifetime, who was thus the last male Wogan of Boulston and Gawdy Hall. It was probably on this account that he resolved to sell the Pembrokeshire property. An attempt was made with this

view in 1773 by private contract, but, for reasons to which I will refer, it was several years before a sale could be effected, the eventual purchaser being Col. Robert Innes Ackland, who built the present mansion on the hill.

The particulars of sale which were prepared in the earlier year are distinctly interesting, as they show not only the acreage and value of the different lots, but also details of the outgoings on the property. The estate contained 4,750a. 2r. 27p., and the aggregate rents, exclusive of the collieries which were then being worked by the owner, and quit rents amounting to 34s. per annum, were £701 18s. 0d. This rental it was estimated could be raised, presumably on the expiration of the leases, to £1,445 10s. 0d. The difficulty in the way of sale was the appearance of a claimant for the property in the person of Elizabeth Warlow, a widow of about 65 years of age, who lived at Trefgarne in Pembrokeshire. Her maiden name was Pritchard, and a certain David Hughes, who had been inquiring into the matter, was of opinion that she was a niece of a Roger Pritchard to whom Mr. Wogan had given an annuity of £4. This lady claimed to be the heir at law of Mr. Wogan, presumably the father of the then owner, and by way of protecting her alleged rights published advertisements warning purchasers against paying over any money to the vendor. It is difficult to understand what claim she could have had, but she certainly frightened off buyers for the time. Mr. Hughes, for instance, says that her advertisements "damped the sale, and particularly to the Scotchman lately sent into this county to view the estate". In regard to John Wogan's estates in Redenhall and Wortwell in Norfolk, an old valuation taken in 1779, the year after his death, shows that the acreage was 764a. 2r. 35p., the annual rent being £562 2s. 0d. The timber on the property was valued about three years

34. 2



OLD MANOR HOUSE, BOULSTON, IN 1901.
From a Photo. by Rev. W. B. Thomas.

To face p. 145.

previously at over £10,000, exclusive of a large number of young ash and oak. Since that date, however, a portion of it had been cut down.

I have found no record showing when the old Manor House at Boulston was built. All that is left of it now are the few ruins shown in the illustrations. Standing close to the bank of the western arm of the river Cleddau—the high tides admit of small boats being brought right up to the walls—it is easy to realise that the owners in days gone by might be tempted to try and evade the gauger. Overgrown as the site is by trees and briars it is almost impossible to form any idea as to the different apartments. One or two vaults remain, and appearances indicate that the ground floor, if one may so describe it, stood over vaulted cellars. A good deal of the stone has been carried away and used probably for the erection of the present mansion by Colonel Ackland. The walls of the tower shown in the small illustration are three feet thick. The house would appear to have been one of the old castellated residences in Pembrokeshire which were capable of defence, and this seems the more likely as there are traces of a small moat to the north and east of the ruins. Fenton, in his *History of Pembrokeshire*, written in 1810, says that the Manor House had been uninhabited for one hundred and fifty years, but this is clearly an exaggeration, as the entries in the Wogan Bible show that the youngest of Lewis Wogan's children was born there in 1699. It is probable that it was after the death of Lewis Wogan that the house was deserted. Anne Laugharne, his daughter, seems never to have lived there after her marriage, and at the date of her death resided at St. Bride's.

John Wogan, the last of that name at Gawdy Hall, died on 31st May 1778, aged 65, and by his will directed all his estates to be sold and the proceeds invested. The

interest from the investments from the Norfolk property was, subject to Mrs. Wogan's life interest, allotted to his nephew Gervas Holmes and his children; and that from the personalty and from the other properties was bequeathed to the testator's widow during her widowhood, and after her death the principal, subject to £10,000 left to Gervas Holmes and his children and a legacy to the testator's sister-in-law Catherine Sancroft, was bequeathed to the children of Sir John Hynde Cotton. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Elizabeth Wogan lived at Wimpole Street in London. She died on 25th Jan. 1788, and by her will left all her real estate to the children of Sir John Hynde Cotton. By a codicil she directed £300 to be expended on a marble monument in Redenhall church to the memory of her husband and herself; and also left £100 to be invested, and the interest to be applied to keep the monument, and that of Archbishop Sancroft in the churchyard in Fressingfield, in repair. The monument in Redenhall church was duly erected and still stands in the Gawdy Chapel at Redenhall.

The Rev. Gervas Holmes, who married Sarah Wogan, died on 28th June 1776, aged 80, and his wife on the 17th May 1764, aged 55. Their son, the Rev. Gervas Holmes, who on the death of his uncle John Wogan came into Gawdy Hall, died in 1796. He married Rebecca Grimwood of Dedham, Essex, who died in 1817, aged 78. They had the following children:—

- (1) John Holmes, who married Anne, the daughter of Rev. William Whitear of Ore, Sussex, and succeeded to Gawdy Hall on the death of his father.
- (2) Rev. Gervas Holmes, the Rector of Copford, Essex.



GAWDY HALL, NORFOLK—FRONT VIEW.

From a Photo. by F. Green in 1901.



GAWDY HALL—SOUTH SIDE.

From a Photo. by F. Green in 1901.

- (3) Rebecca Holmes, who married Rev. William Whitear, Rector of Starston.

John Holmes, the eldest son, was vicar of Flixton, and died in 1831. His eldest son, William Sancroft Holmes, married in 1840 Hester Elizabeth Gilbert, youngest daughter of Mr. Davies Gilbert, President of the Royal Society and M.P., of Eastbourne and Tredrea in Cornwall. Mr. William Sancroft Holmes died in 1849, and was succeeded by his son Mr. John Sancroft Holmes, the present owner of Gawdy Hall. This gentleman was born in 1847, and in 1877 married Edith Kingscote, the youngest daughter of Mr. Henry Kingscote of Kingscote in Gloucestershire.

Some idea of the appearance of Gawdy Hall will be obtained from the illustrations. The house, which is Elizabethan in character, is in the shape of an "L". The structure was built of brick and subsequently covered with stucco, but it had suffered so much from the ravages of time that the present owner had it faced with new bricks. The wing to the right of the front door is, with slight exception, exactly as it originally stood, the mullion windows being about ten feet from the ground. The main portion of the house had at one time a much steeper roof, under which was another storey of apartments, but Mr. Gervas Holmes, the first owner of that name, finding the accommodation too large for his requirements, lowered the pitch when he reduced the size of the house. The porch is of recent date, but the coat of arms of the Wogans over the porch door is of the Wogan period. The date of the erection of Gawdy Hall is uncertain, but it is evident that the original Hall was built nearly 350 years ago. This is proved by an interesting old Black Letter work in Mr. Holmes's possession entitled, *Histories of the Worthy Chronographer, Polybius*, by Christopher Watson, published in

1568, and dedicated to Thomas Gawdy, Esq., in which the following statements on different pages appear:—"From my chamber in your house at Gawdy Hall"; "From Gawdy Hall in Norfolk."

The front door opens into a fine large hall originally floored with flag stones, but since replaced with oak. The west or garden front of the Hall is ascribed, as well as the panelling of the hall and other rooms, to the first John Wogan. To him also is assigned the alteration of the direction of the moat which bounds the flower garden at the west side of the house. It appears from an old map that at one period the moat existed on three sides of the Hall. When John Wogan came into possession he extended and altered it so as to give it the appearance of a river. On the wall of the house overlooking the garden is the coat of arms of Archbishop Sancroft, removed to the Hall when the old Harleston Chapel, which he restored, was taken down. Many years since, when the tapestry in the present billiard room was removed, a beautiful "Star" watch of the 17th century was found, the covers, inside and out, being engraved with biblical scenes, while the edges of the points of the star are decorated with engravings of wild animals.

One of the illustrations before referred to shows the front of Gawdy Hall, and the other the view from the stables. In the latter can be seen the two old chimneys which now have no connection with the heating arrangements of the house, but have been left standing as a relic of former days. They are quite plain in appearance, but Mr. Holmes believes that originally they had tall ornamented tops.

I have now traced the descent of the direct line of the Wogans of Boulston down to the present day, and I trust at not so great a length as to weary the readers of

Y Cymmrodor. Before concluding, however, I must tender my thanks to the Clergy both in England and Wales, and others, who have not only kindly assisted me with information, but have freely afforded me access to their records.

Reviews.

WALES. By Owen M. Edwards, Fellow of Lincoln College Oxford. (The Story of the Nations.) London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901.

THE rapidity with which the first edition of Mr. Owen Edwards's "Story of Wales" has been exhausted is evidence not only of the need of such a work but also of the singular charm and fascination of the narrative. Mr. Edwards brings to the task many qualities which are essential to success in such an undertaking. His knowledge of Welsh life, literature, and story is wide, if not profound; he has a keen eye for the picturesque and the dramatic; his style is at once lucid and graceful. He has woven into a connected and consistent drama the varying fortunes of the Cymry: for the first time he has shown how "the story of Wales" acted and re-acted upon the story of England. It is his special merit that he has made intelligible the obscure policy of the mediæval princes by reference to what was taking place in England. So sure is the touch, so attractive is the manner, so clear and condensed is the narrative, that the reader is carried on, in spite of himself, till the close of the stirring drama, before he begins to criticise the piece. It is only on a second perusal, when the novelty and charm of the literary workmanship have worn off, that its defects come to be noted, and if we dwell somewhat minutely upon them, it is, we hasten to add, in no captious spirit and with no grudging acknowledgment of the sterling merits of Mr. Edwards's work.

was looked back to as a reign of peace and of wonderful prosperity" (p. 40). Howel reigned for forty years and died in peace. He left behind him the noblest monument of ancient Welsh civilisation. Llewelyn won his throne by the sword: he died by the sword (a fact glossed over on p. 41) after a troubled reign. Or take again Mr. Edwards's estimate of the two great allies and contemporaries—Griffith ap Cynan and Griffith ap Rhys. The latter, we are told, "was strong *on account of* his alliance with Griffith ap Cynan, whose daughter Gwenllïan he had married" (p. 78). The Prince of South Wales was strong because he was one of the most consummate statesmen of his time, cautious in peace, and resolute in war. His alliance with Gwynedd added to his strength, as it did to the power of his father-in-law. It was twice blessed.

Similarly, this cardinal error has forced Mr. Edwards to take two entirely inconsistent views of the other Princes of Wales. Those who resisted the claims of Gwynedd were either right or wrong. Those who did so successfully, such as the Lord Rhys, are praised; those who failed, like Rhys ap Meredith, are called traitors. Thus Gwenwynwyn of Powys is at one time "tortuous" (p. 128), at another time "far-sighted" (p. 133). Again, Owen Goch, the eldest son of Griffith, and his brother Davydd—who had as good a claim to the crown of Gwynedd as Llewelyn—are said to have "revolted" against their brother (p. 160). In fact, they were only maintaining what appeared to themselves and their contemporaries, as well as to posterity, to be their hereditary rights.

Indeed, one of the greatest blots on Mr. Edwards's work is his comparative ignorance of the history, personalities, and topography of South Wales. To him the history of Gwynedd is the history of Wales. Dyved and Powys, Gwent and Morganwg, only become important as

In describing, for instance, the Laws of Howel, Mr. Edwards says (p. 37):—

“Most important was the king of Gwynedd, in his court at Aberffraw, *to him alone was gold paid as a fine for treason*: then came the king of South Wales in his court at Dynevor; then the king of Powys, in his court at Mathraval.”

Mr. Edwards is reading into the Laws of Howel something which is not there, or which was added at a much later period than the 10th century. The Dimetian Code places the King of Dynevor exactly on an equality with the King of Aberffraw, and as for the fine for treason, it is expressly said

“Ny thelir eur namyn yvrenhin Dineuur neu yvrehin Aberffraw.”—(*Owen's Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. i, p. 348.)

Dyved, in the days of Howel, and again in the days of the Lord Rhys, Powys in the days of Bleddyn, came to be regarded as the sovereign Welsh state. Exactly as in the days of the Heptarchy the supremacy changed from Northumbria to Mercia, or from Mercia to Wessex, so the Welsh states varied in relative importance and dignity from time to time. When Dyved was powerful we find its Prince building a castle on the Dovey, and even seizing Merioneth; when Gwynedd was triumphant it extended its sovereignty almost to the Teivy. If Griffith ap Cynan was “the sovereign and protector and peacemaker of all Wales”, the Lord Rhys was “the head and the shield and the strength of the South and of all Wales” (p. 102).

This unfortunate provincial prejudice has, all unconsciously, vitiated Mr. Edwards's judgment in his estimate of the personal forces in Welsh history. “The Welsh lawgiver was not a great king; he was Howell, son of Cadell, and he ruled with his brother in Dyved” (p. 35). “Llewelyn (ab Seisyll) became king of Wales. He lived in Gwynedd, and had a well-organised army. His reign

was looked back to as a reign of peace and of wonderful prosperity" (p. 40). Howel reigned for forty years and died in peace. He left behind him the noblest monument of ancient Welsh civilisation. Llewelyn won his throne by the sword: he died by the sword (a fact glossed over on p. 41) after a troubled reign. Or take again Mr. Edwards's estimate of the two great allies and contemporaries—Griffith ap Cynan and Griffith ap Rhys. The latter, we are told, "was strong *on account of* his alliance with Griffith ap Cynan, whose daughter Gwenllian he had married" (p. 78). The Prince of South Wales was strong because he was one of the most consummate statesmen of his time, cautious in peace, and resolute in war. His alliance with Gwynedd added to his strength, as it did to the power of his father-in-law. It was twice blessed.

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Indeed, one of the greatest blots on Mr. Edwards's work is his comparative ignorance of the history, personalities, and topography of South Wales. To him the history of Gwynedd is the history of Wales. Dyved and Powys, Gwent and Morganwg, only become important as

and when they affect directly the fortunes of Gwynedd; the latter two are hardly ever mentioned, and their history is left in complete obscurity. The personalities of the various Rhyses, Maelgwys, and Merediths of the princely line of Dyfed are so confused that it is impossible to read into the chaotic mass of details any meaning or order. Mr. Edwards himself does not seem to be clear as to the identity of the different princes. Maelgwyn ap Rhys, for example, is represented (on p. 129) as having "fled from Aberystwyth" before Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, and as "anxious" to get Ceredigion and Ystrad Towy by the help of the English king, and in despite of the Welsh prince; on p. 140 he is described as the man whom Llewelyn "had always trusted and to whom he gave the most important castles of the south". No attempt has been made to show the relationship of the various members of the Houses of Powys, Dyfed, and Glamorgan, though that relationship exercised great influence on contemporary Welsh politics and would explain much of the "tortuous" policy of Gwenwynwyn and the "treachery" of Rhys ap Meredith.

In his opening chapter Mr. Edwards emphasises perhaps with too pontifical a dogmatism the influence of geography on the history and development of a people. It was natural to expect therefore that Mr. Edwards would pay minute attention to the geography even of South Wales. This he has not done. Nothing could be more inaccurate than the description (on p. 7) of the "Vale of Towy, which lay beneath the southern Plinlimmon range, or the wavy lowlands of the Vale of Glamorgan, upon which the princes of the Black Mountains looked down." The princes of the Black Mountains looked down on the upper part of the Vale of Towy, but by no stretch of imagination can they be said to have looked down on the

Garden of Wales. Mr. Edwards, however, seems to think—which is only natural if one looks at Wales from the standpoint of a Northern Welshman—that Carmarthen is “the lower Plinlimmon range” (p. 14), while Gwent and Morganwg are “the Black Mountain district” (p. 15 and p. 17). It is quite erroneous to describe Llandovery as being “in the centre of the Vale” of Towy (p. 77), or to say that the castle of Llandovery is “lower down in the valley of the Towy” than Dynevor (p. 210). Dynevor is the centre, and Llandovery is twelve miles higher up the valley. On p. 233 Mr. Edwards couples “Caerphilly and Neath” together, as if they were not divided by nearly the whole breadth of Glamorgan. Henry Tudor did not “follow the Teivy” on his way to Bosworth from Milford, but passed along the sea-coast through Llanarth (p. 300). A graver inaccuracy is contained in the assertion that “Cardiganshire, with its definite geographical unity mirrored in the strongly-marked characteristics of its people, is the old Ceredigion” (p. 318). The old Ceredigion was something quite different from the modern county. To this day the people of South Cardigan—from the river Wyre near Llanon to the river Teivy—speak substantially the same dialect as is in use in Carmarthenshire north of the Towy. The people of North Cardiganshire not only speak a different dialect, but their origin has recently been traced from the Brythonic tribe which followed Cunedda from the North in the 5th century.

The hegemony of Gwynedd among the Welsh states was not finally recognised before the days of Llewelyn the Great. It is possible to feel all the admiration which Mr. Edwards expresses for the greatest of Welsh princes without being unfair to his ill-fated grandson, Llewelyn the Last. At one time Mr. Edwards is inclined to blame the last Prince for deliberately invoking the just wrath of the

English king by departing from his grandfather's safe and strong policy. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth is said, quite truly, to have striven for a united and semi-independent Wales, acknowledging the feudal suzerainty of England, but retaining a full measure of local and national independence, under the supremacy of Gwynedd. But "the policy of allegiance died with the childless Davydd: the idea of independence was transmitted by the unfortunate Griffith as an impossible task to his son Llewelyn" (p. 150). Yet we are told, a few pages later, that "Llewelyn (ap Griffith) and Edward (of England) may be said to have the same final aim—the subjection of chief and baron to the prince, who was to owe allegiance to the king of England. It was the ideal of Llewelyn the Great—the reconciliation of Welsh independence with British unity" (p. 160). Still later it is said that "Llewelyn's policy presupposed the independence of Wales" (p. 172): yet, after the disastrous peace of 1277, Mr. Edwards concludes that "Llewelyn was resigned to his lot. But peace, even in the fastnesses of Snowdon, or the sea-girt security of Môn was impossible" (p. 181). Truth to tell, Mr. Edwards's trick of generalising about the character and policy of a prince lands him in hopeless inconsistencies and contradictions. It may be doubted whether either of the two Llewelyns started with a clear and defined policy. That was not the custom of the age; certainly it was impossible for a Welsh prince who had to trim his sails to every shifting wind of policy. Llewelyn the Great moved cautiously. He was a wary diplomatist and a born soldier. He was fortunate in his age and his opponents. The Lord Rhys, his only rival in Wales, died when he was still young. King John, with a hostile baronage, an alienated Church, an oppressed people, and foreign enemies on English soil, was no match for the

resolute Welshman. The long minority and the weak character of Henry III made Llewelyn the most powerful vassal in the kingdom. Far different was the fate of his grandson. Llewelyn the Last displayed as much genius in war, and as much adroitness in diplomacy, as his grandfather had done. He won the throne of Gwynedd from powerful rivals while still in extreme youth. He used the civil dissensions which distracted England between 1257 and 1267 with consummate skill, and in spite of the disastrous defeat of his baronial allies at Evesham, peace left him almost as supreme in Wales as ever his grandfather had been. The settlement of 1267, which he concluded when he was in the heyday of his vigorous manhood and at the zenith of his power, showed that he had as true a conception of the place of Wales in the British economy, and as nice a judgment of what was possible for Wales to achieve, as ever his grandfather had. The last Prince should be judged by the 1267 settlement, when he was in a position to have a real voice in directing the destinies of the Principality. For ten more years he reigned in peace. But a stern and ambitious King had in 1272 succeeded to the English throne. Edward the First has been called "the greatest of the Plantaganets"; he was a master of the art of war, and he was besides a great constructive statesman. He was burning to avenge the humiliations which his father and he had undergone at the hands of the Welsh prince. His ambition was to bring the whole of Britain directly under the English Crown. He would leave no shred of independence either to Wales or to Scotland. He was in the prime of early manhood; Llewelyn was close upon fifty, already worn by twenty-five years of restless toil and the unsleeping anxieties of an insecure throne. The Welsh prince was under no delusion as to the result of a conflict with Edward. He tried

to stave off the evil day by making a humiliating peace in 1277. But, as Mr. Edwards points out, peace was impossible while the Welsh prince possessed a semblance of independence. Step by step Edward ruthlessly drove him to a hopeless war. The death of his wife Eleanor destroyed Llewelyn's last vestige of indecision. He determined to make one last desperate fight for freedom. He rose suddenly in 1282; he delivered a rapid succession of staggering blows to Edward's power. Mr. Edwards does scant justice to Llewelyn's heroic prowess in his last great struggle. The defeat and death of Luke de Tany—a reverse which disarranged all Edward's plans and caused him to remain for months inactive at Rhuddlan—is dismissed in a sentence, and the name of the fiery Lord Marcher is not even mentioned (p. 187). Gloucester and Mortimer are said to have defeated Griffith ap Meredith and Rhys ap Maelgwn at Llandilo, whereas in fact the southern Welsh gained a decisive victory over the enemy (p. 188). Nor is anything said of the marvellous way in which Llewelyn raised South Wales by the sheer magnetism of his personality, though the castles were in the hands of the English, and the chiefs were almost invariably hostile. When one reads the account given by Mr. J. E. Morris, in his *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, of Llewelyn's stupendous activity during the last few months of his life, of Edward's difficulties, and of Llewelyn's unbroken series of successes, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that but for his untoward death—which was the result of the merest accident—he might have still, in some measure, retrieved his fortunes, and preserved, at least in part, the independence of Gwynedd.

We cannot help feeling that Mr. Edwards would have written very differently of the Conquest of Wales if he had had the opportunity of reading Mr. Morris's careful

work. He would have known, for instance, that Criccieth and Harlech Castles were not built by Edward (p. 201), but were old Welsh castles which he enlarged and strengthened; and he would have known that the manoeuvre at Conway, repeated shortly after at Orewin-bridge, and subsequently imitated by Edward at Falkirk, was due not to the Earl of Warwick but to John Giffard. He would have understood the true significance of Edward's visit to Glamorgan, and his arbitration between the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester (p. 209). He would also, we believe, have seen reason to temper some of his criticisms of the policy of the South Wales princes. It is absurd, for instance, to speak of Rhys ap Meredith as one "who had betrayed Llewelyn" (p. 207). In 1267 Meredith had been exempted from any obligation to do homage to Llewelyn (p. 171); in 1277 his son Rhys had risen with Llewelyn. The Prince of Gwynedd gave him no help; probably, as Mr. Edwards says, "no help was possible from Llewelyn" (p. 178). Rhys had to surrender, and his castles were garrisoned either by English troops or Welsh friendlies. It would be as correct to speak of Llewelyn "betraying" Rhys in 1277, as of Rhys "betraying" Llewelyn five years after. As a matter of fact, though Llewelyn in 1282 incorporated in his schedule of complaints against Edward charges of oppression in South Wales, Mr. Morris has shown that Llewelyn probably did so on his own initiative. Llewelyn rose in 1282 because of the oppression of the Perveddwlad, and without consultation with the princes of South Wales. The marvel is, not that he received so little but that he obtained so much support from South Wales. The most extraordinary phenomenon in Welsh history is the way in which the men of South Wales have always, irrespective of the wishes of their immediate chiefs, responded to the call of a national

leader, whether he was an upstart like Griffith ap Llewelyn, or princes of Gwynedd like Griffith ap Cynan and the two Llewelyns, or a simple squire like Owen Glendower.

It is also incredible, in view of the figures laboriously worked out by Mr. Morris, that Mr. Edwards's estimate of the strength of Llewelyn's army—30,000 footmen and 500 mail-clad horsemen—should be correct (p. 165). We greatly question if Llewelyn ever had to "keep in the field for weeks together" a fifth part of the number. "Skill in archery", says Mr. Edwards, "was universal in Wales" (p. 237). Mr. Morris has shown that the long-bow was the weapon of South Wales, and more especially of Gwent, and that the national weapon of North Wales was the spear. The long-bow "failed to preserve the independence of Wales" (p. 217), because the men of Gwent, who were its most skilful professors, fought with Edward against Llewelyn to the bitter end.

It would be unfair, perhaps, to blame Mr. Edwards for his inaccurate references to Owen of Wales, though his true story was unfolded several months before the publication of the book by Mr. Edward Owen in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*. But there is no excuse for speaking of Davydd as "the last prince of Wales" (p. 192), or of Edmund Mortimer as "the next heir to the Welsh Crown" (p. 205), at a time when Owen Goch and Rhodri, Llewelyn's brothers, and his daughter Gwenllïan (as Mr. Edwards mentions on p. 214), were alive.

Perhaps the most delightful part of Mr. Edwards's book is that which deals with the "Story of Wales" from the Conquest to Tudor times. He is at home in the period, and he does not therefore overload his narrative with dry and pointless detail. Few have written with such grace and knowledge, with such insight and charm of the twilight of the days of chivalry. His treatment of the reign

of Edward II will not commend itself to English historians, but it is none the less a striking and suggestive contribution to the history of that unhappy reign. Mr. Edwards shows that the key to all the king's troubles and difficulties is to be found in Wales and the Marches. He describes with convincing power the tragedy which ended in the final loss of Welsh independence. We are apt to forget that Edward I conquered Scotland almost as completely as he had conquered Wales. Wallace was hanged; the Bruce was an outcast when Edward died. Of the reign of his weak and amiable son the Scots cannily took advantage. They won back at Bannockburn more than they had lost at Falkirk. Why did not Wales rise after Bannockburn and win back its independence? Mr. Edwards supplies the answer. Welshmen liked Edward of Carnarvon; they ignored his weakness and only remembered his amiability. He had always flattered their national vanity; he had distributed largesse among the bards; he had invariably taken the part of the conquered against the conquerors. Out of personal loyalty and affection, Welshmen let slip an opportunity which was never to recur. For when the genius of Glendower blazed forth in the next century, it was pitted against the military skill of the greatest Captain that ever sat on the English throne.

We have been surprised to find Mr. Edwards guilty of small inaccuracies which the author would characterise as "howlers" in the Oxford Examination Schools. Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, is stated to have been "wronged by Henry I and then given in marriage to the Castellan of Pembroke" (pp. 71-116). Such a statement might pass without criticism when made by Mr. Baring Gould in *Pabo the Priest*, or even by English historians such as Palgrave and Freeman, but a historian of Wales

should know that the Fitzgeralds were probably the eldest of Nest's brood, while the FitzHenrys were perhaps the youngest (Gir. Cambr., *De rebus a se gestis*, i, pp. 58 *seq.*, and Appx. to Pref. to *Topographia Hibernica*, pp. v, c, ci. Mr. Edwards is equally unfortunate in his references to Nest's progeny. Gerald the Welshman, Nest's grandson, is said to have inherited "his strong likes and dislikes and lovable vanity from a Welsh mother" (p. 106). Gerald's mother was a daughter of Nest by Gerald of Windsor, and was therefore as much Norman as Welsh. The date of Rhys Goch has not been fixed (p. 263), but if one thing is certain about him it is that he flourished much later than Davydd ap Gwilym. We are at a loss to know what warrant Mr. Edwards has for calling Iolo Goch "Old Iolo of the Red Mantle, a chief of Dyffryn Clwyd" (p. 271). There is no evidence to show that Iolo was a "chief" in Dyffryn Clwyd or elsewhere, and the epithet "Coch" was probably a family cognomen, and had no reference to the colour of the poet's mantle. Griffith Vaughan of Caio was not "hanged, drawn, and quartered", but beheaded for avowing his belief in Owen Glendower (p. 274). It is not known where Owen Glendower lies buried; certainly it is incorrect to say that "Owen himself lies probably at Corwen hard by; though there is a tradition that he found a grave at Monnington" (p. 285). There is as much—and as little—authority for the one statement as the other. It is not true to say that "it was rarely that a Welsh-speaking Herbert, &c., . . . became judge" in the two and a half centuries following the incorporation of Wales (p. 336). As a fact, the proportion of Welsh-speaking judges in the 17th and 18th centuries was abnormally high. One of them, Vaughan of Trawscoed, became Chief Justice (not Lord Chief Justice, p. 359) of the Common Pleas in the reign of Charles II.

The account given of the trial of Rhys ap Griffith, the grandson of Rhys ap Thomas (on p. 322) teems with minor inaccuracies. After the "affray" at Carmarthen between Rhys and the King's Deputy, Lord Ferrers, the two lords did not "retire to their estates and begin to prepare for a renewal of the struggle." Rhys was kept in prison by Lord Ferrers, and was only released on being summoned to answer for his conduct before the Court of King's Bench at Westminster (*not* the Star Chamber). Rhys's father had not "been too independent", or "paid for his temerity with his head". His father, Sir Griffith ap Rhys, was thoroughly Anglicised. He had been brought up, from his youth upwards, in the English Court, and though he died in his prime, and in the lifetime of his father, he did not fall a victim to the royal Tudor's jealousy. Nor is it quite fair to say of Rhys ap Thomas that he "was thoroughly hated by his weaker neighbours", merely because a Flintshire soldier records some idle gossip against the old Welsh chieftain.

Mr. Edwards seems to suggest (p. 350 *seq.*) that the early Catholic missionaries in Wales were Jesuits. "The Jesuits would appeal to the longing for the old worship that was dying so hard among the mountains." The suggestion is not well-founded. The early Catholic missionaries to England and Wales were secular priests. "In 1583, the Jesuit John Bennett", says Mr. Edwards, "was tortured at Hawarden". In 1583 John Bennett was a secular priest, and it was several years later that, in his exile on the Continent, he joined the Society of Jesus, and he was tortured not at Hawarden but at Bewdley or Ludlow. In fact, the number of Jesuits engaged in the English mission-field in the 16th century is exceedingly small. In the next century they became prominent in Wales, but that was only after they had captured the

English seminaries on the Continent. If Mr. Edwards had gone outside the pages of Foley, he would have found that the martyr, William Davies of Carnarvon, was a secular priest, and that his story was far more worth telling than that of John Bennett or Robert Jones. The Jesuits confined their activity almost altogether, in the reign of Elizabeth, to the field of politics, and paid but little attention to the purely religious side of mission work. The Jesuits were "anti-nationalist", and nearly all the great names among the Welsh Catholics are to be found opposed to them. It is with the fortunes of the revived order of St. Benedict that the names of Welshmen—Augustin Baker, John Roberts and Leander Jones—are indelibly associated.

The account given of the Puritan movement in Wales—a movement which arrested the decay of the Welsh language and, for the first time for centuries, awakened the conscience of Welshmen—is very jejune and inadequate. A good deal is said about Morgan Llwyd's "dreamy mysticism", but not a word is said of Walter Wroth or William Erbury, of Walter Cradock, the founder of the "Cradocians" and the teacher and inspirer of Morgan Llwyd, or of Christopher Love; and even Stephen Hughes, to whom Wales owes a debt which it has lately begun to realise, is only mentioned as an afterthought in connection with the Methodist revival (p. 387).

Equally strange is Mr. Edwards's disproportionate praise of Howell Harries as the leader of the Methodist revival, and his failure even to mention Daniel Rowlands, Llangeitho—a man who laboured in the vineyard when Harries sulked in "Mynachlog fawr Trevecca", and who was probably the most inspired preacher Wales has ever produced (p. 389). It is somewhat startling also to read that the hymns of Ann Griffiths were "caught from her

lips as she sang them at her spinning-wheel" (p. 390). The same gift of exaggeration is seen in the statement that Davydd ap Gwilym was "welcomed in every town throughout Wales" (p. 261); that Glendower once exercised "wider sway" and wielded "greater power even than Llewelyn the Great" (p. 269); and that Islwyn was "the greatest Welsh poet of the present century" (p. 12).

Mr. Edwards has an inconvenient trick of alluding in vague language to people and incidents the ordinary reader has never heard of. The reader of a popular handbook must have been mystified by the unexplained references to Arise Evans (p. 13), Hugh of Chester's "hereditary greed for Welsh land" (p. 48), "Madoc" (p. 71), "Dinas Dinlle" (p. 15), "Rees of perennial youth" (p. 141), "the inhuman punishment of Maelgwn Vychan" (p. 214), "Patrick Sarsfield" (p. 241), "the Welshman Pecoek," the nameless "last great Welsh mediæval poet" (p. 267), "Rees Vychan" (p. 191), "Cefnybedd" (p. 192), and "the daring piracy of Henry Morgan" (p. 381). Mr. Edwards has other mannerisms which are the only defects in a fascinating style. He is fond of the romantic manner; "mighty he was" (p. 50-56); "tall and stately was she" (p. 64); "he built him a castle at Talgarth" (p. 55). Occasionally his antitheses become strained. "He bequeathed to his son Cadwaladr a vanishing crown, powerful enemies, and a plague-stricken country" (p. 29); "he left behind a daughter as heiress to a burnt home, a harried land, and an impossible task" (p. 33); "negotiations and the Scotch moved slowly" (p. 369); "casting the future of England to the fortune of battle" (p. 360). Once or twice Mr. Edwards uses curiously infelicitous epithets, as where he applies the adjective "saintly" to Baxter (p. 332). Mr. Baxter wrote a devotional work

called *The Saint's Rest*, but there was nothing otherwise "saintly" in his laborious, fighting, embittered life; and nothing could more erroneously describe William the Conqueror's ruthless march from the Humber to the Tees than to say he "wandered to the North" (p. 45).

Perhaps a somewhat graver fault in a historian of Mr. Edwards's standing is his habit of shallow, but none the less dogmatic, generalisation. Take for instance his description of the influence of a country on the character of its inhabitants (p. 7):—

"The wild and rugged outlines of the mountains are mirrored as intense but broken purposes in the Welshman's character, always forming great ideals, but lacking in the steady perseverance of the people of the plain. His imagination makes him exceedingly impressionable,—he has always loved poetry and theology: but this very imagination, while enabling him to see great ideals, makes him incapable of realising them,—he is too impatient to be capable of organisation. . . . There is a difference between the slow and strong man of Snowdon and the versatile laughter-loving son of Plinlimmon."

This passage displays at once the strength and weakness, the beauty and defect, of Mr. Edwards's style and manner. It is charmingly written, but it is full of unsafe generalisations and inaccurate observation. It is an old reproach that Welshmen are "incapable of organisation". But who can read the history of Welsh Nonconformity, of the Eisteddfod, or of Welsh education, without realising that Welshmen can not only "form great ideals", but can by steady perseverance realise them? Or who can observe the marvellous industrial development that has taken place in the Principality during the last half century without feeling that all this fine talk about "the broken purposes" of the Welshman, and his impatience of organisation, is so much picturesque nonsense? The truer conception

of the basis of national character has been given by Mr. Lecky (*History of England*, vol. ii, p. 320) :—

“The character of large bodies of men depends in the main upon the circumstances in which they have been placed, the laws by which they have been governed, the principles they have been taught. When these are changed the character will alter too.”

The mountains of Wales remain the same to-day as in the days of Glendower and Llewelyn ; but the character of Welshmen has been profoundly modified by the discipline of war and conquest, of alien laws and Anglican civilisation, of Calvinistic theology and educational zeal, of free institutions and industrial prosperity.

We have thought it our duty—however hazardous and ungrateful the task—to dwell at some length on the flaws which mar the perfection of Mr. Edwards’s work. But when all is said and done, we yield to none in our admiration for the real triumph he has achieved. He has told the story of Wales for the first time in an interesting and intelligible manner to the stranger. He has breathed new life and meaning into the old story of purposeless strife and warfare. He has made many an old-world hero live again in his vivid pages. He has not been content with giving us a Chronicle of the Princes, but he has attempted, for the first time and not without success, to tell the story of the Welsh people. He has presented us with a portrait gallery full of exquisite pictures,—of prince and bard, of priest and preacher, of Catholic Saints and Protestant heroes. His sympathy has ever been fresh and spontaneous ; he has been quick to appreciate all good men, however distorted their views or erring their aims, who strove according to their lights to serve Wales. It is this wide outlook and catholic sympathy with all that is best and noblest in Welsh life and story that gives to Mr. Edwards’s

book its chiefest charm and power. We shall have, we doubt not, a fuller and more accurate history of Wales and its people in the coming years: we are certain we shall never have one informed with more delicate sympathy or told with subtler grace.

W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS.

OWEN GLYNDWR: and the Last Struggle for Welsh Independence. By Arthur Granville Bradley. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

ALL lovers of Wales and its history are deeply indebted to Mr. Bradley for the very readable and entertaining life of Owen Glyndwr which he has brought within their reach. Mr. Wylie's great work on Henry IV is so expensive, that very few, except those who happen to live near Public Libraries, have been able to read it. The moderate cost of "Owen Glyndwr" will bring it within the reach of all. Mr. Bradley, unlike Mr. Wylie, has made of Sir Owen a hero for himself, and gives the story of his wonderful career without any prejudice in favour of King Henry IV, who, whatever may have been his talents, showed only the most contemptible incompetence in all his dealings with Wales and his Welsh subjects. Mr. Bradley's style is clear and forcible, and sometimes he rises to eloquence. He knows Wales from end to end, and must have been a lover of its beautiful scenery before he became a student of its history. Readers of the book will do well to make notes of "special bits" which the author describes so

charmingly. But Mr. Bradley does not make his theme subservient to geography; his descriptions of places always serve to give life and interest to his narrative, and help, just as dates do, to fix the story in the reader's mind.

The book reviews the whole of Welsh history; it begins with the coming of the Romans, and ends with the rise of Methodism. We think it would have been better to begin with the Norman Conquest, and to point out clearly the radical difference between its effects in England and Wales. In England, the Norman kings checked the growth of feudalism. In Wales, the Normans superimposed a feudal *régime* upon a system of tribal government. In the 13th century the Princes of Gwynedd attempted to do in Wales what the sons of Alfred did in England in the 10th century. They might have succeeded had not the privileged Anglo-Normans the whole power of the Crown of England behind them. Edward I saw that it was vital to the security of England to overthrow the representatives of Welsh national unity. His conquest of Wales completed the work of the Normans, and introduced little that was new to Wales into the government of the Principality. Welshmen could see before their eyes a people free from the tyranny of alien lords, by their alliance with the Crown, but were doomed to feudal misgovernment, till a king arose who should do for Wales what William the Norman had done for England. In spite of the long introductory chapter, a fourth of the whole book, we do not think Mr. Bradley has made these things quite clear.

Again, we do not think that Mr. Bradley has given Sir Owen, in spite of his admiration for his hero, an adequate place in history. From the narrative, his chief title to fame seems to be the number of his slain enemies, and

the desolation of their lands. He is said to have planned schemes which came to naught, and that his rebellion made Wales more miserable during the 15th century than she had been in the preceding one. In one place Mr. Bradley does tell us something, but he does not, we think, follow out his discovery to its logical conclusion. Sir Owen linked the fortunes of the Welsh Nationalist Party with those of the House of York. Therefore the Wars of the Roses, as far as the West is concerned, were in a large degree a continuation of the struggle commenced by Sir Owen. That Welshmen who enjoyed Marcher privileges fought on the Lancastrian side only serves to emphasise the fact that the unprivileged joined the House of York. Important as this is, Sir Owen did more, he so shattered the strength of the Lords Marchers that they never recovered the position they held before 1399. His hand was heavy on the towns and the castles of the Anglo-Normans. The 15th century was an age of decay, and we know that the towns of Wales were in a bad way in Henry VIII's time. The Flemings, of Pembrokeshire, also failed to become an aggressive force after Sir Owen's devastation of that county. In the next century many thousands of Irishmen settled in South Pembrokeshire, a thing which could not have been done if it had recovered from the ravages of Sir Owen's days.

In the reign of Edward IV Welshmen were the most prominent figures in Wales; such were the Herberts, and the family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. When a Herbert became Earl of Pembroke the old Anglo-Normans are said to have turned in their graves. Their rest would not have been disturbed had not Sir Owen swept away their descendants. We may conclude, therefore, that Owen Glyndwr broke the power of the Englishry in Wales, and made the support of the national party essential to one or other of

the English factions. These were the causes that put Henry VII upon the throne of England. That Henry was a Tudor was an accident, in the same sense as it is an accident that any man bears the name of his father; that he came to be King of England, was the result of deliberate policy. Edward IV was secure on the throne, because he had the support of the Welsh, but when Henry of Richmond came, not only as a Lancastrian, but also as the descendant of the Tudors of Penmynydd, he united Wales and overthrew Richard, whose throne was undermined when the county of Pembroke was given to a Herbert.

Mr. Bradley thinks the 15th century one of misery for Wales, because of the pressure of the Lancastrian Coercion Acts. There can be no doubt that they look formidable enough. It is, however, quite clear that Parliament when it passed them was acting *ultra vires*, Wales being outside its sphere of influence, and it is more than probable that they suffered the usual fate of such measures. They bear witness to the panic of the English Parliament rather than to the hardships of the Welsh in the 15th century. The attempts of Parliament to re-organise the government of Wales are at once a proof that the day of feudal government was over, and that some readjustment of the relations between England and Wales must be found.

Mr. Bradley draws attention to the disorder and anarchy in Wales during the 15th century. These things were not peculiar to Wales. It is a commonplace that the anarchy which afflicted England during the same period was the cause of the fall of the Houses of Lancaster and York. There is no need to repeat here what the late Bishop of Oxford says about the "lack of governance" in England. I have mentioned this because Froude does

the same thing as Mr. Bradley, citing the reports of Bishop Lee, President of the Council of Wales. Froude, however, omits to tell his readers that Lee reports more murders in Cheshire alone than in the whole of Wales for a given period.

Mr. Bradley is not quite free from "Teutonic" prejudices in discussing the history of the Welsh Princes, and their mutual wars and murders. Gavelkind doubtless accounts for many of these murders, but they are not peculiar to Wales and her factions any more than disorder is peculiar to Wales in the 15th and 16th centuries. The history of the Kings of England in the 14th and 15th centuries is quite as revolting, and if we could foreshorten the events of those centuries, as time foreshortens the earlier ages for us, their history would be little else than murders and rebellions. Edward II was murdered by his wife's paramour; Richard II was murdered by his cousin, who in his turn only managed to keep himself from death by the utmost vigilance. Plots were formed against Henry V; Henry VI and his son were murdered. Richard II murdered both his nephews, and in turn fell before the sword of his enemies.

Both English and Welsh writers have striven after the odd in Welsh history, and seem quite disinclined to find the same causes producing the same results in Wales as in England. English history has suffered very much because of this, for it is impossible to isolate two-thirds of Southern Britain, and write their history as if the other third did not exist. Welsh history has suffered still more, and has no unity as it is now presented. Owen Glyndwr's movement has been hitherto without cause and without result; we are indebted to Mr. Bradley for showing that he has a real meaning, not only in Welsh, but in British history. If what has been said above is right, the

tradition which regards Owen Glyndwr as the national hero is right also.

T. STANLEY ROBERTS.

Peterhouse, Cambridge.

LA METRIQUE GALLOISE. Par J. Loth. Tome I. Paris :
Ancienne Librairie Thorin et Fils, 4, Rue le Goff.

THIS first of two volumes on *Welsh Metres* reaches to a little over 400 pages (xiii + 388). Even as it is, it is of considerable interest, but the interest of it would have been much increased were it more minutely accurate. Every one that has tried to master the rules of Welsh *cynganedd*, and then attempted to practise them, knows how many pitfalls there are, hidden at first view but evident enough after having been extricated from them. Unfortunately these very pitfalls M. Loth has not been skilful enough to avoid. In this matter, an hour with a real master of *cynganedd* would have been worth weeks of mere book-work : *solvitur ambulando*. We much regret an opportunity missed ; the chance of initiating the outsider in the mysteries of our *ars poetica* is for the moment gone. The expert alone will be able to make use of the material brought together in this volume—and, as a consequence, in the second volume also, we fear. For how can there be an accurate historical treatment of inaccurate matter ? It would be well if the author made sure of the rules first, and then provided us with a historical grammar of them.

[Those who wish to see a capable discussion (and trenchant withal) of the whole subject of the volume will

find it in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vol. iv, part i. The article (of nearly 40 pages) is in English, and is written by Prof. J. Morris Jones, M.A.]

H. ELVET LEWIS.

LES INFLUENCES CELTIQUES. Par Charles Roessler.
Paris: 1901.

A VOLUME of 102 pp. It forms another link in the chain of evidence for the character and influence of Celtic Art in the immediate pre-Christian centuries. The author has brought together a good deal of scattered material, and treated it with some skill. He holds that the period fixed as the probable date of "the ancient pacific civilisation of the Celts"—viz., the 6th century B.C.—is rather the close of a period still more ancient, and wide-reaching in its influence. There are eight plates, with illustrations from medals, pottery, engraved stones, MSS., &c.

H. ELVET LEWIS.

G. SIMPSON, PRINTER, DEVIZES.

The Cymmrodorion (Record Series.

NOTICE.

“The Black Book of St. David’s.”

Royal octavo, pp. cxii, 366. (No. 5, Cymmrodorion Record Series.) The Black Book of St. David's. An Extent of all the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David's in the time of the Venerable Father the Lord David Martyn, by the Grace of God Bishop of the Place, in the year of our Lord 1326. [From the British Museum Additional MSS., No. 34,125]. Edited by J. W. Willis Bund, F.S.A. London, 1902. Price 21s.; offered to Members of the Society at 10s. 6d.

THE BLACK BOOK OF ST. DAVID'S, which forms No. 5 of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, and which is now ready for issue, is a most valuable mine of material for the history of South Wales during the first half of the 14th century. It gives the names of all the Tenants of the Episcopal lands belonging to St. David's, the amount of rent each paid, the services and customs in each place, and their value.

As the Estates of the See of St. David's extended into each of the modern counties of South Wales the book gives a picture of the state of things that existed in the different districts, and shews the extent to which Welsh Law and Custom remained unaffected by the English invasion. It also shews the means that were taken to establish and incorporate the English land laws in Wales.

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D Cymmrodor.

VOL. XVI. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

1902.

A Welsh Insurrection.

By W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, B.C.L. Oxon.

No passage in the dark and bloody annals of Henry VIII is more obscure than the "conspiracy" which led to the execution of Rhys ap Griffith in December 1531. Froude, who barely mentions the incident, states in a note that—"It was a Welsh plot conducted at Islington. The particulars of it I am unable to discover, further than it was a desperate undertaking, encouraged by the uncertainty of succession and by a faith in prophecies, to murder the King. Rice was tried in the Michaelmas term 1531, and executed. His uncle, who passed under the name of Brancetor, was an active revolutionary agent on the Continent in the later years of Henry's reign,"—a statement which teems with a greater number of inaccuracies than is excusable even in the pages of a master of a poignant and dramatic style.

In the second volume of the *Cambrian Register* is published a defence of Rhys ap Griffith, which seems to have been written in 1625 by his great-grandson, Henry Rice of

¹ *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 214.

Dynevor. Mr. Edward Owen, who was the first to discover its existence, is of opinion that MS. 14,416 of the Phillips Collection, now in the Cardiff library, is the original from which Fenton published the article in the *Register*, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Owen is right, for the MS. was originally in the Fenton Collection. But the "defence", though interesting and in many respects important, was only compiled nearly a century after the tragic episode; it was written in an uncritical age, and confessedly in an uncritical spirit—for its admitted and manifest object was to clear the memory of Rhys of a charge of treason, and to appeal to King Charles I for a restoration to royal favour of Rhys's descendants. The writer was without some of the contemporary material which is at our disposal to-day, and in one or two matters, which can be tested by independent evidence, he did less than justice to some of Rhys's friends and contemporaries in order to elicit, by a more startling contrast, the Royal sympathy for Rhys's own sorrows and misfortunes.¹ The only other

¹ As Henry Rice's petition has never been published, though his defence, which is a portion of the same MS., has appeared in the *Cambrian Register*, we append it here:—

"Henry Rice, his petition to King Charles the First.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty the humble (*sic*) of H. Rice servant to the late King's Majesty.

"Humbly showing that I have served your Majesty's brother, nowe with God eight years, as howsoever I cannot raise unto myself anie great hope of recompense, though my service had been of longer time and of more valuable employment, yet the cons'n thereof, accompanied with what I shall farther presume herein to represent unto your Majesty, will, I hope, induce your Majesty graciously to commiserate my unhappie condition. My great grandfather, R. G., at the age of 23, was accused and condemned for designing to make your Majesty's auncestor, James the 5th of Scotland, to be King of England, by whose attainder there came to the crowne landes worth £10,000 poundes a year, and a personall estate to the value of £30,000 poundes. Queene Elizabeth, upon the humble suit of my grandfather

attempt which has been made to clear up the mystery was by the late Mr. David Jones, who published a paper on the subject in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (5th ser., vol. ix, pp. 81-101, 192-214). But the paper is incomplete, the writer did not live to finish his researches, and though it represents a sane and patient effort to unravel the tangled

and father, did graciously promise, as before her sister Queen Marie hadden, a graunt unto them of soe much of their auncestor's landes as remained in the crowne. That promise, not taking effect, my Father did renew his petition to the late King's Majesty, wherein he did insist upon certaine particulars, which onlie showed that his auncestor which was attainted had great enemies and a prosecution that admitted him onlie little favour, which Petition was referred to certaine Lords of the Counsell with a singular commendation in his behalf: That such was his ill fortune that having far spent in his estate, he was forced to retire himself, leaving that unperfected which had so hopefull a beginning; -my grandfather and father (to ad more strength to their suit) represented to Queene Elizabeth and your royall Father the services of their auncestor Sir Rice ap Thomas, who received in Henry the 7th at Milford Haven with 4000 men, and attended him with 18 horse for his owne change at Bosworth field, and that Thos. Rice, another of my auncestors, in later time was slaine in the service of that Queene of famous memorie, your Majesty's grandmother, at what time the new usurping Lord of the Isles invaded Scotland.

"My most humble suit, therefore, to your Majestie is that in cons'n of the premisses and in accomplishment of the gracious intentions of your royall father, and the Queene's your predecessors, you will be pleased to bestowe upon me (the lineall heire of the aforesaid Rice) that poore portion of his great estate as yet undisposed of from the Crowne, being £200 per annum or thereabouts, or else in some other kind as shall best suit with your Majesty's grace and bountie, to support the weaknesse of my present condition: soe shall I ever pray for your Majesty's long life and happie rayne over us."

"Whitehall, 27 May, 1625.

"His Majesty's pleasure that the Lord High Treasurer of England, Lord Evansholl, Lord Chamberlaine, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer consider of the notices laid doune in this petition and the reason and equitie of this wish, and certifie unto his Majestie their opinions thereof.

"E. Conwy."

skein of Tudor statecraft, it by no means exhausts the material which was even then accessible to the writer (he does not seem to have seen Henry Rice's defence in the *Cambrian Register*), and some of his suggestions have been falsified, and some gaps in his account have been supplied by contemporary records which have been discovered or published in recent years. Without pretending to be in a position to say the final word on this chapter in our national story, we may safely claim to be in possession of so many "new facts" as to be entitled to re-open the whole question.

It would be travelling beyond the scope of this paper to give in any detail the story of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the friend of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and the pillar of the dynasty which he founded. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to recapitulate, as briefly as possible, the broad facts of his career. Sir Rhys had been brought up in a Yorkist home. His grandfather, Griffith ap Nicholas of Dynevor, had fallen fighting for the White Rose, at Mortimer's Cross in 1461. His father, Thomas ap Griffith, was one of the bright particular stars of the court of Burgundy, where the Duchess Mary, the sister of Edward IV, afterwards did her best, by plot and intrigue, to maintain the languishing Yorkist cause. Rhys himself had spent the formative years of his youth in the Court of Charles the Bold. The battle of Tewkesbury, however, changed the course of English history. The murder of young Edward of Wales, the hope of the Lancastrian line, undoubtedly secured the power and throne of Edward IV for a time. But it had a portentous and unlooked-for result. A Welshman, the grandson of Owen Tudor of Pennynydd and of Catherine of France, became the representative of the House of Lancaster. The Welsh bards

were not slow to grasp the significance of this fact. They saw in it the fulfilment of the prophecies of Taliesin and Myrddin that a Welshman would be crowned in London, and would triumph over their secular foes. They recalled the mysterious prognostications, the "*brudiau*", which foretold that the name of the deliverer of Wales would be Owen; and was not Henry Tudor a grandson of Owen Tudor, the cousin of Owen Glendower, and the cousin, too, of that "Owen of Wales", the last descendant in the male line of the princely house of Gwynedd? The people were quick to respond to the bardic songs. They cared nothing for White or Red Rose; but they cared everything for a Welsh king to rule in London. Rhys ap Thomas, also, felt the stirring of the national pulse. His grandfather aimed at making himself semi-independent of the English king, by playing one faction against the other; Rhys abandoned the traditions of his family and sacrificed his own personal ambition for the sake of realising the dearest and most persistent hope of Welsh bards and people.

It were not to the purpose to relate here how strangely and romantically this object was achieved; how Henry Tudor landed at Milford Haven after his long, perilous exile in Brittany, with hardly a friend or follower; how the balance was turned in his favour by the adhesion of Rhys ap Thomas, who could put a thousand horsemen in the field and thrice as many footmen, well armed and appointed, of whom Rhys Nanmor sang,

"Y Brenhin bia'r ynys
Ond sy' o ran i Sir Rhys;"

how the Pretender marched through Ceredigion and Powys, gathering strength as he journeyed, appealing to Welshmen as their countryman and kinsman; how Rhys ap Thomas travelled through Ystrad Towy and Brych-

einio, and joined Henry, with a great following, at Shrewsbury; how at last Henry Tudor, with an army mainly composed of Welshmen who fought under the Red Dragon, defeated Richard III at Bosworth and won the English Crown; how Rhys ap Thomas remained the steadfast friend of the new dynasty throughout all the insurrections and impostures of the reign of the first Tudor sovereign; how the subtle king, knowing the loyalty of the Welsh chieftain, and yet jealous of his power, never rewarded him with any more substantial dignity than the Garter; and how, unconscious of, or ignoring, this mean and petty treatment, the old knight upheld the son's throne after the crafty father's death. No one can read the story of the first Tudor sovereign without being convinced that, under God, he owed at first his throne, and then the stability of his dynasty, to the unflinching support of Sir Rhys ap Thomas.¹

I. THE RISING IN CARMARTHEN.

In the year 1525, sixteen years after Henry VII had been laid to rest, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, full of honours and dignities, died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was buried, with his forefathers, in the Priory Church of Carmarthen. He was succeeded in his estates by his

¹ That Welshmen looked upon the accession of Henry Tudor as a national triumph is clear from the writings of contemporary bards. That Henry himself judiciously fostered this feeling may be gathered from the fact that he named his eldest son Arthur. In an *Italian Relation of the Island of England*, written in 1500 and published by the Camden Society, there is some evidence that this was also the contemporary view among intelligent foreigners. "Wales was formerly" it is said "a separate kingdom . . . but in the reign of Edw. I — (by a slip the writer says Edw. III) — they were reduced to the dominion of the English. . . . They may now, however, be said to have recovered their former independence, for the most wise and fortunate Henry VII is a Welshman." . . .

grandson, a bright and studious young man, who is known to English writers as Rhys, Rice, or Richard ap Griffith.¹ The last years of the old chieftain, one can well imagine, were full of anxiety. He knew, none better, the jealous, savage, masterful nature of Henry VIII. He had seen the blood of a Pole and a Buckingham flow from the scaffold, and he knew that it was not safe for a subject to be too powerful or too ambitious under such a king. The two most prominent personages in England in his later years were Cardinal Wolsey, whose position, as the King's chief Minister, seemed then impregnable, and the third Duke of Norfolk, who, as Earl of Surrey, had crushed the power and pretensions of the Scots at Flodden Field. There was no love lost between the two great men. Norfolk hated the Cardinal for his influence with the king, despised him for his lowly origin, and envied him for his vast wealth and power. Sir Rhys ap Thomas, like an experienced courtier, thought to steer a middle course. In 1524 he married his young grandson, the heir and hope of the old princely line of Rhys ap Tewdwr, to the Lady Katherine Howard, daughter of the second and sister of the third Duke of Norfolk. At the same time, he cultivated the friendship of the great Cardinal with such success that, as we shall see, his memory was probably one of the factors which impelled Wolsey to save young Rhys ap Griffith from his enemies, four years after Rhys ap Thomas's death.

It is not certain what was Rhys ap Griffith's age at the time of his grandfather's death in 1525. His descendant, writing in 1625, states that Rhys was twenty-three in 1531, and that he would therefore be only seventeen in 1525.

¹ Sir Griffith ap Rice ap Thomas died 1521. The date of his marriage to the daughter of Sir John St. John does not seem to have been ascertained.

He was married, as we have seen, in 1524, but it was no uncommon thing in those days for young noblemen to marry in their teens.¹ Still, it is almost incredible that probate of his grandfather's will should have been granted to him if he was under age in 1525. Whether it was his youth, or whether it was the beginning of the King's sinister policy, we know that he was not continued in his grandfather's offices in South Wales. Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, afterwards the first Viscount Hereford, was appointed Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales. For some time friction seems to have been avoided. But Lord Ferrers was not the easiest man to get on with, and young Rhys, for all his devotion to his books, was not devoid of the high spirit of his race, and was, moreover, married to a woman of an ambitious, if not turbulent, nature. Early in the year 1529 we find events maturing for a crisis. On March 3^d Rhys wrote to Cardinal Wolsey to complain of the conduct of Lord Ferrers.

"My pouer tenants and servants", he says, "by the lyght and malicious myndes of suche lyghte persons that be deputies under my Lord Ferrers in these partes, be dayly, without cause reasonable or good grounde put to vexacion; and some of my household servants kept under appearance from county to county, for their pleasures only."

He finishes up by requesting letters from Wolsey to Lord Ferrers to enable Rhys to be his lordship's deputy justice and chamberlain in South Wales, and consenting to give Lord Ferrers any sum that Wolsey thought convenient for the office.

There is little doubt that the complaint made in Rhys's

¹ Prince Arthur, for example, was only fifteen when he married Catherine of Arragon. The Earl of Shrewsbury, giving evidence in Henry VIII's divorce proceedings, stated that he himself had married when he was fifteen-and-a-half.

² *State Papers*, vol. iv, part iii, 5,345.

letter was well-founded. The abuse of legal procedure was an old grievance, and one that Lord Ferrers himself had drawn attention to three years previously. In a letter, dated January 9, 1526, he wrote to the Lord President of the Princess's Council in the Marches of Wales that

"When his Lordship was first admitted President of the Princess's Council my Lord Legate (Wolsey) instructed the writer and others of that Council that no subpoenas should be directed into Wales or the Marches, but every cause be first tried before the stewards and officers there, the appeal to lie afterwards to his Lordship and other commissioners. Subpoenas are now served in Carmarthen and Cardigan in spite of the proclamations, the like of which was never seen before."

The conclusion of the letter is: "And now both shires saith plainly that they will not pay one groat at this present Candlemas next coming, nor never after, if any man do appear otherwise than they have been accumed, but they had liever ryn into the woods."¹

In two other letters,² written a few days later to a friend, Lord Ferrers dwells on the gravity of the situation. After stating the facts he adds, "this is the most serious thing that has occurred since I first knew Wales".

Nothing, however, seems to have been done to assuage the public excitement or to remedy the grievance. We hear no more, it is true, during Lord Ferrers's tenure of office of encroachments on the part of the Council at Ludlow, but Rhys complains that his tenants were harried in a similar way by Lord Ferrers's own deputies. It was quite as irritating for a Carmarthenshire man to be summoned to Pembrokeshire as to Ludlow, especially as he knew that he was put to expense and inconvenience merely to satisfy the hungry maw of the Chief Justice's servants. The old Welsh ideas concerning the tenure of land were

¹ *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. i, 1872.

² *Ib.*, 1887, 2201.

also gradually giving way to English ideas, and though the English system did not become the law of the land till 1536, Welsh customs were fading away as they were being interpreted in the terms of English lawyers. No doubt there was much grumbling and discontent, much restlessness and uncertainty and hatred of all change. No doubt the young chieftain fumed and chafed under his impotence. He was reminded by followers and retainers of the ancient splendour of his house; he was driven to assert himself by the importunities of a wife prone, as she showed herself in later days, to ambitious intrigues.¹ The letter of March 1529 was, without doubt, the result of continued pressure. Lady Katherine, writing to Wolsey after matters had reached their crisis in June, says that "great dissatisfaction has prevailed ever since Ferrers was officer in these parts, for he and his servants quarrel with Ryx's tenants." There is nothing in all young Rhys's career to show that he was ambitious of office and power. His descendant, Henry Rice, describes him as a retiring and bookish man, who was so modest that he refused the Earldom of Essex at the hands of the King. However that may be, it is almost certain that if the compromise suggested in his letter of March had been accepted, much misery and injustice would have been averted, and the name of Henry VIII would have been cleared of at least one reproach.

It may be that Cardinal Wolsey would have been glad to have avoided friction in South Wales by accepting young Rhys's suggestion. But the Cardinal was no longer master. Before the year was out he had fallen a victim to King Henry's anger and to the Duke of Norfolk's intrigues. Even in March he was insecure, and he may have found

¹ Lady Catherine married for her second husband the Earl of Bridgewater, and she was involved in the tragedy of Catherine Howard's divorce and execution.

himself unable to meet the wishes of his old friend's grandson. It is possible that he communicated the contents of the letter to Lord Ferrers. It is certain that henceforward Lord Ferrers acted with a degree of violence and malice towards the lord of Dynevor which argues personal animosity. A contemporary writer, Ellis Griffith, who shows himself to be intimately acquainted with the details of Rhys's history, and who was actually present at Rhys's first trial, tells us that

"When Rhys went to Wales the whole country turned out to welcome him, and this made Lord Ferrers envious and jealous."¹

In 1529, therefore, we have all the elements of strife present in South Wales; a popular young chief, the descendant of the old Princes of South Wales, married to an ambitious wife; a restless and discontented people, angry at the encroachments of a strange jurisdiction and the changes in legal procedure and the tenure of land; a jealous and envious King's officer, ready to take advantage of the most trivial error or indiscretion of his rival; a great Minister on the eve of his dramatic fall, his enemies active and hopeful; and disquieting rumours that the King was about to cast aside his wife and to marry another, who was known to favour the Protestant doctrines, which she had imbibed during her sojourn in the court of France.

In June 1529, the crisis came to a head. In that month Lord Ferrers came to Carmarthen to hold the Sessions. Carmarthen at the time was the first town in South Wales. Thither the gentry of West Wales flocked for a "season" in their town houses, and among others Rhys ap Griffith, who was one of the bailiffs of Carmarthen for the year, and the Lady Katherine, his wife.

¹ Introduction to the Mostyn MSS. Catalogue, p. ix.

It is not difficult to trace the sequence of events. Lord Ferrers's account is still extant in his hurried letters to Wolsey,¹ and in more detail, in the Bill of Indictment which he preferred against Rhys ap Griffith in the following autumn.² Rhys ap Griffith's own version is briefly given by his wife, the Lady Katherine, in a letter to Wolsey,³ and is supplemented by scattered references to the episode which may be found in the State Papers of the time. Piecing together these various materials, it is possible to construct a fairly complete and connected account.

On Saturday, the 5th of June 1529, (*not* the 6th, as given in the Bill of Indictment), Lord Ferrers came to Carmarthen to hold the Great Sessions in eyre as Chief Justice of South Wales. His deputy, James Leche, who had been one of the bailiffs of Carmarthen two years before, went to the Mayor, David Llewelyn,⁴ to take lodgings for Lord Ferrers's servants. The Mayor delivered billets to Leche, who in turn sent one Thomas Here to the houses, which had been assigned by the Mayor, to make arrangements for the reception of the Chief Justice's men. When Here came to the houses, he found that one Thomas ap Morgan, a retainer of Rhys ap Griffith's, had already set his master's "badges upon papers painted" upon the doors of the houses, with the intention of keeping them for the use of Rhys and his servants.¹ Upon what

¹ *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 1529, 5693.

² *Star Chamber Proceedings*: Henry VIII, bund. 18, No. 234; published in the *Arch. Camb.*, 5th ser., vol. ix.

³ *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 1586.

⁴ *Camb. Reg.*, vol. iii.

¹ It is not quite clear from Lord Ferrers's account whether Thomas ap Morgan or Thomas Here arrived first on the scene, but it seems probable that Ap Morgan had secured the houses before Thomas Here, since Rhys had evidently been preparing for a dispute

ground Rhys ap Griffith rested his right to the lodgings cannot now be determined. Whether it was prior occupation—which would not avail against the rights of the King's officer supported by the Mayor's assignment, or whether the houses were his own and in the occupation of his tenants, which is probable and is Lady Katherine's reason, or whether, lastly, he had assigned them to his own use in virtue of his office as Bailiff of Carmarthen, there is no means of deciding. What is certain is that this comparatively trifling matter led to most serious consequences. That very night, Lord Ferrers says, Rhys's men came flocking towards the town. The following day, being Sunday the 6th of June,—if we may believe the charges preferred against him in the Bill of Indictment before the Star Chamber—Rhys sent proclamations, to be openly read in divers churches in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Kidwelly, "that such that were his kynesmen, lovers and ffrynds, and wold do anything for hym shuld come well appoynted and wepened to the king's towne of Kermerdyn on Monday next after, being the viii (vii) June". Probably Lord Ferrers has greatly exaggerated the activity of Rhys. Nothing of any moment seems to have happened on the Monday or during the week, and it is scarcely credible that any of Rhys's men could have turned up in the town without occasioning a disturbance.

with the Chief Justice, and had, according to Lord Ferrers, "prevelye causyd his frynds and adherents to be warnyd, as well in the countie of Kermerdyn as in the Lordship of Kidwelly, who in ryettous manner, well wepunyd, assemblyd them the same night to a great nombre". This, at all events, is Lady Katherine's account of the matter in her letter to Wolsey, which on the whole is more accurate than the account given by Rhys's accusers. "The same Ryx," she says, "before he came to Carmarthen sent his servants to take lodgings for him among his tenantry, and to set up his arms on certain doors, which were taken down by Ferrers."

Still, there must have been some truth in the charge, for we have it on record that

"David ap Rice baes [*base*, not *bach*, as Mr. D. Jones conjectured] unekyll to the said Rice Griffith, by his nephew is commaundemente caused proclamacyon to be made in the churches of Llansadorne and Llanwoorda¹ and confessyd the same in the chancery of Kermerdyn, as appered as well by the same confession as by confession of Sir Walter ap Davyd, prist and curate there, who publyshed proclamacyons in church of Llanwoorda aforesaid."

More than a week elapsed before the great men themselves came into personal conflict. We cannot do better than let Lord Ferrers tell his own tale, in order to understand the gravity and importance of the affray. On Tuesday, June 15 (the date is correctly given in Ferrers's letters to Wolsey, which were written at the time, but not in the Bill of Indictment, which was drawn up three months later), Rhys ap Griffith came into the King's Castle of Carmarthen

"accompany'd with ffortye and more of his servants well armyd and wepynd, and knockyd at the Chamber door of the said Justice, where he was accompany'd with dyvers gentylmen of the said county in the said Chamber, and mad quarrel with the said Justice why he shuld keep in ward one Thomas ap Howen, his kyneman, which is a mysruled person and oon of the chefe berers and mayntenors of all evil-disposed men and naughty matters in this partes, and hath forfeited fyve hundred markes to the king's use for the same."

This account, which is given in the Bill of Indictment preferred against Rhys ap Griffith in the autumn of 1529, does not accord in all respects with that given at that time in Ferrers's letter to Wolsey. The letter states that on

¹ Rhys was Lord of the Manor of Abermarlais in the parish of Llansadwrn, it having become part of the Dynevor possessions through the mother of Rhys ap Thomas, who was the daughter and heiress of Sir John Griffith, Abermarlais, a descendant of Ednyfed Fychan.

Tuesday, the 15th June, Rhys

“came into the castle with his armed servants, where I was with other gentlemen, and picked a quarrel with me about Thomas ab Howen, his kinsman, whom I had committed to ward for various misdemeanors, and for hurting the people when they came to the castle to demand remedy, by which he has forfeited to the King 650 markes, as appears by his recognizance and other bonds taken before the King’s Council.”

Unfortunately the recognizance seems to have been lost, and so it is impossible to find out exactly who Thomas ab Owen was, and what crime he had been guilty of. How little reliance can be placed on the hasty account given in the letter may be gathered from the fact that the amount of Ab Owen’s recognizance is wrongly stated. On the next day, Lady Katherine sent a letter to Wolsey, which contained another version of the cause of the dispute. She describes Lord Ferrers’s surmise as “false” that Rhys desired

“one Thomas ab Owen, servant to the King, then in ward in the same castle, to take out of the constable’s hands one Jankyn, servant to the said Ryx.”¹

The most probable conjecture, therefore, is that Lord Ferrers had caused one “Jankyn”,² a servant to Rhys ap

¹ *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 1586.

² A list is given at the end of the Bill of Indictment of the persons who “assembled, reased, and gatheryd the King’s subjects with open owterye in South Wales, and brought them towards the King’s town of Kermerdyn to thentente to have destroyed the lord Fferrers, the King’s Chief Justice there”, and among them is the name of “Hugh ap Jencken, leder of the Abbot of Talley’s tenants”. This may be the “Jankyn” on behalf of whom Thomas ab Owen is alleged to have interfered. Some, if not most, of the persons mentioned in the schedule to the Indictment were concerned in the later disturbances, but it may be that the Abbot of Talley’s tenants, — some of whom lived in Llansadwrn and Llanwrda, where the proclamation was read out in church on June 6th, — may have started for Carmarthen on Monday, June 7th.

Griffith, to be arrested, no doubt for complicity in the disturbance which took place after the affair of June 6. In his letter Lord Ferrers states that Thomas ab Owen,—who is only described as Rhys's kinsman, and not, as in Lady Katherine's letter, "the king's servant,"—had been put in ward "for hurting the people when they came to the castle to demand remedy". The natural inference is that Ab Owen endeavoured in some way to effect the release of Jankyn, and that he was forthwith sent to bear Jankyn company in prison.¹

After Rhys had burst in upon the Chief Justice in Carmarthen Castle, a violent scene ensued. Lord Ferrers states, both in his letter to Wolsey and in the Bill of Indictment, that Rhys drew his dagger "and therewith would have foyned and strycken him in presenss of dyvers gentylmen". In the letter he takes the credit to himself for having disarmed Rhys, but in the Indictment the deed

¹ The two references help us to identify Thomas ab Owen with some approach to certainty. Lord Ferrers calls him a kinsman to Rhys ap Griffith; Lady Katherine describes him as "servant to the King". A Thomas ab Owen was in 1524 appointed Collector of Haverfordwest by Sir Rhys ap Thomas (*S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. i, p. 428): in the same year we find that Thomas ap Owen (probably the same as Thomas Bowen, bailiff of Carmarthen in 1519), was Mayor of Carmarthen. The Mayor seems to have been a dependent of the Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales (at that time Sir Rhys ap Thomas), and it seems certain that the man who filled the important offices of Collector of Haverfordwest and Mayor of Carmarthen in the same year was a kinsman or connection of his patron, Sir Rhys ap Thomas. On September 10, 1525, we find that Thomas ab Owen, "sewer of the chamber", was appointed by the King constable of the castle of Builth in succession to Sir Rhys ap Thomas. It is no unreasonable assumption that this is the Thomas ap Owen who was thrown into prison by Lord Ferrers. The animus of the Chamberlain is evident, for it is hardly possible that such a man was the notorious evil-doer Lord Ferrers would have the Council believe.

is ascribed to Lewis Thomas ap John, "gentylman, the king's sworn servant", who is said to have been sore hurt and wounded in the right hand by Rhys. Lady Katherine, on the other hand, in her letter to Wolsey, says that it was Lord Ferrers that first drew his dagger, that Rhys in self-defence did likewise, and that there was no harm done except that Rhys was hurt in his arm. This, one must confess, is the more likely story, for Lord Ferrers was by no means a long-suffering man, nor was Rhys a violent and quarrelsome hot-head. The conclusion of the matter was that Rhys was taken into custody by Lord Ferrers, and commanded, on a penalty of £1,000, to remain in the castle. Lord Ferrers sent his Chaplain post-haste to London to know the Cardinal's will in the matter, and the Cardinal, urged by the Lady Katherine, "for the great love between Wolsey and her father, that he will not allow her husband and herself to have shame and rebuke", lost no time in directing the discharge of Rhys, on bail, and his appearance before the Court at Westminster to answer Lord Ferrers's allegations.

In the meantime, things had progressed rapidly in Carmarthen. On the day after Rhys's arrest, Lord Ferrers bears witness to the fact that "his friends stir up the people to rebellion", and the Lady Katherine states that "the county is discontented" at the action of the Chief Justice. On June 18 the Chamberlain writes to tell Wolsey

"of the greate rebellion and insurrection of the people in
thys partyes at the commandment of Rice Griffiith and my
lady Haward, as for a troth ther was not such insurrecc'on
in Walys at any time a man can remembre." . . .

Rhys himself could not, of course, have directed this third disturbance, for he was in the Chief Justice's custody in Carmarthen Castle. It must, therefore, have been his wife, if anyone, who sent the "fiery cross" among his

tenants and friends, and it is to this episode, no doubt, that Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, alludes in his letter of Oct. 15, 1530, to Chas. V,¹ when he says that the Lady Katherine had "some months ago besieged the governor of Wales (in his castle) for several days, and had some of his attendants killed". The details are given with some minuteness in the Bill of Indictment. On Wednesday, June 16, the Lady Katherine, we are told, sent messengers "by night and day" to all parts of the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, to all other lordships from Builth to St. David's "which is nere an hundred myles", to raise the country to the rescue of Rhys. In a schedule which is annexed to the Bill of Indictment a list is given of "the Captaynes and ry'gleders of all the people so reased", and who are said to have approached the town and castle of Carmarthen upon every quarter by night. Three of them—Rice Rede (one of the Redes of Roche Castle?), Lewis Powell ap Phyllyp, and Owen Morgan, all of Istheth (Iscothi?) in the county of Carmarthen—are mentioned as having entered "on the west syde of the towne and came in the raye of battell," with seven-score men, as far as the dark gate, and sent messages to the Chief Justice demanding the release of their lord and master. Six score of the "captayns and ryngleders" were indicted, with Rhys ap Griffith, at the Carmarthen Sessions for rebellion, but the record of the trial is lost, and the issue is unknown.

It is clear, however, that there was nothing like an organised insurrection on the part of Rhys ap Griffith or his tenants. The whole story reads like an unpremeditated riot. If Rhys had meant seriously to raise an insurrection, he could probably have put, not seven-score, but

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Spanish.*

three or four thousand men in the field. But the men who, in unknown numbers, marched upon Carmarthen by night, and the seven-score men who actually entered the town to effect his rescue, were in all probability his own personal retinue, who, on finding "shame and rebuke" being put upon their liege lord, burst into open violence. Their names were known to Lord Ferrers, which would hardly be the case if they were drawn indiscriminately from all parts of the three counties. We know, too, that they entered Carmarthen on Thursday, June 17, two days after the arrest of Rhys, when it was almost impossible for them to have come, except in a straggling and haphazard way, from Emlyn and Uwchcothi in Carmarthen, and Narberth in Pembrokeshire. The nucleus of the "captayns and ryngleders" would certainly seem to be Rhys's personal retainers, supplemented perhaps by stray "friends and lovers" who happened to be in town attending the Sessions, while a few dependents may have hurried from Rhys's possessions upon receiving tidings of his arrest from the Lady Katherine. The attempt at rescue, at all events, was a disastrous failure. No lives seem to have been lost, and no damage is alleged to have been done. Lord Ferrers, writing on the next day—Friday, June 18—to Wolsey¹ says that he made proclamations in the King's name, and that divers of the King's servants and true subjects came to his assistance.

"Then the Captayns and Ryngleders with all other their retynues in every quarter retornyd home into their countreys, and as now everythyng is quyette."

The names of the Captains and Ringleaders as given in the schedule to the Bill of Indictment, are as follows:—

"Of the Countie of Kermerdyn: Isthethe (Iscothi?) Rhys

¹ *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 5693.

Rede—Lewis ap Howell Phillip—Owen Morgan, gentylman.

“Of the Countie of Pembroke :

John Oggan [Wogan ?]—Henry Wyriott, Esquires—Wm. ap Owen, lernyd in the lawe—Willyam David William, gentylmen—John ap Evan ap Gwilym, in the lordship of Narberth.

“Of Emlyn lordship :

Sir Hugh Gwyn, clerk—Gitto ap Evan ap ll'en—Davyd ap Rees, yeoman.

“Kidwelly is lordship :

Davyd Vachg'n—Roger Vachg'n—Thomas Vachg'n—Morgan Vachg'n, gentylmen.

“Of the countie of Kermerdyn—Vuchcothe :

Evan ap Henrye—John Gr. ap Morgan—Wm. John Dee - John Lloyd—Wm. ap Evan ap Rotheresche—Philip William—John ap Gl'im Thomas—John Lle'n Dee the younger—Owen Ryse—Wm. ap Rs ap Eynon, gentylmen.

“Hugh ap Jencken, leder of the Abbot of Talley's tenants.

“Wm. Thomas Goze, leder of the tenants of the bysshop's lands in the counties of Kermerdyn and Cardigan, with many others.”

After this armed demonstration of Thursday, June 17, no further attempt was made to rescue Rhys ap Griffith. Some time later he was released on bail of £1,000 by order of the King's Council, and he probably departed for one of his seats—Carewe or Emlyn, Dynevor or Abermarlais—to prepare for the coming trial in the autumn in London. But the temper of Rhys's retainers was still ugly, if we may believe the story told in the Bill of Indictment. Sometime after the release of Rhys, two of his household servants, one called Griffith ap Morgan, “usser of his haule”, and the other Griffith ap John, “his faulk'nor”, about nine o'clock in the evening of August 6th

"laye in wayte in the toune of Kermerdyn for oon Reynold ap Morgan, gentylman, learned in the lawe, lieftenant to the said lord ferrers, the king's justice there, and also the kyng's bailiff,¹ and officer of the same toune for the yere where the same Reynold was, in God's peace and the Kyng's", and assaulted him "the oon with a greyve and the other with a swerd and buckler, geving him many cruell wounds in dyvers places of his body, and so hayneously murderyd hym ther."

Lord Ferrers goes on to say that after the murder, the two Griffiths were several times, "as well in the towne of Tenbye as dyvers other places within the said Rice auctorities, and so dayley maynteyned and favoryd by hym and his."

In the Michaelmas term—probably in the month of November 1529,—Rhys ap Griffith was placed upon his trial before the Court of Star Chamber. Mr. David Jones, writing in 1892, had to confess that "what actually took place is to me unknown, for beyond the Bill no record of these proceedings has been discovered. It is probable that he was heavily fined". Since 1892, a most valuable and interesting MS. has been discovered by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans in the Mostyn Collection. It contains, among other material, a history of his own times by one Ellis Griffith, a soldier of Calais. He describes many scenes of which he had been an eye-witness. In his Introduction to the *Mostyn Catalogue*, Mr. Evans gives us a tantalising taste of the impressionist sketch of Rhys ap Griffith's trial,

¹ In the *Cambrian Register*, vol. iii, the name of Reynold Morgan is given as one of the bailiffs for Carmarthen in 1527, but Rhys ap Griffith and David Rees David Thomas, are given as the bailiffs for the year 1529. It may be, however, that after his arrest Rhys was suspended from the duties of his office, and Reynold Morgan appointed in his stead.

at the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, which the soldier wrote.¹

"And it chanced that I was present on that day, with many others from all parts of the kingdom, when and where I heard the ugliest accusations and charges that two gentlemen could bring each against the other,—charges and accusations which thousands of poor men would not for any amount of wealth have had brought against them by word of mouth, much less in writing. . . . And notwithstanding the numerous threats of the Cardinal against them, I never once heard a word from him in defence of the poor, whom both had grievously wronged, according to the written statement of each about the other."²

The procedure is not very clear from the condensed account given of Ellis Griffith's narrative in the Introduction to the *Mostyn Catalogue*. "Both parties were summoned before the Court,"—what Court we are not told, but it must have been the Court of King's Bench in Westminster—

"where each of them made the most serious complaints and allegations against the other that was possible, not only about the affray (ffrae) that had been between them, but in respect of the oppression of the people and the bribery of which each said the other was guilty. And when the Court had listened to their mutual accusations for some time, the Cardinal summoned the case before him into the Star Chamber,"

where it was not till "after a long process of time" that the Cardinal "bade them take up their written evidence" (*i hysgriven o gyhuddiant*). "Both parties were next cen-

¹ Intro., pp. ix, x.

² Ellis Griffith felt no love for Rhys. He records that his death was generally looked upon as the visitation of God, for the many deeds of injustice and spoliation done by his father, grandfather, and great grandfather, a statement which is hard to reconcile with the known facts of young Rhys's career and his great popularity in South Wales.

sured severely for their misdoings," says Mr. Evans in his summary of Ellis Griffith's account, "and Lord Ferrers in particular for his bad temper and want of sense in quarreling with one young enough to be his son, and whose youth was his excuse. They were finally dismissed, with the command that they were to make peace between their respective followers, 'and to depart thence by land and water, arm in arm, to the palace and the Fleet'."

So ends the first act in Rhys ap Griffith's tragic story. He must have been released not later than the month of November 1529, for in that month the great Cardinal fell, never to rise again. It is not improbable that this was his last big affair of State. It may be that he was moved to do an act of kindness to young Rhys out of tenderness to the memory of his old acquaintance, Sir Rhys ap Thomas; or it may be that he took that opportunity of showing his "great love" to the Duke of Norfolk, Rhys's brother-in-law, who was even then desperately intent on his rival's downfall, and who was intriguing to supplant the "old Queen," Catherine of Arragon, by his young and beautiful niece, Anne Boleyn. Whatever might have been the Cardinal's motive,—whether pity for an attractive youth, or tenderness for his grandsire's memory, or whether it was a gambler's last throw in the game for power,—it is certain that the Cardinal's intervention saved Rhys ap Griffith for a time from the fate which was impending over him. As long as Wolsey lived, Rhys was suffered to remain—probably in London—unmolested. The last ecclesiastical statesman of England did not long survive his fall from power. He was disgraced before the end of 1529; the summer of the following year had not closed before the great Cardinal was sleeping his last long sleep.

II. THE DEATH OF RHYS AP GRIFFITH.

What happened from the release of Rhys ap Griffith at the end of 1529 to the beginning of October 1530, where Rhys spent the interval, and what were his pursuits, are questions which cannot now be answered. He seems to have possessed a house in Islington, then a fashionable suburb of London, and, judging from the absence of any warrant for his arrest, such as was sent to Lord Ferrers for the arrest of his kinsman, James ap Griffith, we may conclude that in October he was in residence there.

On October 7, 1530, the King sent the following warrant to Lord Ferrers for the arrest of one James ap Griffith ap Howell.¹

"Henry the Eight by the grace of God king to our right trystye and right well beloved counsellor, Walter Lord Fferrers our justice in South Wales gretyng. Fforasmuche as it ys come to our privyte knowledge and understanding, that James ap Griffyth ap Howell hath not only dysobeyed sundry our lettres and commandyments, but also fortetfeyed himself in South Wales within the Castell of Emlyn as our rebell and dysobeysaunte subjecte, We therefore havyng speeyall truste and confidence in your approved fidelite wysdome and circumspection woll and comaunde you and by thes presentys yeve unto you full power and auctorite to levye assemble and gadre suche and as many our subjectys inhabitaunts as well within South Wales as in North Wales as ye shall thynke mete and convenyent for the apprehensyon and takyng of the said James ap Griffyth ap Howell his partakers and adherents being within the said castell as our rebels and dysobeysaunt subiectys, And in case any of the said rebelles within the said castell do defende theym selfys ayenste you with force and strength then those that ye shall fynde so defendyng theym selfys in that behalf to put to due

¹ S. P., vol. iv, 6709, Privy Seal, Oct. 22, H. VIII.

executyon accordyng to the ordre of our lawes, Wherefore we woll and commaunde you with diligence to execute this our pleasure and commaundement, And moreover we woll and commande all and singler mayors shirreffs bayliffes constables and all other our officers and faithfull subiectys by these presents to be aidyng helpyng counselling and assisting you in the executyon herof, As they will answer unto us at theyr uttmoste perils, In witness whereof," &c.

This is the first mention we have of James ap Griffith ap Howell, a man who was to exercise a baleful influence over Rhys's future career, and who was destined to endure a long exile on the Continent, and to lead a life alternating from the depths of penury to the heights of splendid romance. He is described in the pardon, which was made out to him two years later, as of "Castell Maelgwn in the county of Pembroke, *alias* of Spyttye (Ysbytty) in the lordship of St. John in the county of Cardigan, *alias* of Emlyn in the county of Carmarthen, *alias* of Llanddewibrefi in the lordship of the Bishop of St. David's, and *alias* of Rustely and Cavilloge (Arwystli and Cyveiliog) in Powys". Lord Dacre, writing to Henry VIII on July 2, 1533, says that James "calls himself uncle to Ryse of Wales", and Sir Thomas Wharton, writing to Cromwell on July 11, says that James "is said to be the uncle of Rys ap Griffith, some say his sister's son". On July 20, Lord Dacre calls him "son to Sir Rice ap Thomas"; and a good deal of uncertainty existed at that time and since as to the identity of James ap Griffith and his relationship to Rhys ap Griffith. Mr. David Jones was unable to "fix his place in Welsh genealogy", and in the Index to the *State Papers*, and in Froude's *History*, he is confounded with a certain Robert Bransetour, an Englishman in the Emperor's service. His pedigree is, however, given in *The Book of Golden Grove*, and is referred to also in Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitation*. On the father's side he was lineally descended from

being on a tyme verie familiar together".¹ It is probable that some of James's possessions, mentioned in his pardon, were not his own in absolute ownership. Emlyn was almost certainly the property of Rhys ap Griffith, and is mentioned as such in the computus of Wm. Brabazon after Rhys's death.² Nor is it likely that his interest in Ysbytty and Llanddewibrefi was very valuable. His connection with Arwystli and Cyveiliog—the westernmost portions of modern Montgomeryshire—is still more obscure. But whatever it was, it must have brought him into personal contact with the inhabitants of those districts: for as late as September 1535, when James had long been a fugitive on the Continent, we find that a certain David Lloyd ap Owen, dwelling in Maigham Cloyth (Machynlleth) in Cyveiliog, sent a letter to one Robert ap Reynolds, a spear at Calais, asking news of James Griffith ap Howell, and "to send word to Bosums Inn".³ The lordship of Castell Maelgwn, in Pembrokeshire, would however seem almost certainly to have been his. In the Indictment against Rhys (*vide infra*), James is described simply as of "Castell Maelgom," and his daughter Elizabeth is said, in the pedigrees, to have been "ferch Castell Maelgwn". His son, John or Jenkin, is described in the *Book of Golden Grove* as being "of Penrallt", a small country seat

¹ *Cambr. Reg.*, vol. ii.

² *S. P.*, vol. v, 448. It is treated by James himself, while in the Tower, as the property of Rhys. See the Indictment *infra*.

³ *S. P.*, vol. ix, 319. Dd. Lloyd is described by Robert ap Reynolds, who was probably a native of Cyveiliog, as "one of the richest men in Wales". On September 21, 1535, Cromwell ordered Bishop Lee, of Lichfield, the President of the Council of the Marches, to apprehend David Lloyd ap Owen. A month later Lee sends him to Cromwell (*S. P.*, vol. ix, 706). His further fate is unknown, unless he be the man mentioned by Lee in his letter to Cromwell on January 19, 1536 (*S. P.*, vol. x, 130). "We have received the two outlaws, David Lloide, or Place, and John ab Richard Hockulton. . . . We have sent the

between Cardigan and New Quay : but this probably came to him through his wife, the daughter of John Thomas ap Harry, of Cryngae, for James was attainted in 1539, and his son Jenkin was without lands in 1540. But though James must have been a man of some consequence, and of more ambition, he is never mentioned as having filled any office under Sir Rhys ap Thomas or the King. This could hardly have been due to youthfulness. His mother, Sage, was the daughter of Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicolas, and must have been born before 1470. Griffith ap Howell was her first husband, and a conjecture that his son James was born about 1490 would probably not be wide of the mark. James, therefore, would be nearly forty years of age at the time of the "affray" in Carmarthen between Lord Ferrers and Rhys ap Griffith. He took no part in the disturbance, and he does not seem to have been with his nephew in the town. He was implicated in none of the subsequent riots. The little we know of the earlier portion of his life is derived from the confession of his servant, David Williams.¹ His friends were "Thomas ap Rother, of the Krengarth" (Thomas ap Rhydderch of Cryngae in Emlyn, whose granddaughter James's son Jenkin afterwards married), David Vaughan, and David Meredith of Kidwelly, Rhydderch ap David ap Jenkyn in South Carmarthenshire, and Walter

two to trial. To-morrow they shall have justice done to them. God pardon their souls". There are frequent references to Robert ap Reynolds, the "spear," in the State Papers. In December 1535, Sir Henry Knewet writes from Windsor to Lord Lisle, the Governor of Calais, to say that "Rob. Reynoldes, spear of Calais, desires to set up a brewhouse within the Marches, which he cannot do without the King's licence. He is a very honest man, and I beg you will write me letters desiring me to labour to the King in his behalf". This looks as if this was his reward for his treachery to David Lloyd ap Owen in yielding up his letter in the previous September.

¹ *S. P.*, Hen. VIII, vol. vi, 1591.

ap John, who cannot be further identified. He would, therefore, seem to have spent most of his life in Carmarthenshire and the Emlyn district, and there is no hint that his life was in any way different from that led by other country gentlemen of the same class and position. No reason is assigned in the warrant for his action in fortifying himself in the Castle of Emlyn, in October 1530. In what respect he had "disobeyed sundry letters and commandments" of the King, or what the letters referred to, we are not told. Henry Rice, indeed, suggests a ground for his arrest which seems incredible. "James ap Griffith", he says, "was apprehended by the said Rice (ap Griffith) for counterfeiting the Great Seal, and by him sent up to the lords of the Council, and so committed to the Tower." Whatever element of truth this statement may contain, it conveys no real explanation of James's arrest in October 1530. The warrant was issued by the King and directed to Lord Ferrers. Rhys ap Griffith is not mentioned anywhere as having taken any part in his apprehension. He appears to have been in London at the time, and within a few days of the issue of the warrant, and before James had been brought a prisoner to London, Rhys was himself lodged in the Tower on some unknown charge. All the circumstances attending this incident are obscure. The whole of our knowledge is obtained from a letter which the watchful Chapuys sent to Charles V, on October 15, 1530.¹

"The King has sent to the Tower a Welsh gentleman named Ris, who married one of the Duke of Norfolk's sisters, because (as report goes) not satisfied with his wife having some months ago besieged the governor of Wales (in his Castle) for several days, and had some of his attendants killed, he himself has threatened to finish what his wife had begun."

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Spanish.

It almost looks as if Rhys had not taken to heart the warning he had received the preceding year, but that he nursed his wrath and cherished schemes of revenge against Lord Ferrers. In James ap Griffith he would find a willing tool for daring and desperate plans, and nothing is more likely than that the arrest of uncle and nephew, which took place almost simultaneously, was due to the same cause.

It is not known when and how James ap Griffith was apprehended. That his arrest was effected without difficulty, if not without opposition, may be gathered from the silence of the State Papers on the point. Many years later, in 1548, James Leche of South Wales—no doubt, the James Leche already mentioned as Mayor of Carmarthen in 1527, and Lord Ferrers's messenger in 1529—petitioned the Privy Council of Edward VI for the continuance of an annuity of 20 marks, which had been granted him in September, 1535,¹ "in respect of his old service in the apprehension of James Griffith Apowell, traitour and outlawe".² It would seem, therefore, that Lord Ferrers sent Leche to Emlyn to apprehend James ap Griffith. In one place—in the confession of Ellington, which will be dealt with more fully later on—there may be a hint that James defended himself. In 1533 James, we know, was sending Ellington to London to make certain payments on his behalf "consarnynge the hurtyng of Wylliam Vaghan of Kylgarron".³ William Vaughan of Cilgerran Castle was a considerable personage in his own district, which bordered on the lord-

¹ *S. B. Pat.*, p. 2, m. 5.

² *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. J. R. Dacent, vol. ii, p. 224. The reason for the request, "forasmuch as the poore gentleman, being now aged and lacking living", presumably weighed with the Council, and the annuity was confirmed.

³ *S. P.*, Hen. VIII, vol. vi, 1548.

ship of Emlyn. In 1535, for instance, he and Thomas ap Rhydderch of Cryngae and four others were appointed "Commissioners to inquire into the tenths of spiritualities in St. David's".¹ It is not improbable that, as he was close to Emlyn, James Leche should have called upon him to assist in the apprehension of James ap Griffith, and that he was wounded in the attempt. There is, at least, no record of any other proceeding in which James ap Griffith could have done any "hurt" to William Vaughan. Be that as it may, James was taken to the Tower of London, where he found his nephew, Rhys ap Griffith, already lodged. There they lay for many months without, so far as is known, being put upon their trial or being acquainted with the charges made against them. By June 1531, however, long confinement and anxiety began to tell upon Rhys, and he was let out on bail, according to Chapuys, on account of ill-health.² Until the following September 21, Rhys remained at liberty. On that day, however, we are told by Chapuys that he was sent back to bear his uncle company. On September 26, 1531, Chapuys writes:³

"Five days ago the seigneur de Ris, brother-in-law of the Duke of Norfolk, was re-arrested and lodged at the Tower. He was let out on bail, on the plea of bad health, but has again been constituted a prisoner. He is accused of having

¹ *S. P.*, Hen. VIII, vol. viii, 149 (71).

² *Cal. S. Pap.*, Spanish, 796. The date of Rhys's release on bail is fixed by an entry in the State Papers (vol. xii, pt. ii, 181: v. also *Cott.* Titus B. i, fo. 155, in the Brit. Mus.), "Rhys ap Griffith, for his bed and board (at the Tower) for eleven months at 10s., and his servant at 40d." Rhys was, therefore, eleven months altogether in the Tower. We know he was first lodged there in October 1530, that he was sent back on September 21, 1531, and beheaded, December 4, 1531. He was therefore let out on bail early in June 1531.

³ *Cal. S. P.*, Span., 796.

tried to procure means of escaping [from England], and going either to your Majesty's Court or into Scotland, where, owing to the credit and favour he enjoys in Wales, he hoped to be able to undertake something against the King."

Chapuys' information was accurate, so far as it went. The full story of Rhys's crimes and misdemeanours was told before the Court of King's Bench at Westminster in the following November,—“in the Monday next after the xvth of seynt Martin last past” is the date given in the Indictment and the Act of Attainder passed in 1532. Two others, servants or dependents of his own, were placed in the dock beside him. The one was his clerk, Edward Lloyd or Floyd, of Carew, who turned King's evidence; the other was William Hughes, gentleman, also of Carew, who sturdily protested his and his master's innocence to the last. Young Rhys and his faithful servant, William Hughes, were found guilty by the jury, and condemned to death by the Court. On Monday, Dec. 4, 1531, the last penalty of the law was inflicted. “The execution took place this morning”, writes Chapuys on December 4,¹ “and the said Ris was beheaded in the same spot where the Duke of Buckingham suffered a similar fate”, i.e., on Tower Hill. A less honourable and more barbarous punishment befel poor William Hughes. He was “drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, where he was hanged, his bowells burnt, and his bodie quartered”.² In the following Sessions of Parliament both master and man were duly attainted.³

Henry Rice has given a summary of the counts in the Indictment which was preferred against Rhys and his

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Spanish, 853.

² *Wriothesley's Chronicles*, Camden Series, p. 17; v. also Hollingshed, who gives his names as “John Hewes”.

³ *Rolls of Parliament*, 23 Hen. VIII. *State Papers*, 153-720. No. 14, given in full in the *Arch. Cambr.*, 5th ser., vol. ix.

two servants.¹ Henry Rice, however, in his anxiety to clear his ancestor of the charge of treason, does scant justice to the evidence with which the charge was supported. The Indictment itself, which has never before been published in its entirety, is worth careful and close scrutiny.

“Adhuc de termino Sancti Michaelis Rex.

M^{sex} Alias scilicet die mercurie proximo post Octavum sancti Martini isto eodem termino coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium per sacramentum xii juratorum extitit praesentatus Quod Ricardus ap Griffith nuper de London armiger alias dominus Rice ap Gruffith nuper de Karewe in Wallia armiger Edwardus Ffloid nuper de London yoman alias dominus Edwardus Lloid nuper de Karewe in Wallia yoman et Willielmus Hughes nuper de London gentilman alias dominus Willielmus Hughes nuper de Karewe in Wallia gentilman deum pro oculis non herentes set instigatione diabolica seducti ex eorum malicia proditorita praecogitata vicesimo octavo die Augusti anno regni supremi domini nostri regis nunc Henrici octavi vicesimo tertio apud Iseldonem in praedicto comitatu Middlesex false proditorie et contra eorum legeancie debitum se invicem vinculo juramenti admunierunt et confederaverunt depositionem quoque ac mortem serenissimi et excellentissimi principis domini nostri regis supradicti adtunc et ibidem false et proditorie machinaverunt imaginaverunt et compassaverunt et ad illud eorum abolendissimum et nephandissimum propositum practicandum perimplendum et perficiendum post longa eorum inde tractatus et colloquia inter se adtunc et ibidem habita inter que adtunc et ibidem recolebant et inter se colloquentes sepius repetendo et dicebant quod hec antiqua subsequens propheta existit in Wallia videlicet that king Jamys with the red hand² and the ravens should

¹ *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii, p. 270.

² The prevalence of the prophecy at this time that the King of Scotland, together with the Red Hand (Llawgoch) and the Ravens would conquer all England is interesting. It shows that in Rhys's country—which was, roughly speaking, Carmarthenshire—the tradition about Owen Lawgoch was even then current, and it is not unimportant that the tradition should still be found in South, not in North Wales. The Ravens, of course, were the ravens of Owen ap Urien Rheged, which formed the coat of arms of the Dynevor family.

conquere all England super quo adtunc et ibidem finaliter false et proditorie concluderunt aggreaverunt et determinaverunt quod ipsi iidem Ricardus Edwardus et Willielmus infra breve tempus extunc ffuturum videlicet quancito idem Ricardus per modum venditionis alicujus maneriorum terrarum aut tenementorum suorum seu impignoracionis alicujus eorundem aut per mutuum chevecenciam vel aliter competentem pecunie summam obtinere seu acquirere poterat in Scotiam ad Jacobum regem Scotorum occulte videlicet per et ultra insulam Mannie et deinde per et ultra terram Hibernie vocatam Wilde Irish et abinde in Scotiam predictam false et proditorie iter arriperent dicti quare regis Scotorum vim et potentiam armatam et auxilium in premissis implorarent peterent et obtinerent hac proditoria intentione videlicet quod ipsi in hoc regnum Anglie unacum praefato Jacobo Scotorum rege et magno virorum bellicorum exercitu videlicet tam Scotorum quam ceterorum si qui fuerint Anglorum proditorum false et proditorie reverterent necnon bellum publicum versus et superdictum supremum dominum nostrum regem proditorie erigerent et levarent. Eorum bello eundem dominum nostrum regem et regia sua dignitate false et proditorie deponerent et interficerent atque etiam secundum prophetiam suprascriptam praefatum Scotorum regem in regem hujus regni Anglie et praefatum Ricardum ap Gruffith in principem Walliae proditorie perficerent facerent et crearent eo hiis omnibus suprascriptis per et inter praefatos Ricardum Edwardum et Willielmum false et proditorie conclusis et determinatis idem Ricardus postea videlicet primo die Septembris anno vicesimo tertio supradicto proditorie misit praefatum Edwardum floyd ab Iseldone praedicta usque ad et in turrem Londinii proditorie percipiendo eidem Edwardo —quatenus ipso fidem et promissum securum ex quodam Jacobo ap Gruffith ap Howel nuper domino de Castell Maelgom in Wallia Gentilman adtunc in turre praedicta prisonario existente acciperet quod ipse idem Jacobus omnia et singula per ipsum Edwardum ex praedicto domino Ricardo ap Gruffith intimanda et revelanda secrete celaret (quibus fide et promisso acceptis) idem Edwardus omnia et singula ut praefetur proditorie conclusa et determinata atque prophetiam praedictam eidem Jacobo plene et integre indicaret et revelaret instantanter requirens eundem Jacobum quod ipse se eisdem Ricardo Edwardo et Willielmo ad praemissa agenda et perficienda adjuv[er]et (?) et confederatum exhiberet et quod si idem Edwardus fidem

et promissum securum praefati Jacobi habere potuisset tunc idem Edwardus praefatum Jacobum persuaderet quod ipse sacramentum eucharistie cum prefato Ricardo in fedus et securitatem praemissa perficiendi reciperet. Cujus quidem praecepti praetextu praedictus Edwardus Ffloyd ab Iseldone praedicta usque ad et in dictam turrem Londinii dicto primo die Septembris proditorie transivit et in eadem turre negotium praedictum in omnibus prout ei per dictum Ricardum ut praescribitur fuit praeceptum eodem primo die Septembris in turre praedicta praefato Jacobo proditorie dixit fecit et performavit praedictusque Jacobus fidem et promissum sua praedicta ad praedicta omnia sibi intimata secreta celanda adtunc et ibidem praefato Edwardo proditorie dedit atque ad praemissa proditoria proposita et intentiones praefati Ricardi peragendi ad posse suum adjuvare et in feodus praemissorum ex parte sua peragenda perimplenda sacramentum eucharistie cum praefato Ricardo recipere adtunc et ibidem praefato Edwardo concensit et aggregavit et quod in praedictis tractatu et confederatione inter praefatos Jacobum et Edwardum de praemissis habitis idem Edwardus praefato Jacobo adtunc et ibidem dixit et intimavit quod idem Jacobus adeo bene salvo et securo potuit dare fidem et credere praefato Willielmo Hughes et animum ipsius Jacobi eidem Willielmo in praemissis revelare quandocumque idem Willielmus cum prefato Jacobo de praemissis loqueretur siculi eidem Edwardo crederet et quod praedictus Ricardus ap Gruffith proponebat et intendebat impignorare et in mortuum vadium ponere cuidam Roberto White civi et pannario Londinii maneria ipsius Ricardi de Narberth et Carewe pro quibus idem Ricardus habere debuit de praedicto Roberto Whyte in promptis pecuniis duo millia librarum. Et quod idem Ricardus voluit mutuare tantum pecunie quantum possibiliter potuit et quod idem Richardus non curabat in quas obligationes obligaretur pro optentione inde quia dixit quod idem Ricardus nunquam praevaleret in hoc mundo excepto eo quod manibus suis lucraretur et quod idem Ricardus nunquam voluit ire in Walliam nisi poterat eam ingredi ad habendam eam totam ad ejus bene placitum et mandatum et insuper praesentatus extitit quod postea videlicet quarto die Septembris anno vicesimo tertio supradicto praefati Ricardus ap Gruffith et Edwardus Ffloyd dictum Willielmum Hughes ab Iseldone praedicta usque ad et in praedictam turrem Londinii praefato Jacobo proditorie miserunt eidem Willielmo praecip-

ientes quod ipse cum praefato Jacobo proditorie loqueretur eidem que Jacobo diceret quod ipse missus fuit eidem Jacobo per praefatum Ricardum ap Gruffith per hoc signum videlicet quod dictus Edwardus Ffloyd eidem Jacobo dixerat quod ipse tantum crederet dicto Willielmo cum accederet ad eum quantum eidem Edwardo. Et quod adtunc idem Willielmus cum praefato Jacobo coincaret et colloqueretur ad intentionem quod ipse animum praefati Jacobi scrutaret et centiret quomodo idem Jacobus dispositus erat et intendebat in praemissis et quod si eum securum dispositum ad dicto proditoria proposita praefatorum Ricardi Edwardi et Willielmi perficienda adjuvare inviniret ipsum Jacobum ad sacramentum eucharistie in fœdus praemissarum prodicionum perimplendi et performandi cum praefato Ricardo recipere proditorie persuaderet et provocaret atque presbiterum ad sacramentum illud in fœdus praedictum eidem Jacobo et postea praefato Ricardo ministrandum proditorie offerret cujus quidem praecepti praetexti dictus Willielmus Hughes ab Iseldone praedicta usque ad et in praedictam turrem Londinii in dicto comitatu Middlesex praedicto die Septembris proditorie transivit et in eadem turre negotium praedictum in omnibus prout eidem Willielmo per dictos Ricardum et Edwardum ut praescribitur praeceptum fuit eodem quarto die Septembris apud turrem praedictam et in eadem turre in dicto comitatu Middlesex praefato Jacobo proditorie dixit fecit et performavit et ultimo—quod praedictus Jacobus proditorios animos et mentes praefatorum Ricardi ap Gruffith Edwardi et Willielmi ex dictis insinuatione et intimatione inde praefati Edwardi floyd eidem Jacobo factis sciens et agnoscens et duorum eorundem Ricardi Edwardi et Willielmi feloniis et proditoriis propositis et intentionibus ut praescribitur proditorie concensiens volens que eosdem Ricardum Edwardum et Willielmum ad dictas eorum prodiciones perficiendas quantum in eodem Jacobo adtunc extiterat proditorie adjuvare et succurrere tertio die Septembris anno vicesimo tertio supradicto apud dictam turrem Londinii in dicto comitatu Middlesex litteras quasdam proditorie scripsit et eas cuidam Johanni Hughes¹ proditorie direxit per quas litteras idem Jacobus intendens

¹ This John Hughes is probably the same as the one mentioned in Cromwell's "desperat obligations" next year. On Sept. 2, 1532, (*S. P.*, vol. v, 1285) Cromwell entered among his "obligations" that

pecunias pro praefato Ricardo providere et optinere ad dicta ejus et ipsius Jacobi falsta et proditoria proposita et intentiones perficienda et exequenda praefato Johanni Hughes inter cetera proditorie intimabat quod praefatus Ricardus ex necessitate unum vel duo de dominiis suis in Wallia existentibus vendere aut impignorare oportebat ad contendandum et solvendum dicto domino regi et ceteris creditoribus suis eorum debita. Et quod dominium praefati Ricardi de Emlyn pro diversis considerationibus aptum fuit pro praefato Johanne Hughes quod que si idem Johannes cum praefato Ricardo pro eodem dominio bargainare vellet idem Ricardus allocare volebat praefato Johanni antiquum debitum quod praedictus Jacobus eidem Johanni prius debebat, praedictusque Jacobus easdem litteras suas a dicta turre Londinii praefato Johanni Hughes per quemdam Willielmum ap John servientem ipsius Jacobi proditorie misit et deliberari fecit, et ulterius quod praedictus Jacobus dictos proditorios animos et mentes praefatorum Ricardi Edwardi et Willielmi ex dictis informatione et intimatione inde praefati Edwardi Ffloyd eidem Jacobo ut praedicatur factis sciens et agnoscens atque suprascriptis eorundem Ricardi Edwardi et Willielmi feloniis et proditoriis propositis et intentionibus ut praefertur concensiens proditorieque volens et appetens eosdem Ricardum Edwardum et Willielmum in practitionibus perpetrationibus et operationibus eorundem prodicionum praevalere secundo tertio et quarto diebus dicti mensis Septembris consilium opinionem et avisamentum ipsius Jacobi per dictos Edwardum et Willielmum diversis vicibus videlicet quolibet die eorundem dierum inter prefatos Ricardum et Jacobum tanquam nuntios eorundem Jacobi et Ricardi hinc et inde videlicet a turre praedicta a praefato Jacobo usque ad Iseldonem praedictam ad praedictum Ricardum et deinde ab ipso Ricardo usque ad et in turrem praedictam ad praefatum Jacobum euntes et redeuntes praefato Ricardo viis mediis et modis quibus iidem Ricardus et Jacobus nequissime potentissime et callidissime prodiciones supradictas per praefatos Ricardum Edwardum et Willielmum ut praedicatur compassatas et imaginatas perimplere exequi et perficere potuissent proditorie exhibuit

“by John Heughes of London to Sir Wm. Kyngeston (the constable of the Tower) and Sir Edw. Walsingham, that James Griffith Appowell shall be true prisoner in the Tower”.

misit et destinavit, et praeterea per sacramentum juratorum proditorie extitit praesentatus quod praefatus Ricardus ap Gruffith post dicta falsa et proditoria proposita sua ut praedicatur devisata et imaginata videlicet dicto primo die Septembris apud Iseldonem praedictam novum nomen videlicet Ryce ap Gruffith fitzuryen in se proditorie assumpsit hac intentione videlicet quod ipse statum et honorem dictae principalitatis Wallie proditoriis suis viis et mediis superscriptis dignius et sub praetenso tituli colore proditorie optinere poterat et habere. Sicque praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith Edwardus Ffloyd Willielmus Hughes et Jacobus ap Gruffith ap Howell depositionem et mortem supremi dicti domini regis Henrici octavi supradicti false et proditorie contra eorum legeancie debitum machinaverunt imaginaverunt et compassaverunt contra pacem coronam regiam et dignitatem suas et universum regnum dicti domini nostri regis nunc, &c., per quod praeceptum fuit vicecomiti quod non omitteret, &c., quin caperet eos si, &c., et modo scilicet die veneris proximo post octavum sancti Martini isto eodem termino coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium venerunt praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes per Willielmum Kyngston militem constabularium turris Londinii in cujus custodia perantea ex causa praedicta et aliis certis de causis commissi sunt ad barram hic ducti in propriis personis suis qui committuntur eidem constabulario, &c., et statim de prodicionibus praedictis eis separatim superius imponeriti separatim allocuti qualiter se velint inde acquietare dicunt separatim quod ipsi in nullo sunt inde culpabiles et inde de bono et malo separatim ponunt se super terram, &c., Ideo venit inde jurati coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium die lune proximo post quindenum sancti Martini et qui, &c., ad recognitionem, &c., Quia, &c., idem dies datus est praefati Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes in custodia praefati constabularii dictae turris Londinii, &c., ad quos diem et locum coram domino rege venerunt praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes sub custodia praefati constabularii turris Londinii in propriis personis suis et jurati exacti scilicet venerunt. Qui ad veritatem de praemissis dicendam electi triati et jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum quod praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes de altis prodicionibus praedictis eis superius imponeritis sunt culpabiles et uterque eorum est culpabilis eo quod praedictus Ricardus ap Gruffith habet diversa bona et catalla terras et tenementa in Wallia

sed quali aut de quo valore penitus ignorant. Eo quod praedictus Willielmus Hughes nulla habet bona catalla terras neque tenementa, &c., super quo instanter servientes domini regis ad legis ac ipsius regis attornati petunt iudicium et executionem versus eosdem Ricardum ap Gruffith et Willielmum Hughes superinde juxta debitam legis formam pro domino rege habendam et super hoc visis et per curiam hic diligenter examinatis et intellectis omnibus et singulis praemissis constitutum est quod praedicti Ricardus ap Gruffith et Willielmus Hughes ducantur per praefatum constabularium turris Londinii seu ejus locumtenentem usque eandem turrim et ab inde per medium civitatis Londinii usque ad furcas de Tyburn trahantur et ibidem suspendantur et uterque eorum suspendatur et viventes at terram prosternantur et uterque eorum vivens prosternatur et interiora sua extra ventres suos et utriusque eorum capiantur et ipsis viventibus comburentur et quod capita sua amputentur quodque corpora utriusque eorum in quatuor partes dividantur eo quod capita et quarteria illa ponantur ubi dominus rex ea assignare voluerit, &c."

No modern lawyer can read the Indictment through without being struck with the meagreness of the evidence and the inadequacy of the crime alleged against Rhys ap Griffith. Shorn of its technical phraseology the acts on account of which Rhys was found guilty of high treason—even if proved by satisfactory evidence—were not very serious, and not worthy of the extreme penalty of the law. But treason in Henry VIII's days, and for a century after, was a very different thing from what it has come to be considered in our own days. The law of evidence, as we know it, was unborn, and our modern maxim that every man is innocent till he is proved to be guilty would have excited the ridicule of every lawyer. Prisoners were first subjected to a private examination before the Council. They had no chance of seeing or cross-examining their accusers; they were not even told what the nature of the charges against them was. When, as was the case here, three men were jointly indicted, it was easy to work upon

the fears, the hopes, or the cupidity of one or more of them in their isolated anxiety. Before condemning a man for turning "King's evidence" we should know what induced him to tell what he knew; for it frequently happened that prisoners were told that their accomplices had already confessed in order to induce a further confession. The Council would, after an examination of this kind, send the prisoners for trial by a jury at Westminster. The Council felt no responsibility, knowing that the ultimate decision rested with another tribunal. The jury would be influenced by the knowledge that the Council had already inquired into the matter, and had considered the evidence sufficient. If the evidence which was made public—and it must be remembered that the jury would only hear the depositions read of the evidence already given before the Council and the comments of the prosecution and prisoners upon it—seemed to be inadequate, the jury would conclude that the Council was keeping back the most important part of it in the public interest.

On August 28, 1531, Rhys ap Griffith was alleged to have "plotted, imagined, and compassed the king's deposition and death" with his two servants—Edward Floyd and William Hughes—in his house at Islington. All the proof that was adduced was that the three had recalled to one another a prophecy which was said to be then current in Wales that "King Jamys with the Red Hand and the Ravens should conquer all England", that Rhys had intended to mortgage his lordships of Carew and Narberth to one Robert White, a citizen and draper of London, for £2,000, in order to enable him to fly secretly to the Isle of Man, thence to the "Wild Irish", and thence to King James of Scotland, and that King James was to lead a great army, with which he was to conquer England for himself, and Wales for Rhys ap Griffith.

To our modern notions the evidence was most unsatisfactory. The conversation, if it ever took place, could only have been known to the three persons concerned. Edward Floyd turned King's evidence, but in our days his evidence would have been insufficient to convict Rhys of high treason. Floyd's story could not have been corroborated by the admissions of Rhys and Hughes, who both died protesting their innocence. It is also the wholesome custom of our Courts to look with suspicion on the evidence of an accomplice. It is not altogether rejected, but it is only accepted after jealous scrutiny and after submitting it to severe tests. But these refinements were unknown to the lawyers of Tudor times. Sir Walter Raleigh, in the next century, was convicted on evidence quite as unsatisfactory.¹ Henry Rice was only justified by our later standard in submitting that there was no satisfactory evidence upon which to convict Rhys on the first count of the Indictment. Rice's other points are hardly conclusive. He lays great stress upon the fact that King James was not known as "James of the Red Hand". But the phrase "with the Red Hand" does not refer to a personal peculiarity of the King of Scots, but to the old Welsh tradition of Owen Lawgoch. Nor is there much substance in the plea that Henry VIII and his nephew of Scotland were at peace. The two countries were nominally at amity, but the period in question was halfway between Flodden and Pinkie. In October 1528 Henry had to write to James V to warn him to desist from advancing to the borders, for if he did not Henry would be compelled to adopt precautionary measures.² Two years later, James

¹ Edwards's *Life of Raleigh*, i, 388. For an excellent description of the law of treason as it stood in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vol. i, p. 123 *seq.*

² *S. P.*, vol. iv, pt. iii, 204 App.

ap Griffith found refuge and help in the Court of Scotland, and in the lifetime of Henry himself, the Scots were to be crushed again in the stricken field of Solway Moss. The relations of the two countries were undoubtedly disturbed, but after making every allowance for Henry's anxieties on this head, it must be confessed that a vague and casual conversation between master and men, even if proved, was not a sufficient ground to sustain a charge of high treason.

The second allegation is more definite. Rhys is accused of having on several occasions sent Edward Floyd to James ap Griffith, who was still a prisoner in the Tower, to persuade him to enter into the conspiracy, and, as a sign of his fidelity, to partake of the holy sacrament with Rhys. Floyd is said to have broached the matter to James ap Griffith on Friday, September 1—four days after the treasonable conversation at the house at Islington—and to have told him, after receiving his adherence to the scheme, to put as much trust in William Hughes, another of Rhys's servants, as in himself, Edward Floyd. A mysterious and traitorous significance is attached to Edward Floyd's statement to James that Rhys wanted as much money as possible, that he did not care—like many another borrower before and since—what liabilities he incurred to obtain it, that Rhys would never prosper in anything except that which he achieved with his own hands, and that he would never return to Wales except to have the whole land at his good pleasure and command. A vague charge is made, for which no evidence was adduced, that on the following day, Saturday, September 2, several messages were exchanged between Rhys and James. On Sunday, September 3, James ap Griffith writes to one John Hughes, presumably a wealthy Welsh friend resident in London, offering to sell or mortgage to him the lord-

ship of Emlyn on behalf of Rhys, who wanted the money "to pay his debts to the King and his other creditors". James's messenger was William ap John, his own servant. On Monday, September 4, William Hughes, another of Rhys's servants, went to the Tower and conversed with James. He repeated to the prisoner the words which Edward Floyd had used of him on the previous Friday, that James could put as much trust in him as in Floyd, and having in this way gained James's confidence, the two are alleged to have indulged in a treasonable talk in the same strain as the one already detailed. One other "treasonable" allegation is made, that Rhys, on September 1—the day of Floyd's interview with James in the Tower—assumed the name and title of Fitz-Urien!

This was all the evidence which the Crown was able to scrape together, after weeks of preparation, and after every kind of sinister inducement had been held out to the witnesses. James ap Griffith had not once seen Rhys himself; he had only the word of Floyd for it that he was an emissary from Rhys. The whole story is fatuous, if not incredible. On a Monday, a conspiracy is hatched at Islington against the King. The chief plotter, instead of hastening into Wales, or sending messengers to prepare his retainers and tenants, remains supinely within easy distance of the King, and he is only anxious a week later to enlist the sympathy of a man who was a prisoner in the Tower. Nothing is done, or attempted to be done. Not a man is raised, not a letter or messenger sent to James of Scotland, the pivot upon which the success of the plan would turn. Even assuming that the story told by the prosecution was true in all particulars, there was no overt act done, unless, indeed, the alleged assumption of the name and title of Fitz-Urien by Rhys can be so described. There was no proof of Rhys's connection with the alleged

plot. The whole of the events took place within eight days, between Monday, August 28, and Monday, September 4. For another seventeen days, until September 21, the Crown waited and watched. Rhys made no move; none of the conspirators did anything; the plot did not "march". At last, Rhys is cast into the Tower, the authorities despairing of his further implicating himself. If the Government really believed in the existence of a genuine plot, no one who has any knowledge of the Machiavelian statecraft of Thomas Cromwell would doubt that he would have played a little longer with his victim, and would have allowed him a little more rope to hang himself withal. The arrest of Rhys, after his admitted inactivity for seventeen days, shows that the Government had given up all hope of his further incriminating himself.

The witnesses against Rhys, it is almost certain, were Edward Floyd, his servant, and James ap Griffith, his father's cousin. Though Floyd was indicted with his master and fellow-servant, his name is absent from the barbarous sentence which was passed upon them, and from the Act of Attainder which received the sanction of Parliament in 1532.¹ Floyd was the most active agent of the conspiracy, and if his story was true he was the most guilty of the four. The fact that he escaped punishment is strong evidence that he purchased immunity by betraying his master. Henry Rice states that "the *Ladie Katherine Howard* did take much pains to be trulie informed of this Edward Floyd: who knowing in her own heart her husband's innocencie, and fearing the ruyne of herself and children, left no stone unmoved wherby this

¹ Henry Rice says that Floyd and James were the only two that "gave in evidence against Rice, being both of them condemned with him, but afterwards pardoned." But this appears to be an error. James was never tried, and Lloyd was not convicted.

practice might be discovered. At length (by the help of her friends and God's direction) shee found out that this man was corrupted with a reward of five hundred marks to betray his master, and this also was proved by divers others."

That James ap Griffith was also a hostile witness against his nephew is as certain as anything can well be. He was more deeply implicated than William Hughes; he was a man of higher position than Edward Floyd. Yet he is not indicted with the others; it would almost appear as if he was the informer who put the Government on its guard. The subject of his conversation with Floyd on Friday, September 1, could have been disclosed by Floyd; the letters which he wrote on Sunday, September 3, and sent by his servant, might have been intercepted; but no one but James himself could have related the conversation which he had in the Tower with William Hughes on Monday, September 4, for not a word did Hughes utter against his master; else he would probably have been spared his barbarous and ignominious death at Tyburn. It is, indeed, not necessary to believe the account of James's share in the ignoble transaction which is given by Henry Rice. The age was not squeamish; sixteen years later we find the Duchess of Richmond giving evidence which led her brother, the gallant Earl of Surrey, to the block, while her father, the Duke of Norfolk—Rhys ap Griffith's brother-in-law—was more concerned with saving himself than with clearing his son. But it is hardly credible that even in that age, when the misunderstood and misapplied doctrines of Machiavelli exercised so sinister an influence on conduct, and when the new ideas represented by the Renaissance and the Reformation snapped the old ties of conventional morality and honour, one kinsman would have deliberately set himself to ruin another.

The motive of revenge which Henry Rice ascribes to James has already been shown to be impossible. The details of the story itself, as given by Rice, are no less incredible.

“James ap Griffith and Edward Floyd (the one’s heart full of revenge, the other of corruption and treachery) did oftentimes meet and consult by what means they might lay matters of treason to Rice his charge, and (as fitting for their purpose at that time) they called to mind an unfortunate blank of Rice’s, which had long layne in the hands of James ap Griffith, and was gotten upon this occasion. James ap Griffith, a man of mean estate, having his chieftest stay of living from the said Rice, and being on a time verie familiar together, desired the said Rice his letter to a gentleman in North Wales for a farm, which was then to be lett, which the said Rice granted to him ; but never a clerk being present to write the letter, the said James persuaded Rice to subscribe to a blank, and that Edward Floyd, his clerk, should indite the letter according to his meaning. In this blank was set doune matter enough for the Indictment.”

The charge of such horrible and cold-blooded treachery by one kinsman against another could only be justified by the clearest proof ; and such proof is entirely absent. Had Floyd and James ap Griffith deliberately plotted “oftentimes” how to inveigle Rhys into a conspiracy, they could easily have done their work more thoroughly and satisfactorily. It is true that James is said to have written a treasonable letter to John Hughes, which was twisted also into some sort of evidence against Rhys. But the letter to Hughes, as summarised by the unfriendly hand which drew up the Indictment, does not sustain the charge made by Henry Rice against James ap Griffith. It certainly does not read like the letter of a man who was trying to implicate another in a charge of treason. That James, however, did give evidence against his nephew is beyond contradiction. Not only was he not placed in the dock to stand his trial with the others, not only was evidence of conversations given which could only be sworn

to by James himself, but family tradition is so strong on the point as to be all but conclusive, without further corroboration. Henry Rice states plainly that James was one of the two hostile witnesses. In the Phillips MS. No. 14,416, now in the Cardiff Library, there occurs the following marginal note, which is not found in the *Cambrian Register* :—

“James ap Griffith (a man banished for divers reasons and excepted in all pardons) did confess beyond seas to divers of his acquaintance this damnable practice of his against Rice, and being sore troubled in conscience he returned home with intent to acknowledge his offence and to submit himself to my grandfather [*i. e.*, Griffith Rice, the son of Rhys and the Lady Katherine]. And he (my grandfather not enduring to hear of him) retired himself into Cardiganshire, where he died most miserably ; there are some yet alive will affirm this from my grandfather’s mouth.”

A still stronger, because a direct contemporary and unconscious proof, is supplied by an entry in the Acts of the Privy Council, which has already been cited for another purpose. In 1548 James Leche petitioned to have his annuity continued, which had been granted him

“in respect of his old service in thapprehencion of James Griffith Apowell, traitour and outlawe, *who appeched Sir Rice Griffith, attainted for treason.*”

But though it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that James ap Griffith turned King’s evidence against his nephew, there is no evidence to convict him of malicious and deliberate treachery. Indeed, the presumption is all the other way. As far as one can discover, there was an entire absence of motive. Rhys had done him no wrong ; they were “verie familiar” together ; James was in prison for having, presumably, acted in conjunction with Rhys. Had he been bent on ruining his nephew, he could easily, on account of his intimacy and relationship with Rhys, have manufactured evidence against him. Moreover, Rhys

was undoubtedly popular in South Wales, and his betrayer would have received short shrift at the hands of Rhys's supporters and friends. Yet, James went back and lived in peace for some time in South Wales after his release from the Tower. His ancient friendship with Thomas ap Rhydderch of Cryngae, and David Vaughan of Kidwelly, does not appear to have been impaired, which we may assume would not have been the case had James been guilty of the unutterable baseness which is laid to his charge by Henry Rice.¹ What probably happened was that the Government was anxious to make a case against Rhys, that it worked upon the cupidity of Floyd, and upon the fears or hopes of James—Cromwell, indeed, would have thought little of extracting confessions from them by use of the rack—that they told what they knew, and that the prosecution placed their own interpretation on perfectly innocent transactions. It was not by the evidence of Floyd and James that Rhys ap Griffith was condemned. An unscrupulous prosecution, working on a timorous jury, obtained a verdict of guilty; but it is manifestly clear that the real cause of Rhys's downfall was the jealousy of a savage and suspicious king.²

¹ James's son, Jenkyn, married a daughter of Thomas ap Rhydderch's only daughter and heiress. David Vaughan, Kidwelly, helped James to escape by boat from Kidwelly in the summer of 1533, and as late as April 30, 1536, we have Bishop Lee writing to Cromwell from Brecknock, "You are advertised from this Council that David Vaughan, officer of Kidwelly in Wales, is accused by your servant Jankyn Lloyd for assisting the rebellion of James ap Howell Griffith." (*S. P.*, vol. x, 763.)

² Mr. David Jones mentions, in his article in the *Arch. Cambr.*, another family tradition found in the Dale MSS., that Rhys fell "through the treacherous malice of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk". That the Duke did not interfere very zealously in behalf of his kinsman may be taken for granted; but there is no more evidence to convict him than James ap Griffith of "treacherous malice".

The verdict of contemporaries was certainly against the king, and it must be remembered that the facts were known to all men after the public trial in Westminster. Chapuys, writing to Charles V on the morning of Rhys ap Griffith's execution, sums up the case as follows:—

“The cause of his condemnation is, as far as I have been informed, that he would not confess that one of his own servants had solicited him to revenge the wrongs he complained of by entering into a conspiracy and subsequently taking flight to Scotland, where he could easily, owing to his influence over the Welsh, and to the general discontent caused by this divorce, have persuaded the king to make the conquest of this kingdom. And although the said Rice had not accepted the offers made to him, nor entered into the conspiracy, yet as he would not confess who it was who solicited him, he was condemned to death, notwithstanding the many apologies he made; and there is a rumour about town that had it not been for the king's lady, who hated him because he and his wife had spoken disparagingly of her, he would have been pardoned and escaped his miserable fate.¹

Here we have probably the true explanation of the tragic death of Rhys ap Griffith. He was, like most of his countrymen at the time, a sincere Catholic; he had been befriended by Cardinal Wolsey; he was on the side of the old Queen in the matter of the King's divorce. Anne Boleyn was not yet acknowledged as wife or mistress by the King; but she was maturing her plans, which were being furthered by her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk. It is easy to understand with what hatred Anne and her uncle would regard anyone, especially one who might have been expected, on account of his close relationship, to support her claims, who “spoke disparagingly” of her in those anxious days when her position had not been secured.

All the evidence we have goes to show that contempo-

¹ It would have been quite sufficient to secure a conviction if the facts alleged by Chapuys were proved against Rhys. See Gardiner, i, 123 *seq.*

aries regarded Rhys as being innocent of the accusations laid to his charge. Even Ellis Griffith, prejudiced as he was against Rhys's family, could only say that Rhys had paid the penalty for the sins of his forefathers. The one suggestion we find, that there was something in the allegation that Rhys put some credence in the Lawgoch prophecy, is to be met with in the confession of William Nevill, who, in describing his visit to the wizard Jones at Oxford, says that he replied to a remark of the wizard's "that the late Duke of Buckingham, young Ryse, and others, had cast themselves away by too much trust in prophecies".¹ But all the other evidence goes to show that Chapuys was interpreting the popular feeling when he declared Rhys to be innocent. In August 1534, Martin de Cornoca writes to Charles V from Venice with reference to Reginald Pole, who was then residing in that city. He says that Pole's father was "a worthy knight of Wales", and that his family had great influence in the Principality. "On account of their love for the Princess and the death of don Ris, who was beheaded three years ago, the whole province is alienated from the king."² In November of the same year Chapuys writes to the Emperor to say that he understands the people of Wales are very angry at the ill-treatment of the Queen and Princess, and also at what is done against the faith, "for they have always been good Christians. Not long ago there was in that district a mutiny against the governor of the county on account of a certain execution, when the governor was very nearly undone, and it is said the people only wait for a chief to take the field." We have no record of this "mutiny", unless it be that of Rhys in 1529, or James in 1530. But probably it refers to a "mutiny" which took place after the execution of Rhys.

¹ *S. P.*, Dec. 30, 1532, vol. v, 1106.

² *S. P.*, vol. vii, 1040.

Even in England men thought Rhys an ill-used man. One of the allegations against John Hale, the Vicar of Isleworth, in 1535, was that he told one Feron that Ireland was set against the King, and added, "And what think ye of Wales? Their noble and gentle Ap Ryce so cruelly put to death, and he innocent, as they say, in the cause."¹ What was the popular view of the transaction may be gathered from a story which Henry Rice heard related in the next century by the Earl of Nottingham, "the only man of note now living who came nearest those times". The story may be mythical, but it is an index of what people thought and said of the matter, even after the public trial at Westminster.

"The king one daie at Wandsworth hawking at the brooke, his falcon being seized of a fowle, there came by accident a raven, that put his falcon from the quarry, whereat the king chafed exceedingly. One standing by (as malice is ever watchful to do mischief) steps to the king and whispered him in the eare, saying, 'Sir, you see how peremptorie this raven is growne, and therefore it is high time to pull him down, therefore to secure your majestie, and to prevent his insolencies'."

The King made no reply, but brooded over the matter. To such a mind and temper as Henry's, the remembrance of his family's obligations to the house of Dynevor could not fail to be irksome and irritating to a degree. He had not broken with old Sir Rhys ap Thomas, but he had never shown any favour to his grandson, and it is no wonder if Rhys used to complain to his associates that "Welshmen and priests were sore disdained nowadays".² If we may believe Henry Rice, Queen Elizabeth—who was a second cousin through her mother to Griffith Rice—was "so well satisfied of the extreme and bad measure offered to Rice Griffith, that she never looked upon any of his

¹ *S. P.*, vol. viii, 609.

² *S. P.*, vol. viii, 567.

children, but as upon spectacles of infinite sufferance ; in-
somuch that she would often say she was indebted both to
justice and her father's honour till she had repaired them.
But my grandfather, and father after him, met with here-
ditarie enemies¹ at court, and thus stands our case."

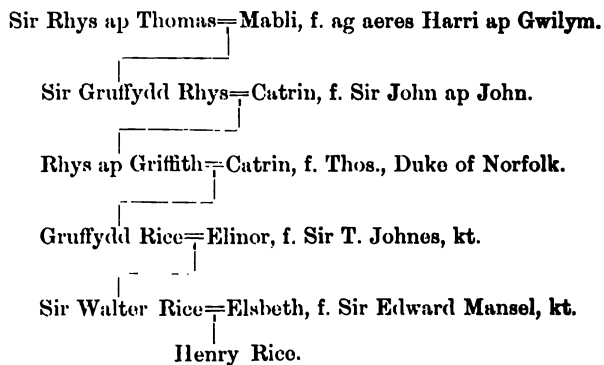
III.

JAMES AP GRIFFITH IN EXILE.

After the death of Rhys ap Griffith, the interest of the narrative shifts to James ap Griffith ap Howell. It is extremely difficult to discover exactly what happened after Rhys's execution on December 4, 1531, when and how James was released from custody, and what events led to his exile and long odyssey. We must be content with surmises, and trust to the discovery of new facts from time to time to throw further light on the dark passages in the story.

In a letter to a friend, one Vitus Theodorus, "teacher

¹ Probably the Devereuxes, one of whom, Lord Essex, was the Queen's favourite in her later years. A genealogy of the Rices may be useful, taken from Lewis Dwnn :—



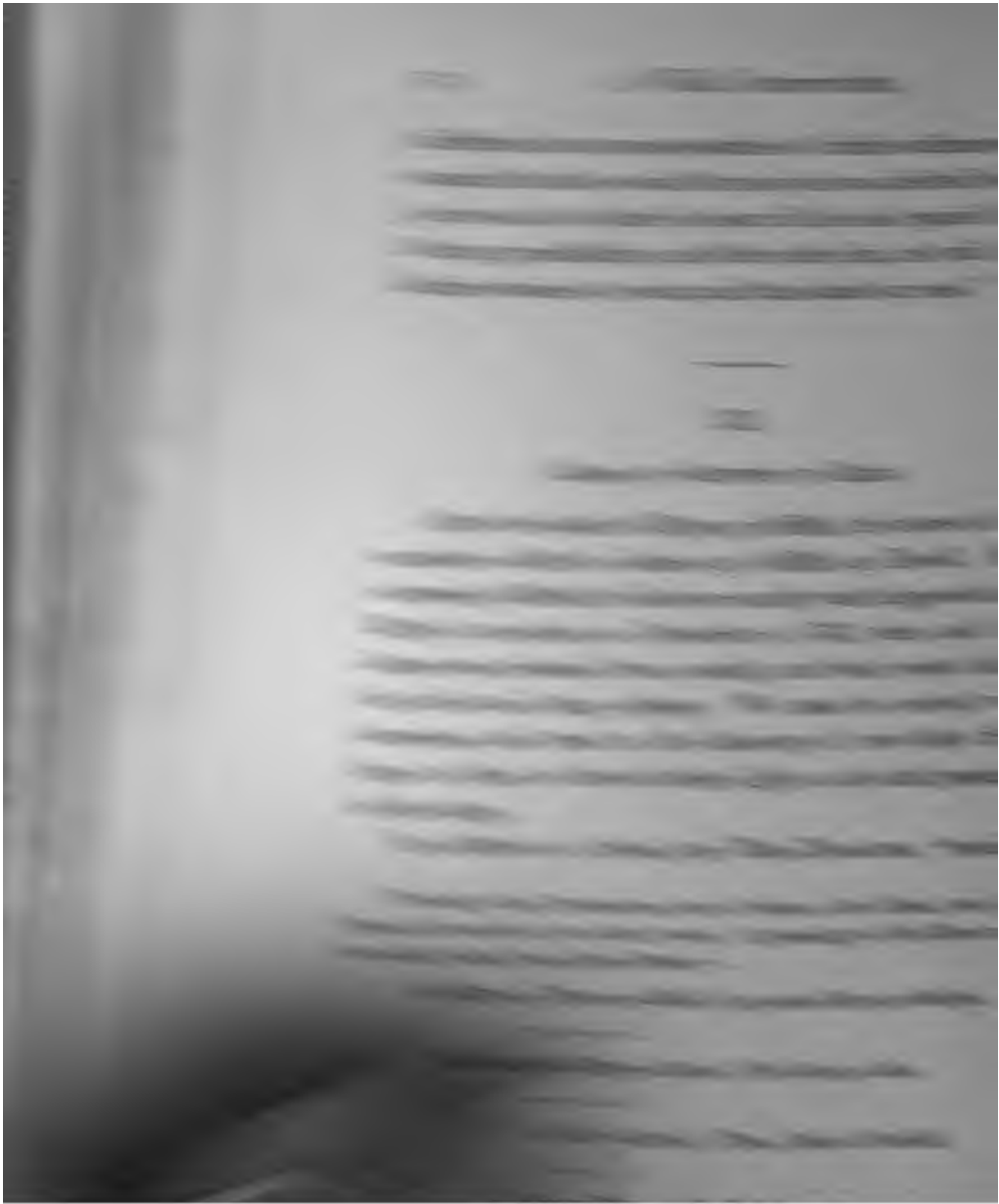
of the Gospel in the church of Nuremberg," written probably from Wittenberg in April 1537,¹ Philip Melancthon gives us a captivating glimpse at James's life on the Continent, and a suggestion of the account which James gave of himself :—

"I have given these letters to an Englishman who asked me to commend him to you. He held land of his own in which he could raise 12,000 soldiers, and was moreover Governor of Wales, but spoke rather freely against the Divorce. To him was particularly commended the daughter of the first Queen, because she had the title of Princess of Wales, and therefore he grieved at the contumelies put upon her. He was afterwards put in prison, from which, after a year and three months, he escaped by making a rope out of cloth. I beg you to receive and console him. His exile is long, his misfortune long, and he seems a modest man. Here he has asked for nothing. I think he takes little pleasure in the court."²

In the midst of much loud talk and gasconading, which seems to have been taken as gospel truth by the simple and trustful Melancthon, we have one statement of fact which can be relied on. James said that he had been imprisoned for fifteen months, and he was not likely to understate the amount of his sufferings. We may dismiss, as mere braggadocio, his tale about his escape from prison "by making a rope out of cloth". He was probably, as Henry Rice said, remorseful as to the part he had played in Rhys's trial, and was unwilling to admit, even to his own conscience, much less to a Protestant, that he had earned his pardon by betraying his kinsman. But he

¹ *S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. i, 845.

² However much we may reprehend James's habit of boasting of mythical ancient splendours, let us charitably remember that it is the besetting sin of those who "have seen better days", and that James did not dwell on his misfortunes with the view to "obtaining money by false pretences", but that he refrained from asking Melancthon for anything.



of the Gospel in the church of Nuremberg," written probably from Wittenberg in April 1537,¹ Philip Melancthon gives us a captivating glimpse at James's life on the Continent, and a suggestion of the account which James gave of himself:—

"I have given these letters to an Englishman who asked me to commend him to you. He held land of his own in which he could raise 12,000 soldiers, and was moreover Governor of Wales, but spoke rather freely against the Divorce. To him was particularly commended the daughter of the first Queen, because she had the title of Princess of Wales, and therefore he grieved at the contumelies put upon her. He was afterwards put in prison, from which, after a year and three months, he escaped by making a rope out of cloth. I beg you to receive and console him. His exile is long, his misfortune long, and he seems a modest man. Here he has asked for nothing. I think he takes little pleasure in the court."²

In the midst of much loud talk and gasconading, which seems to have been taken as gospel truth by the simple and trustful Melancthon, we have one statement of fact which can be relied on. James said that he had been imprisoned for fifteen months, and he was not likely to understate the amount of his sufferings. We may dismiss, as mere braggadocio, his tale about his escape from prison "by making a rope out of cloth". He was probably, as Henry Rice said, remorseful as to the part he had played in Rhys's trial, and was unwilling to admit, even to his own conscience, much less to a Protestant, that he had earned his pardon by betraying his kinsman. But he

¹ *S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. i, 845.

² However much we may reprehend James's habit of boasting of mythical ancient splendours, let us charitably remember that it is the besetting sin of those who "have seen better days", and that James did not dwell on his misfortunes with the view to "obtaining money by false pretences", but that he refrained from asking Melancthon for anything.

had no motive to understate the period of his imprisonment, and we may therefore take it that he was lodged in the Tower altogether for fifteen months. If, as is likely, he was first arrested in October 1530, the fifteen months would be up in January 1532, just a month or so after the execution of Rhys. This is as we should have expected, but there are several difficulties still in the way. On June 20, 1532, James petitioned the King for his pardon in the following terms:—

“To the king our Sovereigne Lorde.

“Please it your highnes of your moste abundante grace to graunte unto your desolate subject James Gruffyth ap Howell being prisoner in Westminster your most gracious letters of pardon in due forme undre your greate seall to be made after the forme and effect hereafter ensuyng and that this bill signed with your most gracious handle maye be a sufficient warrant and discharge unto the Lord Keper of your grete seale without suying of any other writing or warrant under your signet prively seale or otherwise. And your said orator shall continually during his lif pray for the good preservation of your moste noble estate being long to endure,” etc.

Then follows the “form and effect” of the pardon, signed by the King, in the same terms as those in which it was afterwards enrolled.¹

Two things are worthy of note in this Sign Bill. Its date is June 20, 1532, and in it James ap Griffith is described as being a “prisoner in Westminster”. In the engrossed pardon² (and in the printed State Papers) the

¹ *S. P.*, vol. v, 1139 (18).

² The pardon, which is in common form, and not worth reproduction here, is made out to James Griffith ap Howel of the various lordships already mentioned, and absolves James of all “prodicionēs tam majores quam minores ac . . . alias prodicionēs quascunque mūrdrā homicidia felonias roberias burgulara abjuraciones raptā capciones et abductiones mulierum quecumque per ipsum Jacobum ante hec tempora,” etc. The mistake as to the date was probably a

date is wrongly given as June 20, 1531. As we have seen, that date is impossible, for in August and September of that year we know, from the indictment against Rhys ap Griffith, that James was still a prisoner in the Tower. In the fifth volume of the State Papers (No. 657) certain "fines made with divers persons by the King's Council" are assigned to the end of the year 1531. Among them we find one John ab Owen, late prisoner in the Tower, who "sometimes was towards Rice Griffith", fined £26 13s. 4d.;¹ while in Cromwell's own hand there is added, "James Griffith ap Howell, for his pardon £526 13s. 4d.," 400 marks of which being "in obligations". A few pages later (No. 683) we find "instructions by the King as to Rice ap Griffith's property", so that in all probability John ab Owen and James ap Griffith were fined for their pardons almost immediately after the conclusion of Rhys's trial. But the pardon would perhaps not become operative until the fine was paid. Is not this the explanation of the fact that James was still described in June 1532 as a "prisoner in Westminster"? After receiving his promise of pardon on payment of a fine, he may have been removed from the Tower to Westminster as the King's debtor. On June 13, 1532—after the Bill of Attainder against Rhys ap Griffith, which had been passed in the previous January—instructions were given to four Commissioners, Thomas Jones, Morris ap Harry, John Smythe, and William Brabazon, to take possession of all Rhys's lands, etc., and deliver them to the King, and

clerical error, but it is barely possible that he was pardoned only for offences committed before June 1531, and that his complicity in Rhys ap Griffith's so-called "conspiracy" was still to be held *in terrorem* over his head. (*Pat. Rolls*, 23 H. VIII, p. i, m. 34.)

¹ Can this be the Thomas ab Owen, Rhys's kinsman, who was imprisoned by Lord Ferrers? No further reference is to be found to this John ab Owen.

ascertain, at the same time, what lands and goods were possessed by James Griffith ap Howell.

"Item, ye shall also inquire . . . by all the manners and weyes ye can possiblie what landes, houses or hereditaments James ap Griffith ap Howell hath, whether in Wales, Englande, and the marches of the same and what yerelie saum they do amounte to, and to certifie us and our counsaill therefore. Item, ye shall also inquire to make sure by all the speediness ye can devise what ffermes, etc., the said Jaymes ap Griffith ap Howell hath or hadd . . . and what yearlie profits they amounted to. . . . Item, as to cattle, in whose hands," etc. (*S. P.*, vol. v, 724, 9.)

On the very same day, June 13, 1532, Cromwell wrote to the King, evidently in answer to Henry's inquiry, that he could not "inform the King of the conclusion of James Griffiths ap Howell's matter, as he had not spoken with Mr. Treasurer of the Household, who will to-day be at Westminster."² This, it will be observed, was seven days before the final pardon was drawn up and executed. On the following September 2, we find an entry among Cromwell's "desperat obligations"³ one "by John Heughes, of London, to Sir William Kyngstone and Sir Edward Walsingham, that James Griffith Appowell shall be true prisoner in the Tower." James's fine seems never to have been paid in full. Late in 1533, among "the debts remaining upon sundry obligations to the King's use", we twice find James ap Griffith's name.⁴ In February 1535,

A very interesting account of Rhys ap Griffith's property is given, not only in the computus of William Brabazon (*S. P.*, vol. v, No. 448), but also in the Treasury Receipts (Record Office), Miscellaneous Books, 151, where a minute description of each of his "castells" of Emlyn, Carew, Narberth, Newton (Dinefwr), and Abermarles is given.

² *S. P.*, vol. v, 1092.

³ *S. P.*, vol. v, 1285.

⁴ *S. P.*, vol. vi, 1613.

among the "obligations due at and before the Purification of our Lady next" is entered £66 13s. 4d. from James; and among the bonds to the King "not yet due" on that date, are two sums, one of £266 13s. 4d. from James ap Griffith and Walter Boules, and another of £66 13s. 4d. from James ap Griffith. Of the fine of £526 13s. 4d. it would seem that James only paid £126 13s. 4d., and that the other £400 was still owing. May not this account for the entry, already cited, concerning John Hughes's "obligation" to the Constable of the Tower that James ap Griffith shall be "true prisoner in the Tower"? May it not also explain the somewhat mysterious origin of James's connection with Harry Ellington, a merchant of Bristol?

Henry, or Harry, Ellington was a man of unsavoury reputation and worse character. The first mention we have of him in the State Papers is when he was an apprentice to a merchant named Abraham, of London, and resident in the Low Countries. He was then concerned in a bit of sharp practice, which was the subject of complaint on the part of the English agent at Antwerp.¹ Some years after we find him a prisoner in the Tower, writing on May 28, 1532, to Cromwell²:—

¹ 1525. *S. P.*, vol. iv, No. 1794. Ellington, apprentice to Thos. Abraham, merchant adventurer, is alleged in a Bill in Chancery to have bought "182 pieces of camlet worth £207, at the Sykson mart in Antwerp in 1523, and for which he refuses to pay". The bill given by Ellington to the merchant, Rodericus Royfernandus, was not signed by Abraham; and the Dutch merchant had therefore never been paid.

² The date assigned to this letter in the printed State Papers, is May 28, 1533, but that must be an error, for we find him "about Whitsuntide" (which fell on June 1 in that year) starting from Kidwelly with James ap Griffith. According to his own account, he had been with James for some days before the start, and he had been twice to London on business for him. He could not, therefore, have been in the Tower in May 1533. On May 19, 1534, we know he was

"Since I left Bristol, during mine imprisonment in the Tower, I have sustained great wrongs and losses in the town of Bristol, of which I should be glad to inform you. I beseech you, therefore, to send some token to the lieutenant of the Tower, that he will license me to come to you." (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 551.)

In a "confession", which he made to Stephen Vaughan, Cromwell's agent in the Low Countries, Ellington relates how he came to be connected with James ap Griffith.

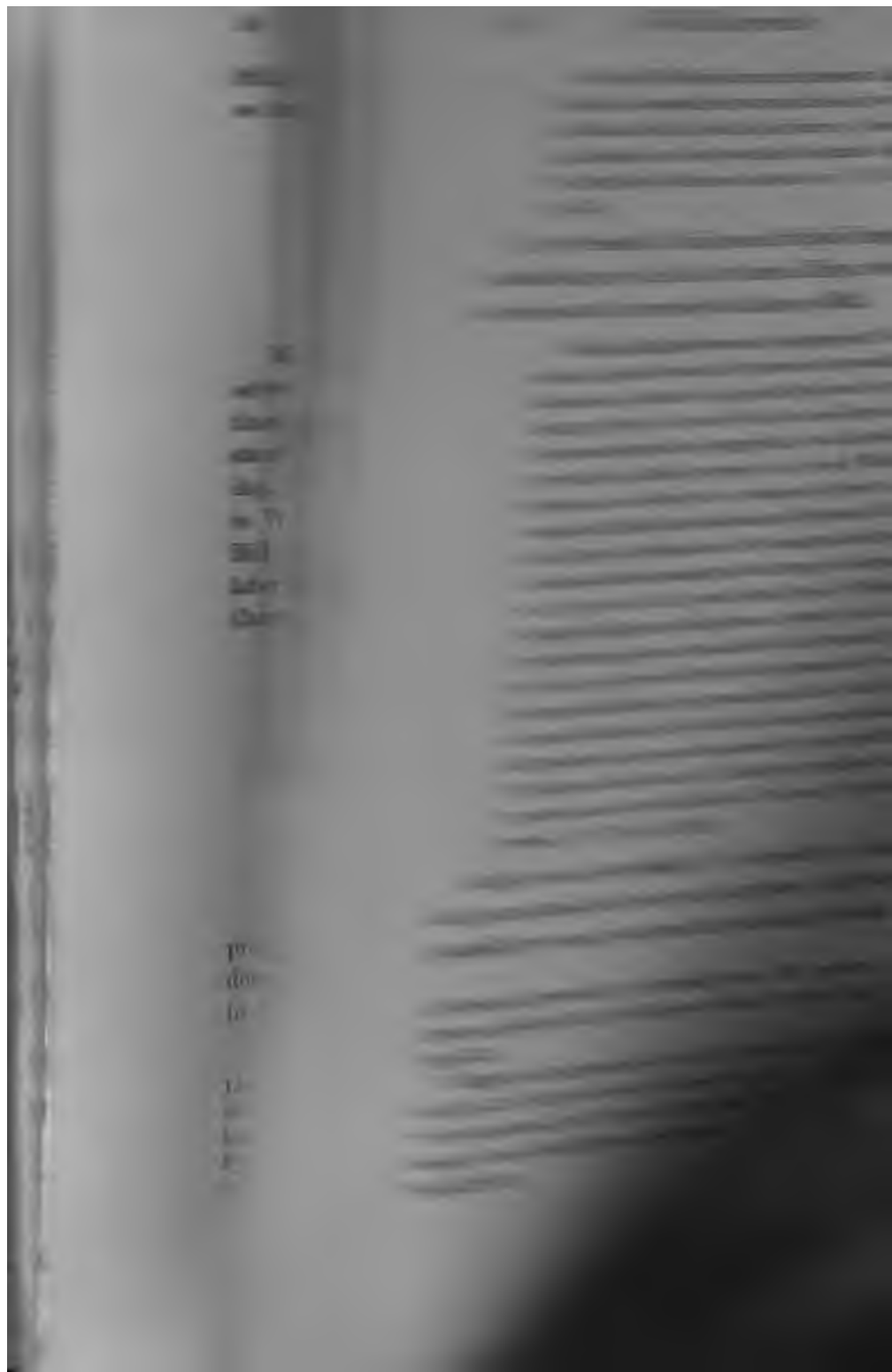
"Master Vaghan, the cawsse of my departynge out of the realm of ynglande was this, Fyrst where I was presonad in the toware of London for Jamys Greffythe apowell at my comyng to lyberty I came to Walls to the said Jamys for to have restietycion for my chargys that I was at in tyme of my trobill, and then he promysyd me xl pecys of Welche ffrysse and mor desiryd me to remayne with hyme for a monyth and that then he wolde make me Delyverance of the said xl pecys of ffryssis and so in the meantyme he sent me to tymys to London consarnynge the hurtynge [not *huntynge*, as it is given in the printed State Papers] of Wylliam Vaghan of Kylgarron [not *Kylgarson*, as printed], and so at my last comynge home frome London I bad hyme send no mor but goo hyme sellfe wythe his payments and in so doynge he shuld have hys porpos and apon this he toke his advys and within to or iii dais after he came to me and said Harry wher as you geve me this counsell to goo up my sellfe I wyll not so dowe for and yf I shulde goo up wythe part of my money and not with the hole I fere me to be put in prisson."¹ (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1548.)

Amid so much uncertainty, it is impossible to walk with a sure tread, and we can only conjecture, with what plausibility we may, what was the real course of events.

in Bristol, and presumably in Cromwell's favour. The conjecture is therefore justified that the letter was written from the Tower in May 1532.

¹ Ellington's last appearance in the *State Papers* is characteristic. On April 22, 1534, he writes to Cromwell to inform him officially "of certain causes", and in the following May he receives the confession of one of the culprits, a goldsmith of Bristol. (*S. P.*, vol. vii, Nos. 532, 692.)

It would seem, then, that the offence for which James ap Griffith had been fined was "the hurtynge" of William Vaughan, of Cilgerran. This incident has already been dealt with, and we have accepted, as a working hypothesis, that Vaughan was so "hurt" while attempting to apprehend James in October 1530. Immediately after the execution of Rhys, *i.e.*, before the end of 1531, James is fined the large sum of £526 13s. 4d. (probably equivalent to about £7,000 of our money) for his pardon. At this time, no enquiry had been held as to the amount and value of James's possessions, and James, no doubt, was glad to purchase his life at whatever cost. In January 1532, if James's story to Melancthon can be relied on, he was released from the Tower on finding sureties for the payment of the fine, though in the following June James is still a "prisoner in Westminster". One John Hughes, of London—probably the same as James's correspondent in September 1531, who is mentioned in the Indictment of Rhys—was certainly one of those who entered into an "obligation" on behalf of James. Henry Ellington seems to have been another, according to his own story, for he was at some time a prisoner in the Tower, and put to certain "chargys" for James ap Griffith. The Walter Boules, mentioned as jointly with James indebted to the King in the sum of £266 13s. 4d., may have been a third surety. On June 13, 1532, Cromwell, finding the King becoming impatient, instructs Commissioners to inquire into the extent and value of James's estate and goods, and seven days later a formal pardon is made out to him. The "prisoner in Westminster" probably then hurried home—not to Emlyn, which was in the hands of the King's Commissioners since the attainder of Rhys, but yet somewhere not far from the town of Carmarthen. It may be he went to Castell Maelgwn on the banks of the Teivi in Pembrokeshire, but



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this again we are slow to believe. Had James been there, it would have been easy for him to set sail from the Pembrokeshire or Cardiganshire coast for Ireland in 1533, instead of embarking at Kidwelly, as we know he did. Mention is made in David Williams's confession of one "Rether ap Davyd ap Jankyn, in whose house the said Gryffith was lodged in South Gare", and it is not unlikely that, while the King's Commissioners were making an inquisition into his property, James and his family found refuge in a friend's house in "South Gare" (South Carmarthenshire?). We know that "about Whitsuntide" 1533, James was somewhere in Carmarthenshire. David Williams, in his confession, says that

"Thom's ap Rother of the Krongarth was a gret frend of the saide Gryffith and offered him iiii men to ayde him as Gryffith sayed, and that one David Vaughan of Kidwellys land brought the saide Gryffith to the waterside at his departing out of Wales, and that David Meredith of Kidwellys land aforesaid was also a grete ffrende and ffautor of the saide Gryffithes with also one Rether ap Davyd ap Jenkyn in whose house the saide Gryffith was lodged in South Gare, and the said David sayeth that James Gryffith would often make moche mone that he had no wey to convey lettres into Englonde to one Fraunces Nevile. He also seyeth that Walter ap John was a ffautor and frend of the said Gryffith, and kept him moche company in Wales long tyme before he departed to Scotland." (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1591.)

The reference to Francis Nevile, with whom James wanted to get into touch, is significant. On December 30, 1532, a William Nevill confessed to certain treasonable practices. A sentence in his confession, which has already been quoted, shows that he was acquainted with the story, if not with the person, of Rhys ap Griffith. James, in his inaccessible home, "makes much moan" that he was not in communication with another Nevill. He tries to ward off the Government's suspicion by

sending Ellington twice up to London to pay off instalments of his fine; in all he paid £126 13s. 4d. There is no doubt, however, that his mind was full of plots and schemes to overthrow the King. He had probably been ruined by the infliction of the heavy fine, following close upon his patron's death. His predilections were Catholic, and he supported the old Queen against her supplanter. He professed to David Williams that he was in communication with Queen Catherine, and there is nothing inherently improbable in his statement, though, of course, it may have been nothing more than a silly boast. David Williams, in his confession, which was made at the end of 1533, stated that

"about Whitsuntide last James Griffith ap Howell receyved a letter from the queen's grace as the saide Gryffith sayd commanding you to provide hobbeyes for her grace in Ireland. And thereuppon for that purpose as he sayeth take a ship and sayled towards Ireland."

Ellington, indeed, makes no mention of the Queen's letter, but he was anxious to show his innocence of James's treasonable designs, and that he was only constrained "for fear", after reaching the coast of Ireland, to accompany James into Scotland. Three things incline us to believe that James was possibly in direct communication with Queen Catherine. In the first place, there is James's own statement to David Williams, his servant, which accords with the general view taken by contemporaries as to the cause of his exile. Ellington states that a man from Flanders came to James at Leith, and said that

"he had been in the court of my lady Mary, Quene of Hungre [who was Regent of the Netherlands under her brother the Emperor] when he dyd here myche goodnes of the said Jaymys, and that yt was showyd my lady Mary that he was a gret lord banyshed out off Ynglande for takynge part with the olde queene, and that she wychyd for hym with here by caus she hard tell that he myght also myche i Walls." (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1548.)

This was the tale told to the Regent, be it noted, not by James himself, or any of his emissaries, but either by common report or by somebody acting in Queen Catherine's interest at her niece's Court. Melancthon's letter to Vitus Theodorus and Legh's description of James's behaviour at the Court of the Duke of Holst¹ show, also, that James himself did his best to live up to his reputation as the old Queen's friend. Then, there can be no doubt that the unfortunate Catherine was at this time at the very lowest ebb of her fortunes. In the previous March, the King had privately married Anne Boleyn. On May 23, 1533, Archbishop Cranmer formally announced the decree of divorce from Catherine. On May 28, the King's marriage with Anne was declared valid, and on Whit-Sunday, June 1, at the time when James received his letter from Queen Catherine, conveying a hint that he should fly to Ireland, Anne Boleyn was crowned Queen. If there had been any plots to prevent the marriage and coronation of Esther, what more natural than that Vashti should warn her friends at the first possible moment of the failure of their hopes and the triumph of her rival? There is still another supposition, which does not altogether lack probability. Ellis Griffith tells us Queen Catherine was in the habit of repairing, in the days of her bitter trouble, to the house of a Spanish servant named Philip. She used to confide all her troubles to her sympathetic countrymen, and no doubt found much relief in relating her woes to her humble friends. All the servants in Philip's house were Welshmen, and some of them, especially David ap Robert of Llangollen, were well acquainted with Spanish, the language in which the Queen conversed. It is no wild assumption

¹ *S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 710.

to conclude that James ap Griffith was known to David ap Robert, especially as Llangollen was on the borders of James's lordships of Arwystli and Cyveiliog. There were few Welshmen resident in London in those days, and we may be sure that they clung together. Even if we discard the idea that the Queen herself should have been James ap Griffith's correspondent, it is not unnatural to suppose that one of Master Philip's Welsh servants should have learnt the failure of the Queen's hopes, and hastened to warn his countryman of the triumph of his foes. Certain it is that the inability to pay the full fine was not the only, perhaps not the predisposing cause of James's resolve to quit his native land. The relentlessness with which he was pursued all over the Continent by Henry and his agents, showed that there was some other and graver offence laid to his charge than mere failure to pay a fine.

A graphic account of James ap Griffith's departure from Wales and his adventures in Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders is supplied by the confessions of David Williams, one of James's servants, and Henry Ellington, and we cannot do better than reproduce them in full, omitting only those passages in them which have already been cited. James was accompanied to the seaside, somewhere near Kidwelly, by his old friend David Vaughan.

"And thereuppon", said David Williams "he sayled towards Ireland, being in his company at that tyme Alice his ux. (wife), Sache (Sage) his daughter, John a Morgan a kynnesman of his, Henry Ellington, Lewes a maryner, John a pen berere [o Ben-y-Buarth? a place in Emlyn, mentioned in *Dwnn*, p. 20], John Bean Teaw (ben tew?), John Owen a gooner, and the saide David Willyams, which ship was of the portage of xv or xvi tooune laden with benes, and in the same ship he sayeth were vi maryners, that is to say, a master and five maryners, And ferther he seyeth that before they take shipping in the forsaid ship, the said Gryffith

and other his complices abovesaide were conveyed over in a cole bote to Uphill in Somersetshire, where they toke the saide ship being laden with beanes as is aforesaide, and so sayled into Irelande to the port of Yowghale, where they landed and remayned there a sevennight, in which tyme he solde his beanes to him that was owner of the saide ship. And after that the saide Gryffith with his saide complices take ship agayn and sailed towarde Scotlande and arryved at Saynt Tronyans the Sonday before the natyvyte of Saynt John Baptist last past, where he was lodged in a widowe's house, And within iii dayes after the sayde Griffith arrived there the Kyng of Scots repayred thither to Saynt Tronyans at which tyme the saide James Gryffith sent to the lorde Fflemying, a Scottish man, and met with him in the Abbey of St. Tronyan's aforesaide, where they talked together an hower or more, Which lorde Fflemying was brother of the Abbot of St. Tronyan, and the saide lorde Fflemying at the instance of the saide Gryffith repayred to the Scottish King. And within iii dayes after the Scottish King repayred to the town of Saynt Tronyan's aforesaide, where he tarried iii or iiij dayes, and then departed, after whose departing the saide James Gryffith with his famylie aforesaide repayred to Edinburgh, where he tarried on moneth and was lodged in one Richard Lundell's house, being servante to the secretary unto the Scottish King, at which tyme the saide James Gryffith spake with the Chauncelor and Treasourer, and also with the secretarye in the Chauncelor's house at severall tymes, and that they gave unto the said Gryffith as the saying was about an eight score crownes [and within that tyme of his beyng at Edinburgh before the receyte of that money he had moche communication with one loyd vyd er long (c)ompanye departed to Denmark.]¹ Also the said David Wilyams sayeth that the saide James Gryffith having communycacions with the saide Chauncelor and others desired to have 3,000 men to go with him into Wales, alledging himself to be the gretest man in Wales, And that he with the lyon of Scotlande should subdue all England, howbeit the said

¹ The sentence in brackets is written in between the lines and in the margin, and a portion of it is illegible. James seems to have met at Edinburgh a man named Loyd, who had since gone to Denmark.

David knoweth not that the Scotts offered or proffered him any suche ayde of men, But he sayeth that the saide Gryffith opteyned of the said counscile of Scotland a passeporte to go into Fflaunders, and we so departed from Edinburgh to Newbotell, where he tarried a sevensnight ffayning himself to be sycke, in the which tyme cam unto him two merchantmen of Edinburgh aforsaide. And from Newbotell the said Gryffith departed to Davykythe (Dalkeith) and there taryed a flourtenight, and from Davykyth departed to Lygth, and being there, sent Henry Ellington into Fflaunders, but for what purpose this deponent knoweth not."—(*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1591.)

Henry Ellington's narrative is not less vivid and dramatic in style, nor less copious in matter. After giving the account of his dealings with James, which has already been quoted, he goes on to say that "about Whitsuntide", James ap Griffith

"asked me and I knew Ireland and I said I knew ytt, then he askyd me in what parts that the best horsis wher in in Irelande, and I sayd in Dredathe, then he sayd he wold goo thether to by som horssis, won for to geve the kyng's grace and another for to geve the queen's grace, and won for Mr. Cromwell and a nothar for on Edwarde Aynton,¹ and so desiryd me for to goo with hymme becaws I knewe the partis of Ierlande, and in this behalffe I was contentyd to go with hymme, and so departyd to a place within xv myle of Bristow cawllid Uphill, and ther the sayd Jamys fraytyd a smalle penes (pinnace) and so we departyd the Monday benytte after Wytsonday and landed in Yoholte (Youghal) upon Corpus Crysty day and taryd there a senyt, and so then departed toward Dredathe, and when we came affor the havyn of the sayd place the said Jamys came to me and said Henry wyll yowe agre to goo with me to Skotlande, and I sayd no I will not adyd mor trobull for you for I have hade l now and I wyll not for sake my wiff noer my chylderyn for yow nor my friends, so with this he went to the master of the botte and to all the company and askyde theme whether they wolde agre to goo wyth hym and they said no, for thay warnot bownde to goo no fardare then Dredathe,

¹ Queen Anne Boleyn's Chamberlain.

then he cawlyd me and bad me gett me and the master and his company under hatches and so towke from me viii li. sterlinge wyche I thowght to bestow in Irlyand for my own pers, and then the company for fere agreyd to go with hyme and I in caslyke agrede to the sayme for fere also, then was ther a wrechyd fellowe that is his servant, whose name is Davy, bad the sayd Jamys lat us kell them and throwe them over bowrde, but the sayd Jamys wold not agre to the sayme, the sayd Davy showyd me the sayme syns, then upon mydssomar evyn we came aboude in Skotlande at a place cawlyd Whythorne, and ther the Kinge was, and so he felle aquantyde with the lorde Flemyn, whiche showyd the Kyng of hyme, and apon this I wrought his letters to the Kyng for hyme, for he hadd no other body to doo hit but I, and at my comynge to the kyng's grace of Englande and to the honorabill lords of the cownsell I wyll show the fekle of thos letters and off all othar letters consarnynge his desynes and offeres, and now of at here came a man from Flanders to Skotlande, and (. . . see above). . . . And so he gave some credance to the sayd man, and so apon this he causyd me to wrytte to my Lady Mary and so put me in trost to bring thys letter to her, wiche I was goynge in to Yngland withall, so yt me chancyd that I hard of youre beyng there Mr. Vaughan, and bycaus I knew that yowe are the Kyngs grace sarvant I move this my mynd to you in as myche that yff yt be the Kyng's grace pleasure to furnysh me with a ship as his grace shall know by the letters drectyd to my Lady Mary, and by that at I wyll show his grace and his honorabill counsell by mowth that if I do not deliver the sayd Jamys in to his grace hands within short space that then I wyll los my lyffe and thus God save the Kyngs grace."

By reading these two documents together, we are able to piece together a connected and intelligible account of James ap Griffith's departure from Wales. The tone of the two documents is markedly different: Davy's "confession" is plain, blunt, straightforward, hiding and extenuating nothing, except that the "wrechyd fellowe" omits all mention of that dramatic scene outside the haven at Drogheda. Ellington's narrative is written evidently with an eye to effect. He says nothing of the letter from

the Queen which reached James before the start, but he insinuates that the original object of the journey was to buy horses for the King, Queen Anne, Cromwell, and the Queen's Chamberlain, and that it was only at Drogheda that this plan was altered. These little differences in the narratives, however, only lend fresh interest to the story; they do not in any way impair the credibility of the two narrators.

"About Whitsuntide", 1533, then, James received the Queen's letter, and left his friend's house in "South Gare" and made for Kidwelly. Accompanied by his friend, David Vaughan, he reached the shore, and then, with his wife, daughter, and a few retainers, embarked on board a coal-boat for Uphill, a little village near Weston-super-Mare. On Monday night, June 2, James and his company left Uphill for Youghal, in Ireland, and on the following Friday, June 6, being Corpus Christi Day, they arrived safely at their destination. After selling, like a prudent man, his cargo of beans, on June 13 James started for Drogheda. When they came outside the harbour, however, James insisted on proceeding to Scotland. Ellington and the crew refused, but James drove them under the hatches, and "for fear" they consented to go on to Scotland. On the Sunday before the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, *i.e.*, on June 22—according to David Williams—or on June 23, Midsummer eve—according to Ellington—James and his party landed at St. Tronyn's, St. Ninians, or Whythorn, on the south-west coast of Scotland. James, hearing that the King of Scots was on his way thither, determined to await his arrival,¹ and lodged in a widow's house. Three days later, June 25, the King arrived, and

¹ That David Williams's account is correct on this point, and not Ellington's, is proved by the testimony of Lord Dacre's letter of July 2 to Henry VIII. (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 750.)

with him Lord Fleming, with whom James picked up an acquaintance. An interview was arranged between the two at St. Tronvan's Abbey, whose Abbot was Lord Fleming's brother. The result of that interview was that James was presumably presented three days later, on June 28, to the King, by whom he was well received. The warmth of James's reception caused quite a flutter in diplomatic dovescotes. Lord Dacre, Sir T. Clifford, Sir G. Lawson, the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Thomas Wharton, during the month of July, can write no letter to the King or Cromwell without mentioning the "gentleman of Wales."¹ Lord Dacre informs the King that immediately on his arrival at St. Ninians, James ap Griffith "sent two servants into Wales." On July 11, the Commissioners on the Borders write to Henry VIII from Newcastle to say that they had remonstrated with the Scotch Council that King James should have received Henry's rebels, when proposing to enter into amity. "They answered they had heard such a person had arrived, but knew nothing more." Matters might have become critical between the two countries, but for a timely discovery which was made by a spy in the employ of Sir Thomas Wharton, one of the four Commissioners, which was made known to Cromwell on the same day, July 11.

"The Scots King, hearing the woman named his daughter to be fair and about the age of 15 years, repaired to the said castle [James was said to have been "appointed to a castle S.W. of Edinburgh"] and did speak with the said gentleman, and for the beauty of his daughter, as mine especiall saith, the King repaired lately thither again."—(*S. P.*, vol. vi, 803.)

¹ *Ibid S. P.*, vol. vi, Nos. 750, 802, 803, 828, 876, 892, 895, 907.

² They were probably sent to acquaint James's friends of his safe arrival, and to raise funds, of which James evidently was in need. Next month we find him in receipt of 160 crowns from the Scottish treasury.

No doubt this information helped to allay the threatened storm, for Henry VIII was not the man to undervalue the attractions of a pretty face.

On July 1 the King of Scots left St. Ninians for Edinburgh, and James followed in his train. He remained for a month at Edinburgh, being lodged in the house of Richard Lundell, servant to the Scotch King's secretary. It was here, without doubt, that King James V saw and admired the beauty of the Welsh maiden. But James ap Griffith was not long in perceiving that the King came to flirt with his pretty daughter, and not to hatch plots with the father. He received some help from the Scottish Treasury, and hearing that he was well spoken of in the Court of Queen Mary, Regent of the Netherlands, he decided to go thither. An unpleasant encounter which he had with a countryman no doubt quickened his resolution to be gone. Sir Thomas Wharton, writing on July 24, gives a somewhat cryptic account of the matter.

"On Monday last (*i.e.*, July 23), James Apowell had licence from the Provost to leave the realm, but his ship has since been arrested in consequence of a dispute with one Upp Risse, the one appealing the other connecting the accusation of Risse put to execution according to his demerits, was both called afore the Council."—(*S. P.*, vol. vi, 892.)

The story, as related by Wharton, is a confused tangle, but with the knowledge we have of James's previous career, it is not difficult to imagine what occurred. James came across a fellow-countryman in Edinburgh, and the two fell into an altercation concerning Rhys ap Griffith's death. James was probably denounced as a traitor, who had betrayed his kinsman and patron, and James was not the man to take such reproaches meekly, and so "both were called afore the Council." Who the other man was, is not clear. David Williams states that at this time James was much in the company of one "Lloyd", who

afterwards went to Denmark. It may be that this was no other than the Edward Floyd, who also betrayed his master, and that the two traitors fell out in apportioning the blame for that gross act of treachery. Lloyd went to Denmark, the "Llychlyn" of the *brudiau*, perhaps in search of that Owen Lawgoch, who was to sail in seven ships over the sea to deliver Wales from the alien.¹ James ap Griffith, at least, was still a believer in the prophecy; for we find him assuring the King of Scots that "he with the Lyon of Scotland would subdue all England", almost in the same terms as the prophecy cited in the Indictment against Rhys ap Griffith.

The first seven days of August, James spent at Newbotell; and the next fortnight in Dalkeith. Then, at the end of August, he went to Leith. There Ellington wrote him a letter to Queen Mary, which Ellington was dispatched to convey to Flanders. No sooner had Ellington landed in Antwerp than he put himself in communication with Stephen Vaughan, one of Cromwell's most active agents on the Continent, and, as we have seen, he not only betrayed James's plans, but offered to capture James himself and deliver him over to the English Government. Vaughan, on November 17, sent Ellington to England. On November 21 he writes to Cromwell from Antwerp:—

"Four days past I sent, in company of Martin Caley, Henry Ellington, sometime servant to Abraam. He came here out of Scotland with letters from James Griffith Appowell to the Queen of Hungary. These letters, with others of his writings, I sent in my letters enclosed to you."—(*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1,448.)

Cromwell tried, in characteristic fashion, to use the

¹ Henry Rice, in MS. 14,416 of the Philipps Collection, in a marginal note, which was not published in the *Cambr. Reg.*, states that "Edward Floyd, being ashamed of his villanie, fled his country and was never heard of afterwards."

opportunity to the utmost. It was an anxious and critical time for Henry VIII and his Minister. The new Queen was not popular; Henry himself had been disappointed that the child of the union was not a boy, so as to make sure the succession to the throne. The Emperor was more than suspected of being a warm partisan of his aunt, Queen Catherine, and it was important to discover how far he was willing to go in defending her interests and righting her wrongs. Cromwell, thinking to find through James ap Griffith the secret mind of the Emperor and his sister, the Regent, despatched Ellington back to the Netherlands with all speed, with instructions to deliver James's letter to Queen Mary, and hand over the reply to him. No one was let into the secret, so that when Ellington arrived in Brussels, not even Hacket, who was acting as agent in Stephen Vaughan's absence, suspected that Ellington was anything but a *bona fide* messenger from James ap Griffith.¹ How Cromwell's subtlety was baulked is told by Ellington in a letter which he wrote from Antwerp on December 20.

"On the first December I came to Brussels, where my Lady Mary is, and delivered my letter to the Bishop of Palermo, her chancellor, who delivered it to the Queen, and brought me an answer from her that she thanked James Greffythe, whom she called my master, for his goodwill to the Emperor and his offers, which you shall further know when I come home. For the ship he has written for, she can send him none without the Emperor's commandment, for they have nothing adoing against England or Ireland, but if he came there he shall be welcome. I left Brussels 5 December for Antwerp, and on the morrow, which was Sunday (*i.e.*, December 8), went to Mass, and met a Scotchman that came over from Scotland in the same ship with me. He loves James well, and his business is in Louvain and Brussels. He had made great inquiries for me amongst the

¹ *S. P.*, vol. vi, 1523.

English. when I was gone to England, but seeing me there, he laid wait for me, and brought me before the skowtte, saying I had brought letters out of Scotland to my Lady Mary, had been in England and showed the letters to the King. I was brought to the Pynbanke "whereon they wolde apullyd me," on which I confessed that I had shown the letter to the Council, and I was compelled by reason of my oath, and in order to come quietly into the realm to live with my wife and children as I did, and that this traitor carried me out of Ireland into Scotland against my will, For this they have kept me in prison 16 days [*sic*], and have sent to my Lady Mary to know her pleasure, and I have written to Mr. Hakett. I beg you not to change your favor because I have failed in this business. The matter could not be kept close, for Griffith communicated the letter to all the crew. If the King will let me have a ship, I will deliver Griffith to him."

From the time when Ellington was despatched into Flanders from Leith, we hear nothing of James ap Griffith's movements. He must have stopped in Scotland awaiting the coming of the ship which he had asked from Queen Mary. That he suspected Ellington from the first is evident from his action in telling the crew the object of Ellington's journey. No doubt he thought to frighten Ellington into fidelity, as he had no one else to send.

Shortly after the departure of Ellington, David Williams, James's servant, was sent on a message to England or Wales. We know that he was apprehended, and that he was examined, perhaps after torture or threat of torture, as happened to Ellington in Antwerp. But nothing is known as to where he was arrested, except that it was in the house of one Thomas Lewis.¹ In Cromwell's "remembrance to Master Richard Cromwell to

¹ A Thomas Lowes is mentioned as one of the "servitors for the dresser" at Anne Boleyn's Coronation (*S. P.*, vol. vi, p. 248), and it may be that David Williams was apprehended in London. The Richard Cromwell who examined David was, of course, the nephew of

examine the servant of James Griffith Powell," we find that among the ten questions which were to be put to David Williams were:—

8. "Why he came from his master now, and what letters and tokens he had to his master's friends in England or Wales?"

9. "How long he had been in Thomas Lewes's house before he was taken, and what communication he had with Lewis about his master?"

10. "Whether Lewes did not speak with him secretly since he was taken, and what communication he had with him?"

As the answers to these questions have been lost, it would be useless at this distance of time to conjecture what they were. What is certain is that by some means or other Ellington was released from his captivity in Antwerp, and was at home at Bristol in April 1534, while, in the next month, we find James ap Griffith at Lubeck, in the territory of the Duke of Holste. On May 12, John Coke writes to Cromwell from Barowe:—

"Received to-day a letter from Lubeck that Griffith ap Howell and his wife have come from Scotland to a town 10 miles from Lubeck [Ulm?], in the dominion of the Duke of Holste."—(*S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 650.)

He did not long remain in the dominion of a prince-ling who was known to be inclined to the Protestant cause. On May 25, Dr. Legh writes to Cromwell from Hamburg:—

"The Welshman who was in the Tower, and after in Scotland, was lately with the Duke of Holst. He said he was a great man in England, and banished for the Princess Dowager's sake, but he heard of me and privily went his way, some say to Ferdinand, others to the Emperor."—(*S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 710.)

If a conjecture as to James's destination may be

Mr. Secretary Cromwell, the son of Morgan Williams, of Putney and Glamorganshire, and the great grandfather of Oliver Cromwell. (*S. P.*, vol. vi, 1591, ii.)

hazarded, we are inclined to believe that James attempted to attach himself to Reginald Pole at Venice. Pole was at this time not even in holy orders, though he held several ecclesiastical offices in England, including the Deanery of Exeter. He was uncertain what line to take with regard to King Henry's divorce. A sincere liking for the King, and perhaps the whispers of worldly ambition, inclined him to extenuate the King's conduct. He had, in some measure, been Henry's instrument in obtaining the opinion of the University of Paris some years before on the validity of the marriage with Catherine of Arragon. He was a man of singularly mild and moderate temper, a convinced and genuine reformer, a patriotic Englishman, proud of his native land, though ever mindful of his Welsh descent,¹ averse to extreme measures, and hoping against hope to his last day to bring about a reconciliation between England and the Papacy. It was natural that James, both as a Welshman and a Catholic, should have repaired to Pole. There is no direct evidence of the fact, but that the theory is permissible may be gathered from the subsequent connection of James with Pole, and from a letter written from Venice on August 4, 1534, by Martin de Cornoca to Charles V:—

"There is now living in these parts a great English personage, named Reynaldo Polo, of the blood royal, of the illustrious house of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick. He is the son of the Countess of Salisbury. . . . Pole is by his mother's side of the noblest blood in the kingdom. His father, Sir Richard Pole, was a worthy knight of Wales, a near relative of the late King, and greatly esteemed in his country. . . . He is related to most of the great

¹ *I.*, *e.g.*, vol. xii, pt. i, No. 107. Pole's father, Sir Richard Pole, "a knight of Wales", was lineally descended from the ancient Princes of Powys, who in Edw. I's time adopted the Norman name of "de la Pole".

families, and is connected by an indissoluble friendship with all the Queen's friends, and especially with a great lord named de Deulier. The whole of Wales is devoted to his house, for his sake and the sake of his relations Vuquingan and Vorgona [Buckingham and Abergavenny]. On account of their love for the Princess and the death of Don Ris, who was beheaded three years ago, the whole province is alienated from the King. . . . It would be a pious and famous deed to help such a man in preserving a kingdom oppressed by a harlot and her friends, and in reinstating the Queen and Princess. . . . Does not know Pole's mind about all this, but thinks he would not be wanting in the delivery of his country from tyranny."—(*S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 1040.)

But if the Emperor's correspondent, who waxed almost lyrical in his enthusiasm for Pole and his hatred of Anne Boleyn, did not receive his information from the great man himself, from whom could it have been derived? His informant, whoever he was, was well versed in the state and condition of Wales. He knew, and laid great stress upon, Pole's ancient connection with the Principality, his relationship to great Welsh noblemen, and the date, manner, and effect of Rhys ap Griffith's death. We have no record of any Welshman's adherence to Pole except James ap Griffith. It requires no great stretch of fancy, therefore, to hear the voice of James behind the hand of Martin de Cornoca.

Reginald Pole, however, was in dire poverty at this time. His supplies from England had been stopped, as his royal kinsman was becoming more and more suspicious of his attitude and intentions. On July 4, 1535—not quite a year after—the Bishop of Farnza wrote to the Cardinal Palmieri urging that Pole, who was then in Padua "in a low state and ruined", should be given Cardinal Fisher's hat.¹ Pole had no use for adventurers such as James, and no means of maintaining them. It is no wonder that by

¹ *S. P.*, vol. viii, 986.

the end of the year James should be back once more in Flanders, where there was always a ready market for a good sword. In December 1534, Stephen Vaughan, writing to Cromwell from Antwerp, states that

“My lord of Bure entertains Jamys Griffith ap Powell and his wife, and has given them a house in Bure. The knave sent his wife to the Queen of Hungary with an interpreter to show her griefs. The Queen gave her 100 guylden.”—(*S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 1567.)

Throughout the next year, 1535, we can find hardly a trace of James's movements on the Continent. We gather from some of Cromwell's “remembrances” that he was trying to keep in touch with his Welsh friends and adherents. In 1534, for instance, we find a memorandum “to send into Wales for him that would have conveyed James Griffith Aphowell's man”, but we know nothing of the incident to which the entry refers.¹ Again, in the autumn of 1535, another “remembrance” is to “examine the person that came from the traitor James Griffith ap Howell”.² On September 9, 1535, also, occurred the incident at Calais, to which reference has already been made, when David Lloyd ap Owen, of Machynlleth, tried to get into communication with James, who was supposed to be then somewhere in Flanders.

Early in 1536 we come across another of James ap Griffith's emissaries. A “remembrance” of Cromwell's mentions “a bill for the execution of him that came from James Griffith ap Howel, which killed the two men at Hounslow.”³ Of this incident, again, we know nothing more than is contained in this bald entry. But it is clear that James was still active, and that he was still able to send messengers to his friends. The Government were becoming alarmed, and in March Henry VIII sent two

¹ *S. P.*, vol. vii, No. 108. ² *S. P.*, vol. ix, 498. ³ *S. P.*, vol. x, 254.

autograph letters, one to Stayber and the Consuls and Senate at Nuremberg, and the other to Charles V, concerning James ap Griffith and his companion, Harry Phillips. He requests the Senate of Nuremberg

“to arrest two criminals, James Griffith Apowell [an English subject of low birth, guilty of treason, robbery, manslaughter, and sacrilege, who is travelling with a rebel named] Henry Philip through Germany on his way from Flanders to Italy.”—*S. P.*, vol. x, 529-530.)

In his letter to the Emperor, Henry desires that the two “rebels” may be given up to Pate, the Archdeacon of Lincoln, who was his ambassador at the Emperor’s Court.

In the following month, April 30, 1536, Bishop Lee wrote from Brecknock to inform Cromwell that “David Vaughan, officer of Kidwelly, in Wales, is accused by your servant Jankin Lloyd, for assisting the rebellion of James ap Howell Griffith. I send you the process.” Whether this refers to the old affair of 1530, when James fortified himself in the castle at Emlyn, or to Vaughan’s part in the departure of James from Kidwelly in 1533, or whether it relates to some attempt on the part of James to raise another insurrection in Wales, cannot be determined. There was a general impression abroad that Wales was ready for rebellion—“the people only wait for a chief to take the field,” Chapuys said in 1534. The scandal about the King’s divorce, the violent break with Rome, the death of young Rhys, the abrogation of ancient religious customs, the extinction of old Welsh customs in 1534, the changes in the law relating to land tenure, the rough rule of Bishop Lee, the spoliations and hypocrisy of Bishop Barlow, of St. David’s, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the incorporation of Wales with England, entailing unknown consequences, all helped to render

men's minds restless and unquiet. A spark might have been sufficient to light up afresh the old racial antipathy between Welsh and English, and James ap Griffith seems to have done his best to ignite the flame. In 1537 we know that the greatest confusion prevailed in Arwystli and Cyveiliog, two districts of Powys with which James had been connected. The disturbance arose through the clashing claims of the Earl of Worcester and Lord Ferrars to exercise jurisdiction in these provinces of Powys. There is no proof of James's complicity in the turmoil, but when we remember the attempt of David Lloyd ap Owen, of Machynlleth, the chief town of Cyveiliog, to get into touch with James in 1535, the supposition cannot be lightly scouted.¹

In April 1537, we know from Melancthon's letter to Vitus Theodorus that James was starting from Wittenberg for Nuremberg, whose Senate had been warned the previous year against harbouring the "rebel". We hear no more of him during the rest of the year. Pole had been made a Cardinal in 1536, and in 1537 he was appointed Legate to England, though he was only thirty-seven years old. The young Cardinal did not care for his task. He travelled slowly, and took Paris, Cambray, and Liege on his way. He was beset by English spies, perhaps even by would-be assassins. When he arrived at Liege, he was entertained in princely style by the Bishop at the old episcopal palace. No stranger was allowed to come or go

¹ *F., S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. i, Nos. 1183, 1271, pt. ii, Nos. 158, 490, 776, 835, 852, 857, 896-7, 985-6, 993, 1024, 1057, 1199.

By December 20, 1537, however, Bishop Lee was able to inform Cromwell that all was quiet in Wales, "savyng now and then a little conveying amongst themselves for a fat sheep or bullock in Kery, Kedewen, Arustley, and Kevylyoke: which is impossible to be amended, for thieves I found them and thieves I shall leave them."—(*S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. ii, 1237.)

unexamined. Among those who came was a Welshman named Vaughan, who had fled out of England for manslaughter. At Barowe, he made the acquaintance of John Hutton, another of Cromwell's agents. On May 26, 1537, Hutton wrote to his employer from Brussels that

"To-day one Vaughan came to me. . . . He had come to me at Baroughe for relief in great necessity, which I procured him from the merchants; and he says he applied to Henry Phillippes, an Englishman in Lovayn, who offered to get him into the service with Cardinal Pole, knowing one of his gentlemen named Throgmorton. In further conversation he discovered that Michael Throgmorton was to be sent to England as soon as Pole was settled in Liege, with letters to several of Pole's friends, which Philipppis undertook to convey, as he had done some letters to his father, baked within a loaf of bread. They were to be set on land in Cornwall, and he offered to take Vaughan with him. I advised him to encourage the enterprise, and gave him 40s. He is to inform me secretly of everything while he is here, and on landing cause them to be attached. As to his crimes, I have promised to sue not only for his pardon but for a reward."—(*S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. i, 1293.)

In 1536, Harry Phillips, "the betrayer of good Tyn-dale," was travelling through Germany with James. His career had been a chequered one. He had lived a wild life in his youth in England, and fled across the seas after robbing his father. For years he had lived in Louvain the happy-go-lucky life of a student, always up to mischief and sometimes to graver offences. He had betrayed Tyn-dale to the Government, not that he wanted money so much as because he detested the Protestant heresy. "The fellow hath a great wit, he is excellent in language," said no friendly critic of him in 1539.¹ His association with James may serve to explain the latter's activity in 1536. He was full of schemes such as Hutton describes in his letter, and nothing would have given him more genuine

¹ Wriothesley to Cromwell, *S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, 247.

pleasure than to use his ingenuity to circumvent the King's agents, and put James in communication with his friends in Wales.¹ It is not worth while giving in full the story of Vaughan's acquaintance with Pole, and the dubious part which Harry Phillips played in it. It is sufficient to record that when Pole saw Vaughan he said to him—

"As I am informed, you be banished out of your native country as well as I. I rejoyce to see a Welshman, as my grandfather came out of Wales. I have my full number of servants, but if you will come to Italy when I am there I will be glad to take you."—(*S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. ii, 107.)

Vaughan returned to Hutton and told him all. "Vaughan shall return and enter further into the matter", added Hutton, in his letter to the King. But Vaughan seems to have had qualms of conscience, and nothing more was done.²

James could hardly have been with Pole in May and June 1537 at Liege, or we should have found Phillips recommending Vaughan not to Throgmorton, but to his fellow-countryman. In the spring of the following year James was once more in Germany. On March 24, 1538, Thomas Theobald wrote to the King from Augsburg in these terms :—

"Pleaseth it your Grace to understand that [whereas] . . .
[I] did inform your Grace and my lord Preavy Seale . . .
which nameth himself here Sir James Groffeth . . .

¹ The writer of the article on Cardinal Pole in the *Dict. of National Biography*, said that while Pole was at Venice in 1538, he was "beset by spies and would-be assassins—one of them, the plausible scoundrel Phillips, who had betrayed the martyr Tindal." Phillips, no doubt, deserves some hard words, but there is no proof that he was either a spy or an assassin. On the contrary, all his actions show him to have been a sincere and loyal Catholic. Nor is it probable that he tried or intended to assassinate Pole.

² *S. P.*, vol. xii, pt. ii, 128.

when if my lord Privy Seal had geve[n commandment unto me to] take him, I could have found the means [that he should] have been other in hold or punished as a t[raitor : for at my depar]tyng from Tubyng, one of his chief compa[nions] hath married his daughter came from Augsburg he and his father-in-law, James Poell, to be fallen a declaring unto me many of his practices of what of the which I know some of them to be true and most and in specially in that he showed me that he should [be at] this present with the Duke of Saxony, which I know we[ll to be a] lie, as I proved also since he went about with many p to invade me, for my reports unto certain of the c[ity] of Augsburg, was an occasion that they were comman[d]ed to] depart thence: how be it James Poell hath not shew[ed him]self there openly this half year and more. But my ans[wer] unto this Welchman was this, that I thought that the King's [grace] did know better where he was than he could inform [me], and if his Grace had been desirous to have had him take[n] he had not now been at liberty; and if his grace had hy[m], I doubt not but he would punish him worthily, according to his deserving: and whereas he is now out of his Grace's hands, his Grace does not pass of him. After this he would have had me to help him to be in service with the Prince as a gentle[man], not as a man of war, in the which when I would give him no comfort, then he went about to borrow money of me, w[hen] because, his wife was great with child, and upon the c[onditi]on he should depart incontinent, I gave him a gu and his costs there, dispatching him after a good sort: ho[wbeit], I dining the next day with the governor of the city, [and] one or two of the Prince's Council, showed him what he wa[s and] about what practices he came, and declared to them the tray[son] of James Poel and his abuses here: whereupon they ma[de] this answer, that if he that were at Tubyng with [me] were of that conspiracy and trayson, they would take him [and] hang him, and likewise if James of Poel came [hither] they would, if they might show him surely, punish hy[m] as a traytor, for albeit in all Docheland they do great[ly] abhor traitors, yet the gentlemen of Sueveland be [above] all other in punishing that fault. Whereunto I answered that [I did] perceive no other of him that was at Tubing, but that he [was] a banished man, as I did mark by the burning of his ha[nd], which and the misery he is in, or like to come to,

we[re] punishment enough for him, seeing I had no [knowledge] of [any] other [things] committed of him : but in case this thither if they did take him and punish him upon en they should not only in that behalf do high just[ice and to the king's] grace of England high pleasure, but also the ci[ties and princes] imperial, whom he hath and intendeth [d]eceave, &c., and if he come there now in my absence he shall have there but small courtesy. I am [sure he] had been there long or this time, but for fear of [me]: for while riding towards Italy I passed through Ulmes, 7 Dutch miles from Tubing, where James Poel was 3 weeks before my coming, but he tarried not. Perhaps when he hears that I have departed he will make suit to the Duke of Wirtemberg, as he has done to other princes, but his errand is done or he come. The chief persons of Augsburg say that if this information had come to them from the king of England when he was here, they would have taken and worthily punished him. Laurence Staber might have taken him if he would. If the King wants him taken, I think I could nearly do it as well as Staber, for the chief of the learned men, both spiritual and temporal, and others, officers and gentlemen of Tubing and thereabouts, do highly favour me So that I trust to be able to know everything and write often, and to get to Rome without being known for an Englishman." —(*S. P.*, vol. xiii, pt. i, 592.)

This letter casts a cruel light on the life which was being led by our exile in the courts of various German princelings. He had continually to change his ground, from Ulmes to Tubing, from Tubing to Bure, from Bure to Wittenberg, from Wittenberg to Nuremberg, from Nuremberg to Augsburg. No sooner had he found a new patron, than an agent of the English King appeared on the scene and laid terrible charges against him, as Henry himself had done, of being guilty of rebellion, treason, homicide, robbery, and sacrilege. Living this hunted life, it is no wonder if the poor exile lost his nerve somewhat, and that Melancthon should have thought he "took little pleasure in the Court at Wittenberg". The scene which Theobald

describes with such malicious pleasure, and with such graphic minuteness, of his interview with our exile's son-in-law, shows to what mean and petty shifts the company had been reduced. Sage, whose beauty had attracted a King when she was barely sixteen, is now, at twenty, the wife of a penurious vagabond, who professes his ability and readiness to betray his father-in-law, and who is glad to accept a contemptuous guinea from the agent of the King who has banished him, on condition that he shall "depart incontinent", "because his wife was great with child". Even if, as one sometimes suspects, the son-in-law only wished to "spoil the Egyptian" without doing an injury to his wife's father,—for he did not tell Theobald what was James's real address at the time—it was still a paltry and ignominious device. The name of this precious rogue is not given, but Theobald says that he was "a banished man, as I did mark by the burning of his hand". The description is reminiscent of the Welshman to whom Cardinal Pole said at Liege, in June of the previous year, "You be banished out of your country as well as I". That Welshman's name was Vaughan, who fled or was banished from England for manslaughter. He, like James ap Griffith, was acquainted with Harry Phillips; he, also like James, wished to attach himself to Pole. He pretended to Hutton that he was anxious to betray Pole, as the husband of Sage pretended to Theobald his willingness to betray her father. Hutton gave Vaughan 40s. to encourage him in his traitorous designs; Theobald gave the other a guinea, "dispatching him after a good sort". Vaughan, at a pinch, let his conscience master him, and the enterprise against Pole failed; Theobald's vagabond displays flashes of prudence, which would enable him to retrace his steps, if necessary. The part which both characters play is contemptible. Pole had no use for

such poor stuff, and Theobald thought he was not worth hanging. There is no direct and conclusive proof that Hutton's Vaughan and Theobald's rogue are one and the same person; but the conjecture is somewhat borne out by certain later references to James ap Griffith's son-in-law. On September 9, 1540, a meeting of the Privy Council was held at Ampthill. The business transacted was entered as follows in the minute book of the Council:—

“ Letters brought from Norfolk, declaring receipt of letters from Mr. Pate, of the coming over of Philip ap Henry, *alias* Philip ap Hary, *alias* — Vaughan, who also came to Court from beyond sea, where he was long in company of Poole and James ap Howell, whose daughter he married at Regnisborough: after being examined he was set at liberty and commanded to attend daily.”—(*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii, pp. 32, 33; *S. P.*, vol. xvi, p. 32, 10.)

On the next day it is recorded that Ap Henry was to attend daily that they might take occasion “to suck some material thing out out of him”. On September 16, a letter is sent to Pate from the Council telling him that a pardon would be granted to his *protégé*. On October 14 Pate writes to thank the King “for the pardon granted, at his request, to Philip ap Henrie. He trusted therein to do the King service, as the Duke of Norfolk can testify.”¹ On June 28 of the following year, a formal and engrossed pardon, countersigned by Thomas Audeley, Chancellor, is made out to Philipp ap Harry.²

It is unnecessary to dwell, in any detail, upon the statements in the minute book, which seem to identify the Vaughan of Hutton with the son-in-law of James ap Griffith. Both are called Vaughan; both had long been “in company of Poole and James ap Howell” beyond sea;

¹ *S. P.*, vol. xvi, 160.

² *S. P.*, vol. xvi, 947 (74).

both were looked upon as likely objects "to suck some material thing out of". No more is heard of Philip ap Harry and his dangerously beautiful wife. The homicide was pardoned; the exile returned. The next eighteen years were among the most bloody and horrible in English history. Let us be thankful that the veil has not been lifted over Philip ap Harry's subsequent career, else we might discover him "smelling out Papists" under Edward VI or lighting the faggots in the days of Mary.

In the midst of such nauseating treachery and petty persecution, it is gratifying to find that never once does James himself seem to have tried to curry favour with the relentless King and his agents, by betraying his patrons or his comrades. Theobald, while scorning to take the life of so poor a creature as the son-in-law, never lost an opportunity of making things uncomfortable for James. He relates to the Council at Tubing the heinousness of James's offences, and hints to them that if they punish him, they would "in that behalf do high justice and to the King's grace of England high pleasure". Wherever he goes, he endeavours to prevent James from winning the ear of Prince or Councillor, and he even suggests, though in somewhat faltering accents, that he might be able to capture the redoubtable exile, who had so long eluded Henry's wrath. The last thing Theobald did in August 1538, before "departing from Almayne towards Italy", was to write to Archbishop Cranmer about "James Poell".¹

When Theobald arrived in Italy he found James already there. Germany had become too hot for him. He was known in every town and country as the enemy of the terrible Island King, and trouble seemed always to

¹ *V.*, end of Letter to Cranmer, *S. P.*, vol. xiii, pt. ii, No. 509.

follow in his train. Writing from Padua on October 1st to Cromwell and Cranmer, Theobald relates how he had just met Throgmorton, the fussy and talkative servant of Cardinal Pole. Throgmorton was a timorous man—"Every wagging of a straw maketh him now afraid," said Theobald. He told Theobald that Harry Phillips had asked his master for employment, but Phillips was "arrayed as a switzer or a man of war", and Pole became afraid that he was "suborned by the Council either to destroy him or at least search what he did"; and so he forbade him his house and the whole dominion of Venice.¹ Throgmorton added "that James off Poel had gone to Rome to seek his master, but they suspected him, as they did Phillips, and would cause him to forsake these parts."² It must have been about this time that James came across Anthony Budgewood at Bologna. Anthony had been servant to the Marquis of Dorset, and then to Thomas Cromwell. In the summer of 1538 he suddenly fled to Rome, and on December 29 he sent a petition to the Pope for help. His meeting with James he thus describes:—

"And there [at Bologna] I met James Griffet, a Welshman, who sent me by his letters to Dominus Bernardus Boerius to aid me in all my business at Rome: and then that James told me that Cardinal Pole was in Venice, and so I went to Venice, and when I came there he was gone to Rome"

This would seem to indicate that James was familiar with the ground, and had made useful acquaintances in Italy. Another statement of Budgewood's shows the extent and minuteness of James's familiarity with the habits of English agents in Italy, and serves to explain his long immunity from their attempts at capture.

¹ *S. P.*, vol. xiii, pt. ii, 509.

² *S. P.*, vol. xiii, pt. ii, 507.

"On Saturday last Lee met me in the street [at Rome] and asked me if I had any message into England, because within two days he was going thither: so I think it is necessary to follow him and his baggage, because James Griffith told me in Bologna that every month he sent letters by post."—(*S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 1.)

If Pole was suspicious of James ap Griffith's fidelity in the autumn of 1538, he was soon to receive the best proof that his suspicions were unfounded. Early in 1539 a comprehensive Act of Attainder was passed by the English Parliament. A score or more of the King's enemies were attainted, and among them several persons whose names have been mentioned in the course of this narrative: Lady Salisbury and her son, Cardinal Pole; Michael Throgmorton; Robert Brancetour; Henry Philippes; and "James Griffith Appowel, late of London".¹ On June 3 following, one Thomas Rolffe was appointed "auditor of the lands of James Griffith".² After this, we need not be surprised to find in the following year a petition to Cromwell from Jenkin, the son of James ap Griffith, who does not appear to have shared his father's exile, but who was probably living in South Wales (it may be in Cryngae with his father's old friend, Thomas ap Rhydderch, whose granddaughter he married), asking for some honourable employment with which he might maintain himself.

"To the right honorable my lorde Cromwell, lord pryvy seell.
"Most humbly shewith unto your honorable good lordshipe your humble peticyoner and daily orator, Jenkyn ap Jamys ap Gryffith ap Howell, that where as youre poore orator hath noo lands nor other lyvyng of certyntie whereby he shuld lyve apon, and also hath noo service with noo honorable man, whereby he myght lyve, as an honest yong gentelman should do nowe in this hard world, whiche is grette hevynesse to your poore orator, In tendre consideracion of the

¹ *S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 867, cap. 15.

² *S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 1192 (3).

premisses ffor so moche as your poore orator's hole hart and mynde ys oonly to your honorable good lordship (under the Kyng highnes) byfore any honorable man lyvving, May it therfore please your honorable good lordshipe of your most habundant charytie to accepte and admytte your humble poore orator into your lordship's service, And he shall than be glad to do his dutie and diligence in the same accordingly, And thus at the reverence of Almyghty God, to whom your humble peticyoner shall duly pray for the most prosperouse preservacyon of your good lordshipe long in honour to endure."—(*S. P.*, vol. xv, 1029 (35).)

Jenkin's petition to Cromwell seems to have been more successful than his prayer "for the most prosperous preservation" of his patron "long in honour to endure". As Wolsey's last act as minister was to discharge Rhys ap Griffith with a reprimand, so one of Cromwell's last exercises of patronage was probably to bestow a small office on Jenkin ap James, young Rhys's second cousin. Lewis Dwnn, in his *Heraldic Visitation to Wales*, in 1597 (p. 62), says that Mary, the daughter of Sion ap Thomas ap Harri ap Thomas ap Gruffydd ap Niclas of Cryngae (who had married Maud, the daughter and heiress of our old acquaintance, Thomas ap Rhydderch),

"abriododd John (*alias* Jenkin) Powel mab i Siams ap Gruffydd ap Howel, marsial o'r Hawl."

What the words "marsial o'r Hawl" mean, and whether they refer to John or to his father James, may be the subject of differing opinions. We prefer to believe that they apply to John, and that he was given some official post—perhaps a sinecure—by Thomas Cromwell, who may have felt disposed, having a prescient warning of his own fate, to show mercy to the son of an attainted traitor. Whatever the office was, it was at all events sufficient to enable Jenkyn to marry, and to "lyve as an honest young gentleman should do now in this hard world". He is described in the *Book of Golden Grove* (cited above) as of

Penrallt, esquire, and he left behind the assurance that his family would reach at least to the third generation, for one of his daughters was married to a clergyman—John Lewis, vicar of Llanpumpsaint. Jenkyn himself is mentioned by Dwnn as if he were still living in 1597,—not an improbable thing even for one who was a “yong gentilman” in 1540.

The last years of James ap Griffith himself are wrapt in almost rayless obscurity. We have seen that he was in Italy in 1538, vainly asking to be taken into the service of Cardinal Pole. In the following year, Pole was sent by the Pope to the Emperor in Spain, and it may be that James accompanied him, but of this there is no kind of evidence. In 1540 Pole was appointed to the secular government of the patrimony of St. Peter, and the Pope assigned him a bodyguard. Pole was, as we have seen, anxious to do a Welshman a good turn in Liege, and promised to give him employment in Italy. It is not unlikely that now, after James's integrity had been demonstrated by his inclusion in the same Act of Attainder as Pole himself, the kindly young Cardinal should have taken pity on a Catholic fellow-countryman, of whom even the Protestant Melancthon could compassionately write: “His exile is long, his misfortune long,” and should have promoted him to be an officer in his own bodyguard.¹

An absurd mistake, which has led to endless confusion,

¹ Wyatt, the English ambassador at the Imperial Court, writing his apologia to the Council from prison in March 1541, recalls that once in Paris “a light fellow, a gunner, that was an Englishman and came out of Ireland with an Irish traitor named James, I have forgot his other name,” called on him. The gunner was “a drunken fellow” whom he rebuked out of his house, and who came to advertise him of James's coming again. James ap Griffith went and came out of Ireland with a gunner—John Owen—and it is just possible that he may be the person mentioned. (*S. P.*, vol. xvi, 640.)

was made by Sir Thomas Seymour, the English agent at Vienna. Writing to Henry VIII on August 8, 1542, from the Emperor's camp outside Buda, he says that

"Two days ago Lawrence Grey . . . came to declare that lately two Englishmen, Harry Pfelepes and James Griffeth Uppowell came to Vienna. Perceiving Pfelepes to be a traitor, Grey fell out with him and laid 'trayterey' to his charge, and he is detained by the heads of the town. . . . The other, being the ranker traitor, as I think, has a letter from the Bishop of Rome to be captain of 2,000 'howsherenes', the best light horse of Hungary: and seems to have some hope thereof, or else he would not 'leave his return to Rome from Noremburge to tarry the King's coming to Vienna.' He names himself Robert Bramto(n), but is well known in Vienna to have before this confessed himself a gentleman of Wales, and his names to be James Greffeth Upowehell. Mistrusts him the more because he says 'who so ever saith that Harry Pfelepes is not an honest true man he is unhoneest himself.' Has written to Hance Honganowde, the King's lieutenant (who is in Vienna) according to the copy enclosed. If his answer shows him disposed to do the King 'this pleasure', will ride to Vienna and examine the parties."—(*S. P.*, vol. xvii, 583.)

It will be noted that Harry Phillips's companion described himself as Robert Bramton, or Robert Branceteur, and that it was only by Grey that he was said to be James ap Griffith. Seymour himself had not seen the two "rebels" at the time. Three weeks later, on September 5, he rode into Vienna, saw "the lord of Felee, lieutenant of that town and all Ostrege", who told him

"Robert Bramstone had been put in trouble by Mr. Wyett in France, and delivered upon the Emperor's letters to the French King: and he would be loth to put them (*i.e.*, Phillips and Bramston) in trouble, and then have them delivered by such means, and had written to the King."—(*S. P.*, vol. xvii, 748.)

In the second letter, it will be observed, there is no mention of James ap Griffith, but "the lord of Felee" is

assured that the man in Vienna is the same Robert Branceteur who was imprisoned in Paris at the instance of the English ambassador, and who was released upon the indignant remonstrance of the Emperor, as a member of whose suite he was passing through the French capital. In the next year, Seymour writes to the King that "Branceteur and other semblable rebels" had gone to Scotland.¹ By that time Seymour had no doubt satisfied himself as to the identity of Harry Phillips's comrade.

Unfortunately, the casual mistake of Seymour—or rather of Laurence Grey—has misled the compilers of the Index to the State Papers, who in turn have misled Froude and others. That Branceteur was a totally distinct person from James ap Griffith hardly needs to be proved. Branceteur had been for years in the Emperor's service in 1533, before James had started on his long Odyssey (vol. vi, Nos. 79, 315, 838). When Branceteur was arrested in Paris in 1540, the Emperor angrily interfered on his behalf, because, said Wyatt in a letter to Henry VIII,

"this man had done him service, gone on an embassy to the King of Persia when his regular ambassador sickened by the way. I have had him follow me this ten or twelve years in all my voyages, in Africa, in Province, in Italy, and now here . . . and since that time I know not that he hath been in England, whereby he hath done offence to the king, unless it be for going with Cardinal Pole, that asked me leave for him by cause of the language."—(*S. P.*, vol. xv, 38.)

Finally, in the same Act of Attainder as James ap Griffith's, we find the name of "Robert Branceteur, late of London, merchant, and now in Italy devising the king's destruction, who, having knowledge of the late rebellion made by Darcy and others, moved divers outward princes to levy war against the king".¹

¹ *S. P.*, vol. xviii, (2), No. 290. ² *S. P.*, vol. xiv, pt. i, No. 867, cap. 15.

Nor is it difficult to perceive how the mistake originally arose. We have seen how closely Harry Phillips and James ap Griffith have been connected. They are mentioned in the same letters by Henry VIII as "two rebels travelling through Germany", and both had been in communication, about the same time, with Cardinal Pole. When Phillips appeared in Vienna, mated to an accomplished swash-buckler, who no doubt talked familiarly of Pole, it was, perhaps, pardonable in an English stranger to mistake him for James ap Griffith. Branceteur had long been friendly with Pole, and he had struck a friendship with Harry Phillips in the Low Countries, soon after his release from the Paris prison. Harry's daring humour, and fondness for tricking English spies and agents, appealed to Branceteur's blunt and reckless temper. Together they succeeded, in Flanders, in cleverly outwitting an English spy, a servant of Wallop's, one of Henry's ambassadors, and laying him by the heels.¹

The allusion to James ap Griffith in the *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. ii, p. 224 (cited above), shows that as late as October 1548, James was still looked upon as being alive and in exile. In the following year, Cardinal Pole, writing from Rome to the Bishop of Ceneda, the Papal Nuncio in France, recommended to him

"especially Captain Grifetto in case he should either have to remain [in England, whither he was being sent as one of two envoys whom Pole was sending to the Protector Somerset] or to return in France."—(*Calendar State Papers: Venice*, p. 234.)

The compilers of the State Papers' Index have assumed that the "Captain Grifetto" mentioned in Pole's letter is James ap Griffith. Nor, perhaps, is the assumption unjustified, when the facts of James's career and his long

¹ *S. P.*, vol. xv, 188, 203, 449; vol. xvi, 30, 176, 349.

acquaintance with Pole are considered. If, as Henry Rice states, on the strength of family tradition, James ap Griffith did at last return to his native land, he probably did so on the accession of Mary, when all his faults and treasons would be turned, by the whirligig of time, into loyal virtues. No formal pardon or annulment of the Act of Attainder was procured; or else the record of them is lost. His best years, and the whole of his substance, had been spent in the cause of Rome and Mary. He probably did not find the "Restoration" any more complete or satisfactory than other loyalists did then or since. If Rice's story is to be relied upon, he repaired to Cardigan-shire, "where he died most miserably". It is permissible to hope that he repaired to his son's seat at Penrallt, and that when the close of his stormy and adventurous career came, it found him surrounded by his own kith, at peace with the world, having expiated, by repentant confession and long suffering, the one great offence of his life, the "appechement" of his young kinsman, Rhys ap Griffith.

The Wogans of Merion, Pembrokeshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire.

Henry Wogan, of=, . . . d. Isabel,
Warren, Pem- the sister of
brokeshire, ob. Roger Silwayne.
31 Aug. 1499.

Richard Wogan,=Alice Columba. (2) . . . Montague.=Alice Wogan.=(1) Thomas Pyke.

of Westroppe,
Wiltshire, ob.
1506.

(2) Anne or Agnes=John Wogan, of=(1)

Rosse, ob. 1575. Sylvinche, born
1498, ob. 1559.

Mary=William
Stourton.

John Pyke,
alive in 1499.

Hugh Wogan,=Jane, d. of
ob. 1555 s.p. Christo-
pher Chev-
erell.

Marjorie=John
Larder

Alice=Robert
Harrison.

Bridget=Giles
Saunders

Mary=Robert
Morgan.

Philippa,
b. 1541.

Old County Families of Dyfed.

II.

THE WOGANS OF MERRION AND SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY FRANCIS GREEN.

IN my account of the Wogans of Boulston I referred to the connection between that family and another branch of the race in Somersetshire, and identified Henry Wogan¹ of Warren in Pembrokeshire, who made his will in 1499, as the Henry Wogan of Boulston who married Elizabeth, sister of Sir James ap Owen of Pentre Evan, and was the father of Richard Wogan of Boulston. Since that article has appeared in print evidence has turned up which indicates that this could not have been the case unless he had led a Jekyll and Hyde existence—in other words, had a son and heir in Somersetshire as well as in Pembrokeshire—which, in view of the fact that two different post mortem inquisitions were held on his property, is not very probable. The confusion has arisen from the coincidence that both Henry Wogan of Warren and his namesake at Boulston each had a son called Richard. It is on occasions such as this that one regrets that Mr. T. E. Morris has lived some nine hundred years or so too late. Had his interesting paper,² “The Re-naming of Welshmen,” been read and duly acted on before the Conquest what a blessing it would

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 106.

² *Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1901-2, p. 1.

have been to genealogists and historians, and what endless mistakes and incidents would be avoided at the present day.

Proof is afforded, by a post mortem inquisition, of the existence of a Richard Wogan in Somersetshire, who died in 1506, and was undoubtedly a different person to his contemporary at Boulston, as his property was inherited by the Somersetshire branch; and this, taken in conjunction with the evidence of Gerrard, referred to later on, renders it almost certain that Henry Wogan of Warren was the founder of the Wogans of Wiltshire and Somersetshire.

The exact relationship of Henry Wogan to the other branches in Pembrokeshire is unfortunately not ascertainable from the records so far come to light, but there is very little doubt that he was a member either of the Boulston or of the Wiston family. He died on the 31st August 1499, and the inquisition,¹ taken at Bridgwater on his death, shows that he owned a messuage and some one hundred acres of land, called Orchardlond, in Knightisby, Somersetshire, of the annual value of 26s. 8d., held of Richard Newton, Esq., and that Richard Wogan, his son and heir, was twenty-two years of age at the date of his father's death. He also appears to have held, either as trustee or otherwise, a share of the manor of Brockeley, in the same county; as by an inquisition,² held at Wells in 1499, it was found that FitzJamys senior, Henry Wogan, and Thomas Montague, Esqrs., conveyed one moiety of that manor to Alice Montague, formerly wife of Thomas Pyke, for her life, with remainder to her son, John Pyke, junior. It also records that Alice died seised of the property, and that her son, John Pyke, was then alive. Unfortunately the document is so faded that I was unable to decipher

¹ *Chan.*, vol. xiv, No. 43; also *Exchq.*, File 986, Ser. 2, No. 10.

² *Exchq.*, File 896, Ser. 2, No. 6.

the date of Alice Montague's death. The inquisition was held on 26th October 1499, while that of Henry Wogan took place a few days earlier, thus suggesting that he predeceased her. If this were so, it would strengthen the suspicion that Alice Montague was none other than Henry Wogan's daughter,¹ to whom he bequeathed by his will 100 marks.

It might be imagined from the inquisition on the death of Henry Wogan that he was not a very large landed proprietor; it was, however, the custom to hold an inquisition in each county in which the deceased owned property, and the explanation probably is that the documents relating to inquiries made in other counties have disappeared. The curious feature is that although there seems very little doubt that he held other lands in Somersetshire, no mention of them is found in the Somersetshire inquisition. As to his other possessions, the *Description of Somerset*, by T. Gerrard, in 1653, affords a little light. Referring to Sylving or Sylvinche, which it will be remembered was mentioned as the residence of John Wogan² who died in 1559, the author says:—

“Silvayne which gave that name unto ye ancient owners of it; of whom Richard Silvayne increased his estate by matching with Margarett, co-heire to John Merland of Orchardley in this county, by whom he had one sonne Roger and a daughter named Isabell. This Roger had one only daughter, Elianora, second wife of Sir Thomas Beauchampe of Whitlackington (36 Hen. VI), whom she outlived, but died herself without childe; whereupon Silvayne fell unto Henry Ogan in right of his wife . . . daughter and heire general of Isabell, sister of Roger Silvayne, and the heires of Ougan in our grandfathers' daies parted this place

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 105.

² *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 106.

between Stourton, Larder, Crewkerne, etc., but now by purchase it belongs, if not the whole the most, unto Sir George Speake of Whitlackington."

Now as we have seen, Henry Wogan was the owner of Orchardlond, no doubt the same place as Orchardley, and although we find no direct mention of this property amongst the assets of the family in later years, Silvinche, as will be shown further on, was owned by his descendants, and if the Somersetshire historian be correct, came to him through his marriage with the daughter of Isabel Silwayne.

Richard, the son of Henry Wogan, is probably the person mentioned in the will of William Dawstone, proved in 1500. By it the testator bequeathed to "Richard Ogan one jactett of Chamlet of black colour". He also gave to Philip Ogan, whom he appointed overseer of his will, "my other horse", the best horse having been previously bequeathed to the Prior of Taunton "for my tithes forgotten"; from which we gather that Mr. Dawstone was somewhat neglectful of the dues of the Church. Probably this Philip was a brother of Richard, and the son of Henry Wogan of Warren.

There are several inquisitions¹ on the death of Richard Wogan. They are unanimous in stating that he died in March 1506, and the majority agree that his death occurred on the 10th of that month. His property, briefly summarised, was as follows:—

WILTSHIRE.					Annual Value.
The manors of Hampton Turbile and West					
Thorpe, held of the King <i>in capite</i> by knight's					
service	..	..	..	..	£22 10 0

¹ 10 Moone.

² *Exchq.*, File 970, Ser. 2, No. 7; *Chan.*, vol. xxxiii, Nos. 90 and 100; *Chan.*, vol. xxiii, No. 260.

The Wogans of Merriion and Somersetshire. 99

	Annual Value.
A capital messuage and 319 acres of land in Est Bedwyn held of the King, the service being unknown	£4 0 0
Three messuages, 4 cottages, and 100 acres of land in Wilton, Stowford, Chylehampton, Bychehampton and South Newcoken, held of the Abbey of Wilton by a rent of 20s.	— — —

SOMERSETSHIRE.

One messuage and toft, one mill, two dovecotes, one garden, 154 acres of land, and a rent of 40s. 2*d.* in Sylvene, Atherston, Amgerslygh, Abbott's Isle and South Bradon :—

The property in Sylvene and Atherston was held of the heirs of John Speke as of the manor of Whitelackyngton by fealty and suit at the court there 45 13 0

The property in Amyerslygh was held of C. Capell, knight, by a rent of a red rose . . . 1 10 8

The property in Abbott's Isle was held of the heirs of Roger Newburgh, knight, by socage and a rent of 2*s.* 15 10

The property in South Bradon was held of Nicholas Bradhin, knight, by socage and a rent of 4*d.* 12 8

Richard Wogan's wife was Alice Columba, but the inquisition¹ which mentions her name does not reveal her identity, but states that in 1503-4 a suit was brought by Sir Richard Speke and John Soper, at Richard Wogan's request, by which the Somersetshire property was recovered by them, and in April 1519, was granted by them to Alice Columba for her life. This presumably was a post nuptial settlement. It is thus evident that she survived her husband. The only issue of Richard that I have discovered is his son and heir John, who was born at Westroppe, in the parish of Highworth in Wiltshire, on

¹ *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. xxxiii, No. 90.

10th March 1498,¹ and was baptised at Highworth. He was, therefore, only about eight years of age at the date of his father's death. There are several inquisitions² extant in regard to John Wogan's property, which, in addition to that held by his father, comprised the following:—

WILTSHIRE.		Annual Value.
The manor of Est Bedwyn, 8 messuages, and 2,100 acres of land in Est Bedwyn held of the Queen, the service being unknown		£7 11 0
One messuage and 92 acres of land in Wotten Basset		— — —

PEMBROKESHIRE.		
The manor of Myryan, ³ 16 messuages, 3,020 acres of land, and the moiety of a mill, in Myryan, ¹ Kanamston, ⁴ Knegh, ⁵ Treff Braun, ⁶ and Newton ⁷ near Knegh and Warran, ⁸ held of the heirs of Isabel, wife of John Wogan, knight, of Wooston, ⁹ Pembrokeshire, by a rent of a rose		14 9 2

Here, for the first time since the will of Henry Wogan in 1499, do we find direct evidence of a connection between the Somersetshire family and Pembrokeshire; yet from the fact that Henry Wogan, by his last testament, not only desired to be buried at "Woran",⁸ but also bequeathed a legacy of 6*s.* 8*d.* to the church there, the inference is that

¹ *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. xxxv, No. 120.

² *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. cxxiv, No. 197; *Chan.*, vol. cxix, No. 151; *Inq. P. M., Exchq.*, File 999, Ser. 2, No. 2; *Inq. P. M., Exchq.*, File 946, Ser. 2, No. 25.

³ Merriion in Warren Parish.

⁴ Cannaston in Robeston Wathen parish.

⁵ Neath in Rhoscrowther parish.

⁶ Trebrowen in Rhoscrowther parish.

⁷ In Rhoscrowther parish.

⁸ Warren.

⁹ Wiston.

he owned the estate in question, and that it descended through Richard to Henry's grandson, John. There are no records of inquisitions held in Pembrokeshire on the deaths of either Henry or Richard Wogan, and the same remark holds good in regard to John Wogan; but, on the other hand, the extent of the Pembrokeshire property is contained in two Somersetshire inquiries on the death of John Wogan. Possibly the reason why no reference is made to the Pembrokeshire estate in the English inquisitions of Richard Wogan is that Escheators may have been more particular in the time of Elizabeth than their confrères in the reigns of her predecessors.

Up till 1498, the family's headquarters appear to have been in Wiltshire,¹ but subsequently John Wogan must have moved to Sylvinche, as in his will he is described as of that place. There are few, if any, remains left of the old home of John Wogan at Sylvinche, as will be seen from the following description, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of the present vicar of Whitelackington; it was written in November 1901:—"Sylvinge, or Sylvinche, as they call it now, is a dairy farm on the boundary of this parish and Stocklinch. There is no trace of a mansion. At present it consists of a modern cottage built two years ago by the Squire, Major Vaughan-Lee, who now owns the property. This is attached to an older thatched-covered stone house of the type of the labourers' cottages about here, only a little larger. I believe the modern cottage replaced a similar building to the older one still in existence, and when the two made one building, as they may once have done, it would have been a fair-sized residence."

The name of John Wogan's wife was Anne or Agnes,

¹ *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. xxxv, No. 120.

and, as mentioned in my account¹ of the Wogans of Boulston, her maiden surname was probably Rosse. In the light of records which have recently turned up there can be little doubt that she was his second wife. She was apparently an heiress in her own right, as she devised the bulk of her property to John Rosse, who was presumably her nephew. Whether her daughter Mary, mentioned in her will, made in 1574, as the wife of William Stourton, of Warminster, was the issue of her marriage with John Wogan, or from a previous union, is not clear. The date of her marriage with John Wogan was probably in the reign of Philip and Mary, as the inquisition² states that he conveyed the manor of Sylvinche, with other property, to Hugh Paulet, knight, and George Speake, Esq., upon trust for himself and his wife Agnes for their lives, but the date of the year in which the grant was made is illegible in the document. Assuming, however, that the union took place in 1555 (1 and 2 Philip and Mary) the date would certainly admit of a daughter being of a marriageable age by 1574; but, on the other hand, if Mary had been the daughter of John Wogan, one would expect to find her taking a share of the property with his other daughters. The children from the first marriage were:—

Hugh Wogan.

Margery, the wife of John Larder, gent.

Alice, the wife of Robert Harryson.

Brigette, the wife of Giles Saunders.

Mary, the wife of Robert Morgan, esq.

Philippa Wogan, who was about eighteen years of age in 1559.

Hugh Wogan, the only son, married about 1554³ Jane, one of the daughters of Christopher Cheverell; and in

¹ *I'r Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 103.

² *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. cxix, No. 151.

³ *Inq. P. M., Chan.*, vol. cxix, No. 151.

that year his father conveyed the Pembrokeshire estate, a messuage, garden, and 10 acres of land in Whitlackington and Atherston, 52 acres in Petmyster and Amerslyge, 22 acres in Abbotsfylde and 8 acres in South Bradon in Somersetshire, to Robert Morgan, Nicholas Marten, Walter Grey, Robert Fowk, John Larder, Nicholas Rosse and Richard Younge, upon trust, as to the Pembrokeshire property, for Hugh Wogan and his wife Jane for their lives, with remainder to their sons, and, in default of issue, upon trust for the heirs of John Wogan the grantor; and as to the other property, upon the same trusts subject to a life estate for the said John Wogan.

Hugh Wogan, however, died¹ in Dorsetshire on 29th May 1555, without issue, and his wife Jane, who survived, took a life interest in the Pembrokeshire property. His father died on 31st March 1559, and was survived by his wife Agnes, whose will² was proved in 1575. On the death of Jane, the widow of Hugh Wogan, the Pembrokeshire property, under the deed of settlement, descended to the five co-heiresses of John Wogan, who no doubt, as stated by Gerrard, sold it. At all events, in 1571, the legal estate of the manor of Merrion was vested in Mark Abowen and John Abowen, clerk, as in that year a fine was levied on the manor of "Merrion" and "Llanunwesse" and other lands, in which they were defendants, and Thomas Abowen and Francis Laugharne were plaintiffs, when the manors in question were adjudged to be the property of the claimants. No doubt this was merely a settlement of the lands mentioned. The names only of the parties to the fine are given, so it is impossible to ascertain from it their identity, but unquestionably they were

¹ *Inq. P. M.*, vol. cxix, No. 151.

² *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv, p. 107.

members of the Roblinston family, as George Owen, the Pembrokeshire historian, in his list of manors¹ in Pembrokeshire in 1587-8 (30 Eliz.), states that the manor of "Meirian" was then owned by Bowen of Roblinston. Now Thomas Bowen, the son of Mark Bowen, of Roblinston, married Margaret, the daughter of Owen Laugharne, of St. Brides, who died in 1550, and her brother was Francis Laugharne. It is, therefore, likely that the fine in question was in connection with a settlement on the marriage of Thomas Bowen with Margaret Laugharne.

How long the manor of Merzion remained in the possession of the Bowens of Roblinston is uncertain. The next mention of it is in a fine levied in 1600, when Hugh Owen and his wife Lucy were plaintiffs, and John Pledall or Pleydell was defendant. Later on a fine was levied in 1623 on the manor. On this occasion Morris Bowen and his wife Matilda were defendants, so that the legal estate, at all events, was then vested in the Bowen family. In 1692 a fine was levied in which Stephen Morris and William Morgan were defendants, and Thomas Owen was plaintiff. In this suit not only the manor of Merzion, but the manors of Stackpole and Nangle were involved. It is impossible to draw any satisfactory conclusion from this record. The defendants, however, called upon Gilbert Lort, presumably Sir Gilbert Lort, the last baronet, who died without issue in 1698,² to warrant the title; and in view of this, and of the fact that the manor of Stackpole had belonged to the Lort family since 1613, it is a fair assumption that the Lorts had acquired the manor of Merzion by purchase or otherwise. This is further borne out by a writ in 1718, when Edward Archer, the defen-

¹ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, vol. ii, p. 522.

² *Old Pembroke Families*, p. 31.

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dant, called upon John Campbell¹ to warrant the titles of the manors of Stackpole, Merrion, and Nangle, Stackpole having been inherited by the ancestors of the present Lord Cawdor through a marriage with Elizabeth Lort, the heiress of Sir Gilbert Lort.

¹ Son of Elizabeth Lort and Sir Alexander Campbell, of Cawdor, in Nairnshire.

The Holy Grail.

A DISCRIMINATION OF THE NATIVE AND FOREIGN ELEMENTS OF THE LEGEND.

PART I.—EARLY HISTORY.

THE story of the Grail has two parts, one called *Joseph of Arimathea*, or *Li romanz de l'estoire dou Graal*, or generally, "The Early History"; the other, which is by some considered the earlier of the two in respect of origin, *The Quest of the Grail*. The earliest extant version of the Quest, called *Li Contes del Graal*, is dated variously between 1175 and 1182, and of the Early History, *Li romanz de l'estoire dou Graal* by De Borron, the earliest known text is assigned to the end of the century. Without debating the question of priority, we will begin our enquiry in the natural order, that is with the Early History; first making a few necessary observations on the name by which the whole story is generally known.

What ought to be understood by "Grail" is as difficult to determine as is the origin of the story which tells of it. According to most, grail is a dish or vessel of the type of basin, but one learned commentator maintained that it was a book, *gradale*=gradual, a service book. Robert De Borron, who wrote his *Romanz* about the year 1200, says the Grail was the vessel in which Joseph of Arimathea gathered up the blood Christ shed upon the Cross, and that Christ had

used the same vessel at the house of Simon for the institution of the Sacrament. When Jesus was taken the house was looted—

“Leenz eut un veissel mout gent,
Où Criz feisoit son sacrement;
Un Juis le veissel trouva
Chiés Symon,” etc.,

vv. 394-7.

and the Genoese, who supposed they had acquired this precious memorial of the Supper, called it *sacro catino*, to which name the word “grail” fairly corresponds in some MSS. and in Du Cange. The latter has “*Gradale*, Catino species, pro *grasale*. Inter vasa mensaria seu utensilia coquinae annumeratur in charta ann. 1263,” and “*Grasala*, *grasale*, vasis genus, ex ligno, terrâ, metalove, non unius notionis; occurrit enim pro vase rotundo largiore ac minus profundo.” The diminutive *gradaletto* remained in use in Italy as a general name for table-ware till the fourteenth century, for it is so used in the Italian version of the story:¹ “Tutte le scodelle e gli gradaletti de Dinadan erano nuove e belle.” Another form of the name is *Sang Real*, which, if a corruption, shows at least what was at one time the belief concerning this relic. The MS. edited by Furnivall for the Roxburghe Club is entitled *Seynt Graal or the Sank Ryal*; it is a version of the Early History. Helinandus, writing in 1220 *circa*, while recognising the domestic uses of the vessel called grail, endeavours to give a spiritual sense to the word. He says “*Gradalis* aut *gradale* gallice dictur scutella lata et aliquantulum profunda in quæ preciosae dapes divitibus solent apponi *gradatim* unus morsellus post alium in diversis ordinibus; . . . Dicitur et

¹ *La Tavola Ritonda*, vol. i, p. 273, MS. of the fourteenth century, printed at Bologna, 1865.

vulgari nomine *greal*, quia grata et acceptabilis est in ea comedenti"; and this was a favourite explanation. The *Grand St. Graal*, written about the time when Helinandus made that note, says of Nasciens that, "being shown the vessel wherein was Christ's blood, he thought that never was anything to be compared with it for excellence; for whereas nothing he had seen before but somewhat displeased him (li degraast) this pleased him entirely (li grée)."¹

This will be enough to show how uncertain was the opinion about this "vessel" at the time when the stories are said to have been made. No one at the time seemed to know whether the Grail, about which he wrote, was dish or cup, whether it was a vessel only, or a vessel containing the Precious Blood shed on Calvary. There is agreement, however, in ranking it above all memorials of the Passion, which the Church was reputed to possess; and surely, the Cup which Christ's own hands had held at the Institution, or the Dish in which He had dipped at the Supper, could not have been exceeded in sanctity by any other relics of His life on earth, and, if any portion of the Divine blood had been preserved with either, the tremendous importance of the possession would have been unspeakable.

When we think of this it will appear more strange that any uncertainty should have existed as to the precise nature of the relic; we shall have to reconsider the circumstances, to see that the obscurity surrounding it is natural. It lies in the detachment of the first Christians from all material things. Living in constant expectation of the second coming of their Lord, all phenomena of His earthly life and of their own were disregarded, so that it

¹ Alfred Nutt, *Studies in the Holy Grail*, analysis of the *Grand St. Graal*.

was not until this first state of expectancy had given way that the Church began to regard its own history more closely, and to preserve its monuments.

Whether, then, the Dish and the Cup of the Last Supper were ever used again by the first disciples in their solemn commemorations, or whether they were thought too sacred for use, we shall never know; but we may presume the Church had not yet begun to venerate any such memorials. We hear nothing of the relics of Stephen, nor of the place where the body was laid. A century later Justin Martyr also suffered and was buried, and the place of his sepulture is equally unknown. What we call relics are evidences of later date, and of a more systematic persecution. When suffering became the badge of a christian, the Church consoled herself by making trophies of the bodies of her martyrs. The *cultus* thus began. Garments torn by wild beasts, sponges dipped in blood, were exhibited at the tombs when the anniversaries came round, and were affectionately and reverently kissed by the crowds passing through the cemeteries. At first, probably, such relics were the property of relatives only, and not until private interests diminished did the Church acquire her full right; but with the success of Constantine came also the triumphs of the martyrs. The magnificent basilicas erected over their tombs brought crowds of pilgrims, and the memorial churches grew in wealth and beauty by their offerings. The possession of relics became a source of prosperity to City as well as Church; all relics were eagerly demanded, but especially those of the first days, and, of these whatever might recall the Life or the Passion of our Lord. The Holy Places of Palestine began to be visited; the mother of the Emperor was one of the first pilgrims, and to her was vouchsafed the discovery of the Cross, and of other relics of the Passion. Further discoveries were constantly

expected.¹ Portraits of Christ were demanded, and though the more prudent doctors declared that none existed, or ought to exist, it was not long before the curiosity of the ladies of the Court was satisfied. At first was produced the portrait made by Christ himself on the napkin of Veronica, then under its supreme sanction others, reported to have been painted by St. Luke. Nothing, finally, belonging to Christ's ministry on earth, but found its illustration—from the cradle of Bethlehem to the prints of the feet on the Mount of Olives. This being so, it is not to be supposed that the greatest, the most precious relic of all, would be wanting. If the blood of the meanest of God's servants had been treasured, was it credible that the piety of the "beloved disciple" or of Joseph, who took upon himself the last duties of the dead, had failed to preserve for the Church that most precious blood of the Divine Master? The imagination of those days would not have tolerated so great a neglect. In the fifth century Germanus visited the tomb of St. Alban and took away some of the earth supposed to be stained with the blood of the Martyr.² In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours tells how a certain Gallic matron returned from Judea *in the first century* with a shell full of the blood of John the Baptist, then recently murdered by Herod.³ In the seventh century the earth soaked with the blood of Oswald, who fell at Maserfield, A.D. 642,⁴ was religiously preserved.

¹ The Bordeaux Pilgrim, who arrived at Jerusalem about seven years later than the Empress, found already certain sites established, which had not been recognised in her time, viz., the House of Caiaphas, "where is the pillar of Christ's scourging"; the House of Peter, the Little Hill of Golgotha, "the Crypt where our Lord's body was laid."—Beazley, *Modern Geography*, vol. i.

² Constantius, *De Vita Germani*, cap. vi.

³ *De Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 12.

⁴ Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*

Such like instances are unmistakable. They show what would have been the feeling against Joseph if it could have been believed that this Holy relic had been lost to the Church by his fault. True, the blood was not openly shown, but that would not have hindered the belief in its existence somewhere ; it might have been supposed hidden during time of persecution, to be one day revealed. Such like beliefs were common. The *Book of the Penitence of Adam* tells of "the Cave of Treasures", where were preserved the gold of Paradise, the myrrh and the incense, which *Adam had taken away with him*, to be offered one day to the infant Saviour by the Magi.¹

Renan, commenting on this, remarks that the belief in the existence of this cavern was widespread in the East.² It is more difficult, in the presence of these beliefs, to suppose that a tradition of the existence of the Precious Blood did *not* exist than that it did, but it is true that an opinion contrary to this was also held, and that there were pious and learned persons to whom the idea was distasteful. Theodosius, writing also in the sixth century, says :— "There are indeed some persons who affirm that every part of the true cross which touched the naked body of the Lord and was stained with His blood, was caught up to heaven straightway from all human touch and sight, and that it will at last appear in the Day of Judgment."³ It was argued also that, since Christ had ascended into Heaven, every part of His human body must have been taken thither, and that nothing pertaining to it remained. To many people the popular belief would appear the more reasonable ; but that was peculiarly an age of marvels, and

¹ Migne, vol. xxiii, col. 290.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 5th series, vol. ii, p. 427.

³ *De Terra Sancta*, Trans. by Dr. Bernard for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891.

no *natural* difficulty would have been considered on one side or the other; we may conclude that the prevailing belief would have been that which corresponded best with popular sentiment, and what evidence there is goes to support that. In 1204 Dandolo sent to Venice, after the taking of Constantinople, a portion of earth stained with blood, said to have been taken from the place where the Cross had stood, but whether preserved by the care of Joseph of Arimathea, or discovered later, is not said, nor is it known how long the relic had been in possession of the Emperors. In 1150, a few drops of the Precious Blood were presented by Count Theodore of Flanders to the town of Bruges, and the "Chapel of the Holy Blood" was built for the care and exposition of the relic. Other portions also were brought from the East by Crusaders, and are still in certain Treasuries on the Continent. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, presented part of the same holy relic to the church of Hailes, in Gloucestershire, and to the Abbey of Ashridge, in Hertfordshire. Of the existence of these before the twelfth century nothing perhaps is known; pilgrims do not mention the Holy Blood, but they did not visit Constantinople, and what remained of this was, possibly, in the custody of the Emperors only, with whom also the other great memorials of the Passion were deposited: the Crown of Thorns, the sponge, one of the nails (the others formed part of the Crown of Lombardy, and the sword of Charlemagne). The spear remained at Jerusalem, and is mentioned by Pilgrims. Theodosius describes it as still to be seen in the Church of Golgotha, where it "shone by night as the sun by day". Antonius, a pilgrim, saw there also the cup (of onyx) which the Lord blessed at the Supper; this was about 570 A.D. The invasion of Chosroës in 614 would have led to the hiding of all relics, and some may have

been hidden and forgotten. In 680 A.D. came Arculf, and he describes "the Cup of the Lord"; "of silver, about the size of a French quart, and has two little handles to it on either side." "From this cup, as is reported, the Lord drank after His resurrection, as He sat at meat with the Apostles, and this holy Arculf saw and touched with his own hand and kissed through the opening of the perforated cover of a little shrine in which it was preserved; indeed the whole people of the City resort constantly to this Cup with great reverence."¹ He was then shown the spear "in the portico (aisle) of Constantine's basilica." The pilgrimage of Arculf was known in Strathclyde, in Northumbria probably, and in Wales, in the eighth century, his relation having been put into writing by Adamnan in 686. We may assume then that in the eighth century certain chief relics of the Passion were currently reported as existing: the Blood at Constantinople, with the true Cross and the others already mentioned; the Cup of the Last Supper and the Spear at Jerusalem. The last two being commended to the veneration of British Christians by the Abbot of the famous monastery of Hi.

Some part of the story of Joseph of Arimathea was also known here.² Everywhere, indeed, his personality had taken great hold on the imagination of Christians from the first, no hero of the Faith appealed so strongly to their admiration, no one had a greater claim on their gratitude; "Benefactor Dei" he is called by Gregory of Tours. The popular affection for Joseph was strengthened by the

¹ *The Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem*. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891, quoting from Adamnan.

² Nutt, *Studies*, p. 221. Nicolas, *Les Evangiles Apocryphes*, p. 365, says that the Anglo-Saxon version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* has many Welsh idioms, and he refers to the *Archæologia Britannica*, p. 256.

popular love of justice; amends must be made for the neglect of Joseph by the canonical writers. The sacred texts say nothing about him after the entombment. What became of him? Did he flee with the Maries and other witnesses of the Resurrection? If so, there was nothing to prevent his coming to Provence in some Syrian ship, and the legend of the landing at Marseilles may have been the popular answer to the question.

Legends of Joseph began to be made at a very early date. The compiler of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* only put together what was and had long been common belief concerning him, and he did not necessarily collect all the stories current; that which concerns us, for example, did not come into the purpose for which the "Gospel" was written, viz., the cultivation of the belief in a nether world, a place of waiting for judgment. This belief, of so great importance to the Church, depended on the popular or so-called apocryphal writings more than on the canonical, and for this reason the book which professed to have been revealed to the two sons of Simeon was quoted and approved by churchmen when other apocryphal stories of Joseph were left to maintain themselves by their picturesqueness alone. So eminent a person as the Archbishop of Tours introduces parts of the *Gesta Pilati* and the *Evangelium* into his version of the Life of Christ,¹ no doubt because they filled a gap left by the canonical writers. When Gregory wrote, the article of the Creed, *Descendit ad inferos*, had not yet been generally received,² and it was the more necessary to keep all "evidences" in sight, hence the

¹ Part of the general introduction to the *Church History of the Franks*.

² It was accepted by the fourth Council of Toledo in A.D. 633, and reaffirmed in A.D. 693. The Apostles' Creed, so called, was not finally settled as to its terms until the ninth century.

importance of that part of the story of Joseph. Our legend of the landing in Provence and of the preservation of the Precious Blood served no doctrinal purpose, and it existed, if at all, in popular story only. De Borron's *Estoire* contains the earliest written statement we have of the preservation of it by Joseph. Now, was De Borron the inventor of that part of the Joseph legend?

An examination of the *Estoire* makes the supposition of his absolute authorship impossible. It is full of details which we cannot believe he invented, descriptions of ceremonies, for example, which in his time were obsolete, unknown, and could only have been inserted by him because he found them in the story, or the scraps of stories, from which he was working. It is worth while to examine some of these.

The ceremony of central importance in any supposed *cultus* of the Grail must be the Celebration or Commemoration of the Last Supper. As described by De Borron this is of extreme simplicity, such as the poorest disciples in Palestine might have had among themselves. A table is dressed in the desert, the *vessel* was placed in the middle, and in front of it a *fish*, then the people were called to sit round, except such as were sinners. Why this fish? De Borron, who is supposed to have invented the "Early History", does not know. He attempts an explanation which does very little credit to his intelligence, and completely destroys any presumption of his authorship. The truth is, that when he wrote, the fish had long disappeared from the Eucharistic feast, of which it was an ordinary feature in primitive times; the story he was telling, therefore, must have been a very early one, or the ritual of the Grail had somewhere preserved to itself the ancient "use". The simplicity of the rite is further shown by the assertion, pointedly made, that "only the words of Christ Himself"

were used at the consecration. The discipline also is primitive: the catechumens and penitents *stand*, and are required to leave before the mysteries were reached. "Then all the people were invited, but only those who were conscious of having obeyed all the precepts Joseph had taught them were to sit at the table." "Those sitting at the table were penetrated with a delicious satisfaction which those standing did not feel . . . these left the chamber covered with shame."¹ One very ancient feature in the tradition is found in the *Grand St. Graal*. Joseph enters the "Ark" in order to consecrate. The practice of consecrating secretly is now peculiar to the Eastern rite, but once it was general. No traces of it remained in the West so late as A.D. 1200, unless in certain Basilicas of Italy, where curtains appear to have been fixed to the baldachins which enclosed the altars; but possibly the very narrow openings into the chancels of some of our most ancient Welsh and Irish churches may have relation to this practice.²

A very curious ceremony is described in the *High History*³ and also by Gerbert. It is a manner of "creeping to the Cross", and, as both writers take pains to explain what it means, it may have belonged to an older story. The rite is performed by two priests (or hermits) named Alexis and Jonas; nothing calls for the names of the two actors in this scene, and we are led to suppose it

¹ De Borron. Furnivall, app. to vol. i, *The Seynt Graal*, vv. 2537 *et seq.* The withdrawal of catechumens, or those "unfit to sit at Christ's table", is also part of the preparation for the great solemnity with which the *Queste* closes.

² The church of St. Bridget at Kildare had a *solid* screen of timber right across, separating the nave from the choir or sanctuary.—Warren, *Celtic Ritual*, p. 89.

³ Branches, xvi, 3, and xviii, 17; also in Potvin's abstract of Gerbert, p. 213, or Nutt, *Studies*, p. 24.

has been taken, names and all, from some mystery play; unless there is, or was, a story of Alexis and Jonas, which both writers by some coincidence resorted to for their incidents. All the stories of the Grail furnish illustrations of archaisms, but we are more particularly concerned at present with the *Estoire*, as this has the reputation of being the earliest to tell of the "Invention" of the Grail and of its coming to Britain.

The story of Joseph leading his small army of Christians into Britain (the promised land) is modelled on that of the wanderings of Israel in the desert. The analogy is so obvious it might have been made at any time, but there are peculiarities in De Borron's treatment of it which show it could not have been derived from the canonical scriptures, and that it was taken either from some apocryphal book or was the confused ending of a long tradition. The Moses of the *Estoire* is not the leader. Joseph was that, and Moses appears in the ungracious part of rebel and Anti-Christ, endeavouring to recover the place which under the Christian dispensation he had lost. In this allegory we must suppose Joseph to be sometimes Christ, as when he sits at the head of the Grail table; sometimes Moses, as leader of the chosen people. As Christ, his proper vicerent would have been Peter, who sometimes appears in that rôle; but in other places Peter is also Moses—the true Moses who has been supplanted. He has no clearly-marked function in the story, he is introduced by De Borron suddenly, and as suddenly disappears. We might suppose that the author was diversely inspired, and that if one story told about Peter another did not. He promises, for instance, that when he comes to the Vaus d'Avaron (Avalon) he will say

"quen vie Petrus mena
Qu' il devint", etc.—

vv. 3469-70.

but he either forgets to do so, or he has nothing to tell. Perhaps the *Grand St. Graal* partly supplies the defect; there is in it a long story of Peter; how he was cast ashore an infant and found by the daughter of King Orcaws, how he was brought up secretly by the Princess, and how he became a most valiant knight. The chivalric part we need not follow, but the opening of the story, which identifies Peter with Moses, may perhaps belong to that which De Borron had before him. The identification or parallelism of Peter and Moses is very ancient. In the early mosaics Peter is the recipient of the New Law; in representations of Moses striking the rock Peter is clearly the person represented—"Moyses figura fuit Petri", says St. Augustine. This displacement of Moses by Peter is maintained in the Grail as part of the system of disparagement of the Old Law which runs through it. It is more noteworthy, perhaps, that in these places the writers always speak as if the New Law had been recently established, a thing quite inconsistent with the belief that the *Estoire* was entirely a work of the twelfth century; whether the establishment of the New Law may refer to the introduction of Christianity into Britain or to the success of Christianity generally. The grotesque side of De Borron's picture, where he distorts the character of Moses, is possibly a pure blunder. Peter has another opponent named Symen or Symeu, who is called Moys' father. He tries to kill Peter. Moses had been punished for his presumption in taking the high seat by seven flaming hands which carried him to a place "burning like a dry bush"; Symen is punished similarly, he is carried off by devils and thrust into a fiery grave. This looks as if Simon Magus may have been confounded with the Moses who, at first set in apposition with Peter, became later his opponent and enemy; a curious travesty of ancient symbolism if true, and unmistakably a

blunder in respect of the persons. Shall we take this as a measure of De Borron's knowledge of Sacred History, or ought we to consider that he is repeating an ancient story which he did not think himself at liberty to alter?

The manner of consecrating Joseph as "Sovran Shepherd", could scarcely have been invented by De Borron; in the twelfth century no one would have thought of making any man a bishop who was not already priest, though that would not have been considered irregular in the fifth.¹ Not more would it have occurred to him to make Joseph Bishop for the sole purpose of consecrating the Eucharist; that point of order belongs also to a very early period of Church history. These and such-like anachronisms in De Borron's text lead us to suspect he is not the author of all he writes, and that the "book" to which he refers may have been a real one. Granting a previous belief in the existence of the "vessel" and of the Precious Blood, some story of Joseph which connected him directly with the preservation of the relic seems necessary, to no one else could the pious act have been attributed. This story would have been the Gospel of Joseph, and its object would have been to redress the injustice which Joseph may be said to have received. The omission of his name from the Canon of the Mass may have been a grievance.

¹ Consecration of laymen to the episcopate, *per saltum*, was still valid in the sixth century in Gaul, but the Church disliked it. In Ireland at that time there does not appear to have been any question (of the story of St. Columba); and in the Celtic Church generally the ancient liberty may have existed so long as that Church remained independent, but in the twelfth century such laxity was no longer possible. Henry I, being anxious to appoint an Englishman to the See of St. David, caused the Queen's chancellor, a layman, to be ordained priest one day and consecrated the next. He feared the Welshmen might be before him, but this was the most he could do; no doubt he would gladly have saved one of these days had he dared.

In the "great book" of the Grail, from which De Borron says he is quoting, Christ promises that "never should the sacrifice be offered without mention being made of what Joseph had done." The Sacrament of the Altar became, for the *cultores* of the "Benefactor Dei", a joint commemoration of Jesus and Joseph: "The Altar shall represent the sepulchre where you laid me, the corporal, the cloth in which you wound my body, the chalice will recall the vessel in which you caught my blood, and the paten resting on the chalice shall signify the stone placed over the sepulchre."¹ If De Borron invented this he was hardy. If it is derived from that ancient book we need not wonder if it is now lost. The destruction of heretical books was a duty, and the reference to the diptychs is a direct challenge to the Church.²

We may now turn to the legends connected with the arrival in Britain: there is the Glastonbury legend, which in some of its particulars is very old, and there is the legend of the landing in Provence. The latter was popular.³ Joseph of Arimathea is represented as landing on the coast of Provence with Mary Magdalen and the other Maries, Lazarus, and about forty in all. This company of disciples is described as being wafted over the sea, very much as were Joseph and his companions in the story of the Grail. Marseilles would have been in the first century the proper port for any one voyaging from the East to Britain. The route from Marseilles was by the Rhône to Lyons, and then it either turned aside to

¹ De Borron's poem, vv. 901-13.

² As a matter of fact the romances of the Grail were expressly interdicted by the Court of Rome at the same time that the Order of Templars was suppressed. See Moland, *Les Origines Littéraires de la France*, p. 71.

³ *Acta Sanctorum*, 17th March, and the Legend of *Les Saintes Maries aux Bouches du Rhône*, still current in Provence.

descend the Loire or it continued upwards by the Saône, to descend the valley of the Seine or to pass into the lower Rhine, and so by one course or the other to reach the estuary of the Thames, the creeks of the South Coast, or the Severn Sea. It was by Marseilles that Christianity came to Gaul and Britain. The Christianity of Southern Gaul, moreover, was essentially Asiatic or Syriac, and if this legend of the Grail had its origin in Syria, it may have been first heard of in Europe at Marseilles; and this may be what is meant by the memory of so many of the holy women who were present at the Cross and the Sepulchre, being preserved there. Provence was the final home of many personages in the drama of the Passion. Pilate came here after his disgrace, and lived at Vienne. Martha lived at Tarascon, and the Magdalen in the solitude of the Sainte Baume.¹ Among those who landed from the rudderless ship was the Hemorroïssa, who is sometimes identified with Martha. She is called Marie la Venisienne in the *Grand St. Graal*, and Verrine by De Borron. The latter name (or Ste. Venise) is that by which she is known in Northern France, where she probably represents a former goddess of the Romanized Gauls.²

¹ "Depuis longtemps," says Renan, "un courant de communications reciproques était établi entre les ports d'Asie Mineure et les rivages méditerranéens de la Gaule. Ces populations d'Asie et de Syrie, très portées à l'émigration vers l'occident, aimaient à remonter le Rhône et la Saône, ayant avec elles un bazar portatif de marchandises diverses, ou bien s'arrêtant sur les rives de ces grands fleuves, aux endroits où s'offrait à elles l'espérance de vivre. Vienne et Lyons étaient en quelque sorte le point de mire de ces émigrants qui apportaient en Gaule les qualités de marchands, de domestiques, d'ouvriers et mêmes de médecins."—Renan, *L'Eglise Chrétienne*, p. 468. These emigrants formed a large part of the population of the cities on the river, and the stories of Martha, Mary Magdalen, and Pilate may be part of the deposit of legend they have left there.

² Maury, *Croyances et Légendes de l'Antiquité* (La Veronique).

In this case, then, De Borron would be repeating a local tradition, but there is confusion nevertheless, Veronica, not Verrine, is really meant; the uncertainty, however, is of very early date. De Borron perhaps justifies his use of the local name by calling the imprinted *sudarium* "la Veronique". All the legend of the landing in Provence, and of the events which determined the exile of Joseph, would not have been known at every place on the route we have indicated; there would have been many stories, some attaching themselves to one place, some to another, and they might have arrived in Britain from the East or from the West, or Winchester and Salisbury might have been the places where they were first known. There seems to be no further memory of Joseph in Provence than that he landed; it may be presumed that he did not remain, and may have followed the ordinary course of immigrants, northward. A tradition that his body was at Moyon Moustier in Alsace at the end of the eighth century, and that it was subsequently stolen, is recorded by Mabillon, and in the *Acta Sanctorum*.¹ It is not said whither the body was taken, but the Vatican church claims to possess one of the arms. A legend of Joseph in Alsace is an argument for the existence of our legend there also, and we may couple this with the recent translation of the *Evangelium* in England—clearly an interest in him and his work was increasing. In England the centre of the Joseph legend is Glastonbury, and, curiously enough it has little to do with the Grail; Glastonbury may be the Abbey of Glays and the Ile de Verre, but it is not certain that it was Avalon, and nothing is said in the story of Joseph, as it is given by the French authors, about the wattled church, or the Thorn. The fragments of the

¹ Mab. *Annales*, sub anno 799. *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii 17.

"Early History" which seem to relate to the conversion of Britain belong to the Augustinian mission rather than to the earlier Celtic Christianity. The story which attributes the conversion to Peter has been mentioned. This is part of the enlarged story (*the Grand St. Graal*); De Borron does not bring the Grail to Britain, though he may have intended it. He relates how Peter received a divine commission, direct, and that he chose the West for the scene of his labours,

"En la terre vers Occident,
Ki est sauvage durement
Es vaus d' Avaron m'en irei."

vv. 3219-21.

When the *Grand St. Graal* was written the Welsh influence appears to have dominated, and we have Celidoine, Nasciens and Mordrains as the active lieutenants of Joseph for the conversion of Britain, the story of Petrus and King Lucius coming rather awkwardly in another place. Still, though the names are mainly Celtic, the story told reminds us of the perils of Augustine's mission and its re-establishment by Theodore. Celidoine, after converting a few, one hundred and fifty, persons, is put in prison with his converts, and that might have been the end, but Mordrains has a vision of the extremity of the Christians, and arrives in time. Glastonbury would thus have been the second home of the legend. The chosen knight assumed the shield of Joseph of Arimathea at a "certain abbey". Now the body of Joseph was translated to the Abbey of Glays from an Abbey of the Cross.¹ The almost inaccessible

¹ Lonelich, *Seynt Graal*. The French version says only that Joseph dies, apparently at the Castle of Galafort in Northumberland, whence the body was carried to Scotland because of a great famine there, which it changed instantly to a great plenty; and that the body was there *enteres en une abeie de glay*, "which Abbey of Glaystyngbery now men hald," says Lonelich, chap. liv, Roxburghe Club edition, 1863.

position of Glastonbury may have led to its becoming a refuge for persecuted or timorous Christians, either at the time of the invasion of Wessex or later, when Alfred betook himself to Athelney. The translation of the body of Joseph from the North suggests rather a flight thence. The names Celidoine, Nasciens and many others, in the Story of the Grail belong to the North. The only British names in De Borron are Brons, Alain and Enygeus. Brons=Bran (the Blessed) "who first brought Christianity to Britain", and was very appropriately first keeper of the Grail; Alain, who in one part of the story seems to have been intended for the same office, may represent the Breton side of the legend, which De Borron decided to neglect in favour of the British form; Enygeus, may be the same with the mother of Arthur. The *Grand St. Graal*, which extends and fills up the story, gives us more names. Nasciens, who was the "first to behold the wonders of the Grail", is supposed by the learned author of the *Arthurian Legend* to be the same with Nectan or Naitan who played so decided a part in the establishment of Catholic Christianity in the North. Of Nasciens' line, the last was Galahad. Nasciens' son was Celidoine, the eponymous hero of Scotland. Evelach was the first convert; the name is that of one of the sons of Cunedda, but it has also much higher dignity in Welsh genealogies. "Avallach, son of Canalech, son of Beli, and his mother was Anna, who they say was cousin of the Virgin Mary."¹ Evelach is also called Mordrains or Mordains, Noodrans, which is explained as "hard of belief"; it may perhaps have relation to Meaux (Melda) where he was born, though it is said to have been given *after* his baptism. He was the son of a cobbler, and was sent to Rome, with other youths and maidens, as

¹ Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, "Life of St. Carannog". The name occurs again in the genealogies of St. Cadoc and St. David; in this last is a Euguen, son of the sister of Mary.

tribute in the time of Augustus Caesar ; the two daughters of the Count of the Town were also sent, and Evelach was their servant—the beginnings of a very pretty story of which we should have been glad to hear the rest. Another Frenchman gets into the story as Blaise, the “Master” of Merlin ; he is Lupus the celebrated Bishop of Troyes, who accompanied Germanus on his first expedition to Britain ; and again we have one of the founders of Christianity in Britain figuring as a fundamental personage in our story. Perhaps Germanus is also commemorated under the form Gonemans, the first instructor of Perceval. It cannot be pretended that these names occur in an orderly, connected narrative, but they do belong to the very beginnings of Christianity in this Island, and the use of them may imply a belief that the coming of the Grail was contemporary, or nearly so, with the coming of the Gospel. The tradition which mixes one with the other may have been a scarcely intelligible story in the twelfth century. It had passed through many hands, from Celt to Saxon, from Saxon to Frank, and also, by another route, from Breton to Frank and Norman, no wonder if it had changed form and personifications ; it is wonderful that so many of the oldest names have been preserved.

The Early History, “commencemens de l'estoire del saint graal,” ends with the coming of the Saxons (*li saine*) and the deposition of the Grail in a castle built for it “en-i-estrange roiaume ou il auoit plente de niche (simple) gent : qui ne sauoient rien fors seulement de terre cultilier,” the charge of the Grail being given to Alain¹

¹ According to the *Grand St. Graal* ; but De Borron, after appointing Alain in the earlier part of the story, appears to forget him and he makes Brons the Grail keeper. The change of name (and family) may have been a result of the wandering of the story ; the line of keepers tracing from Brons being part of the Welsh tradition, that deriving from Alain being Breton.

and his descendants, the last of whom was Galahad. And so ends this first part of the Story of the Grail. It is the history, apparently, of the belief that some portion of the Precious Blood still existed on earth, notwithstanding the discouragement given to that belief by sober-minded men; it is therefore the story of an unauthorized or "pious" belief and of a cult, if cult there was, which was practised secretly, unless, under peculiar circumstances, overt acts might have been permitted in honour of the relic. The signs of a ritual of the Grail, and more especially the persistence of the primitive mode of celebration, out of which grew the story of the Round Table, seems to prove an uninterrupted tradition of fellowship among believers in the Grail; the tradition of names also supports the presumption of antiquity for the legend. It must be understood, however, that the object of these papers is not to establish a formal tradition or *Legend of the Grail*, but to show that there might have been, and probably was, a belief in the existence of some relic of the Passion of pre-eminent sanctity from very early times, and that the belief attracted to itself a great mass of legend and folk-story wherever it took root. This relic, if not the Precious Blood itself, was some other most intimate memorial of the Last Supper; the identification of the Grail with the supposed relic is the object of our enquiry. But in arriving at this, many matters of no less importance in the story will have to be considered; and first of these is the question: What was meant by the Round Table?

PART II.—THE ROUND TABLE.

The story of the Grail tended naturally to become one of adventure; Christians would inevitably ask, "Where then is the Castle of Corbenic, and why should not the Grail be exposed to the adoration of the Faithful?" When this time came, and a hero had to be found, equal by his reputation to achieve the discovery of the Vessel, it would be to Arthur's Court romancers would turn: to Arthur himself or to the foremost of his knights, to Gwalchmai or Owen. The story of Arthur, more especially the later and more familiar part of it, represents him as little likely to undertake an enterprise wholly religious; but Arthur was Emperor and victorious, and the destined Leader therefore, if not the Hero of every great achievement. He thus inevitably became Christian Hero of Britain, and the Round Table of the Grail will always be known as his.

The table at which Arthur feasted with his champions did not differ in respect of its "roundness", or otherwise, from the table of Conchobar at Emain, or that at which Charlemagne may have sat with his peers. The number of the peers, or companions, was the same in all; it was the number consecrated alike by Pagan and Christian precedent, and symbolised a certain divinity attaching to the central figure. Arthur's table has become famous beyond others because of the Grail, but in itself it had no pre-eminent lustre, nor was it exceptional in any way. Roundness was not peculiar to Arthur's table, —all "tables" were round at the time; nor was there anything unusual in a great chief holding a table for his immediate household, the great officers of state, who were called, in the general language of Europe, the *comes* of the

King. The dignity of Arthur's table and its distinction above all others, was due only to the Grail, to its identification with the table of the Grail, and for this reason only does it belong to our subject.

The "table" of Joseph of Arimathea was not of his invention, but imitated from that at which Christ himself presided. The *Queste* says, "Since Christ's coming were three chief tables: first, that at which Christ often ate with his Apostles; the second table was that of the Holy Grail, established in semblance and remembrance of the first, by which many miracles were wrought in this land in the time of Joseph of Arimathea, in the beginning when Christianity was brought to this country; and last came the round table made by Merlin's counsel to show the roundness of the world and the firmament."¹

The *Petit Saint Graal* says shortly, "Our Lord made the first table, Joseph the second, Merlin the third"; and other statements agree. Now we know exactly what that "table" was like at which Christ ate with his disciples. In the first century, whether in the public *cenacula* or in private houses, guests meeting to eat the evening meal together had but one custom at table: they reclined on couches arranged on three sides of a space, in which stood a little stool (*mensa*)² on which the dish was placed. This arrangement was the *triclinium*, the couches of which never held more than three persons each, nine *comedentes* in all. When a great dinner was given the number of *triclinia* was increased.³ In public dining-rooms, such as

¹ *La Queste del Saint Graal*, printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1864, chap. v.

² *Mensa*, of course, does not mean "stool," nor does it mean "table" properly, it must be referred to *metior*.

³ The *Chrysotriclinium* at Constantinople had apses for eight "beds", it was an octagonal building.

may have been the "upper-room" at Jerusalem, where companies of more than nine sometimes supped together, and where also less state was used, a thick bolster (*torus*, *pulvinus*) took the place of the three couches. This was laid on the ground, or on a low platform, and almost encircled the *mensa*. Because of its shape when so laid, C (that of the Greek S), it was called *sigma*. The feasters lay outside the *sigma* on the ground, or on a carpet, and supported the body on the cushion and the left elbow; each guest was thus able to reach the dish with his right hand. This circular grouping must have been the arrangement of the twelve who ate the Last Supper with their Lord. There can be no doubt of this whatever. It is equally certain that in this way, and no other, Arthur must have messed in camp with the British chiefs; but some proofs of this may be asked, seeing that, in the romances, the round-table is sometimes spoken of as a very substantial piece of furniture at which the knights sat. In the twelfth century the change from the recumbent position to the upright had been made, and a misunderstanding of what had been formerly the custom, was very natural. Tables, in the modern sense, were by that time in use in all civilized countries, and the difficulty of attaching any but the common meaning to the word would have been very great; it was increased, moreover, by the acceptance of *mensa* as the equivalent Latin.

The Roman fashion of reclining at meat had certainly not been abolished in the fifth century, when the last legion left Britain. Illustrations of the sixth century show us that both in court and camp the old custom was maintained. In the Ambrosian Library is a pictured MS. of the *Iliad*, of the sixth century; the Greek chieftains are represented feeding on the plain, or eating their evening meal; they recline on the *sigma* in groups of three or four.

The Abimelech and Pharaoh scenes of the Vienna "Genesis" of about the same date, show that the fashion of reclining at meals was still observed at Court; but here the *mensa* has become a semi-circular table and the *pulvinus* a couch fitted closely to the rounded part. In the church of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, is a mosaic of the Last Supper, where the disciples recline at a table very like those in the Vienna MS.; the mosaic is of the sixth century. In the same century, Antoninus of Placentia was shown at Cana "the very couch" on which Jesus reclined at the wedding feast; not a picture this, but the substantial "bed", and proof, therefore, that the custom of reclining still held not only in Syria but in Italy, for Antoninus does not speak of it as strange or antiquated.

Now, these illustrations cover the time when the living Arthur had his "table" in Britain. He succeeded to a Roman post, he was possibly of Roman origin, and his customs were doubtless those of a Roman general. We may take those pictures in the Ambrosian *Iliad*, of the Greeks under the walls of Troy, as very fair evidence of what might have been seen in a British camp in the fifth century. The Vienna MS. shows us the utmost state the Dux Britanniae might have exhibited in his feasts at York. If, however, examples of the Celtic custom of the time be preferred, we must turn to Ireland, where Roman influence was least felt. There we find remains of what are called *Fullocht Fionns*, or Fenian hearths; they were sometimes paved for supporting a fire, sometimes dug out and lined with stout planks, which are embedded in close marl or clay, presumably for boiling water by means of hot stones. Where a fire was made, the flesh might be broiled, or fried, or a caldron would be used for seething.

Very fine caldrons have been found in Ireland, and the tales of the country record some famous ones. Arthur

made an expedition to Anwfn to obtain for himself a celebrated caldron. The caldron of the Dagda we shall speak of later. These "hearths", where the meat was cooked, were apparently feasting places also; we presume this because of the mound of earth surrounding each one, horseshoe like—the universal *torus* or *sigma*.¹

Turning from camp to palace, we have the description of the "mead hall" of Conchobar at Emain, which was ordered, as we are told, upon the pattern of the great palace of Tara. It had nine "beds", i.e., *trichinia*. The "bed" of the king was in the "forefront" of the hall, it had a ceiling of silver with pillars of bronze.² Under this canopy (*daís*) he feasted with his twelve "chariot chiefs". There is obviously no essential difference between the Roman fashions and these; either the ring round the *mensa* or the more stylish "bed" was the rule.

It is believed that the custom of sitting at meat, whether on bench or chair, though not without its examples in the ancient world, was in its domestic and everyday obser-

¹ See W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, 1902, vol. i, pp. 121 *et seq.* As part of this subject, the *Brudíns* or wayside hostels of ancient Erin ought to be mentioned; they were free to all, and food and shelter were given. The *Brudin Da Derga* was the most famous, its caldron was always simmering. From the fact that these *Brudíns* never failed to entertain the wayfarer may have arisen the fable of the inexhaustible or magic caldrons. It is perhaps to the closing of these hostels that the prologue of the *Conte* refers, where it laments for the good old time, when "the rich land of Logres was full of springs which harboured damsels who fed the wayfarer with meat and pasties and bread." It should have been said that the *Fullocht Fionns* and the *Brudíns* are always found near water courses—"wherever a well or spring develops into a good sized rivulet."

² This suggests a four-poster, but it was not exactly that; the translator calls it a "compartment", but admits that bed is the literal word, perhaps *exedra* would be a fair rendering. See the *Cuchullin Saga*, Grimm Library, Nutt, 1898, p. 57.

vance, Teutonic. If so, it would not have got into vogue in countries where Roman fashions were practised until respect for the Roman name had been lost. The Franks may have begun the revolution in Gaul and the Normans completed it. They at least brought it to Wales. In the twelfth century, still, the Welsh ate sitting on the ground on bundles of hay or sedges, over which a cover of some sort was spread. The story of Owen shows Arthur seated on such a cushion in his own hall, and in the lives of the Welsh Saints are frequent evidences that the ancient custom still prevailed in Wales in their time:—"Qui nichil aut modicum habet in penum quod opponat *discumbentibus*", and "circa modium cervisiæ ordinatim in *modum circuli* illud circumdando *discubuerunt*." These will suffice to prove that the modern "table" was unknown in Wales at the time of our Story. Giraldus says, moreover, the Welsh "had no tables" even in his time, 1188, the date of the *peregrinatio*. It is certain, then, that by "round table" must be understood *the circle of the guests*, not any piece of furniture whatever. San Marte suggests this in his preface to the *Seynt Graal*, without, however, offering proofs; he was acute enough to perceive some *équivoque* in the name.

Now, there was only one moment when the name "round table" could have come into use, and this was just as the new fashion of sitting to meat at a "board" (Scandinavian *bord*=plank, *tabula*) was getting itself established. The "board" was usually long, extending down the hall on either side, with seats against the walls; or it was set athwart at the upper end for the master of the feast, the king or lord. The "high-seat", with canopy or *daïs*, was first placed at the end of the hall, in Norway, in

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Kamb.*, Bk. i, ch. 10. *Mabinogion*, Story of "Owain, or the Lady of the Fountain." Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, Life of St. Brynach, p. 12; Life of St. Cadoc, p. 45.

the time of Olaf the Quiet, 1066-93,¹ in France perhaps earlier.

In the *Bernward Gospels*, of the eleventh century, the Last Supper is represented as being eaten at a long table; sometime in that century then, and perhaps as early as the tenth, the antique *mensa* had become a table; and the name "round table" would have been given as well to the half round table (at first with a semi-circular bed for reclining, afterwards with seats), as to the more ancient *torus*, wherever the more ancient use of sitting or lying on the ground was maintained. During the time of transition only could the "table" of Arthur have been called "round table", for before the change began *tabula* had no meaning as applied to the apparatus for feasting, and later, in the twelfth century say, when the vestiges of ancient custom had been lost, Arthur's "table" could only have been imagined as like the usual high-table of the day; just as the Last Supper was supposed by mediæval painters to have been eaten at the same high-table. The name *Round Table* then is a sign of a certain antiquity, of a time of transition, when the ancient use of Rome and the civilised world was giving way to the fashions introduced by Franks and Northmen.

Arthur's *mensa*, or *mwys*, or *callawr* or whatever may have been the word which had to be exchanged for *table* when tables became fashionable, had probably never ceased to be a subject of boasting and regret to his compatriots. Their last great leader was best remembered by his campaigns, and not least, we may imagine, by the songs and shouts of his champions as they feasted with him after a battle. In after days of disunion and disaster, Arthur's

¹ *Heimskringla*, X, ii, and cf. the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, Morris and Magnusson, 1892, p. 269.

camp fire would become a memory and also a symbol of victory, and when, under pressure of the Saxons; the wretched Cymry found themselves crowded into a poor mountainous country, Arthur's caldron would become, in their stories, an inexhaustible vessel, magical, like the mythic caldron of Gwyddno. What memory of Arthur popular rhymes have preserved is precisely of his table:

"When good King Arthur ruled this land," &c.

But Arthur was also Grail King; he would therefore have another table, also round, but of more ceremonious decking. We may see this table to-day as it may have been imagined, before the eleventh century, in MSS. where the Last Supper is depicted. Christ sits at a half round table, not as at first *in cornu sinistro* (to the left of one looking at the straight side of it), but *in the middle of the round*, the Apostles on either hand, "en virunt et en coste", as says the poem of "The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne"; just as the Bishop sat in church with his clergy.¹

Such, shortly, is the history of the transformations which changed the almost universal *mensa* and *triclinia*, or the *stibadium* with its *torus*, into the long table with seats. Some steps have been omitted so as not to burden this paper with details, but, broadly, the course was as indicated: first, the adoption of the sitting posture, either on cushions on the ground or on *subsellia*; then, when the tables became long, chairs, faldstools, or benches. During the same time the "table" was being modified as follows:

¹ The position of the bishop's seat in the middle of the curve of the apse, of very ancient adoption, no doubt led to the variation in the placing of Christ and his Apostles in pictures of the Last Supper, which began in the sixth century. Cf. Fleury, *La Messe*. The *Rossano* MS. of the same century places them as does the mosaic of Ravenna.

the *mensa* was increased in size and height and was made half round to correspond with the closely-fitting "bed", then seats were adapted to the *mensa*; this became the table of the master of the feast and his principal guests, and in church, the altar, round which sat the clergy with their bishop; in the lower part of the hall other guests and the "family" of the Lord had small tables at which they sat in groups, often in twos; or they sat on the ground round a great platter, lifted, perhaps, above the floor by short legs, as the Japanese *zen*. The small tables were readily placed and carried away; they were probably set on trestles. Then came the long tables, at first removable also, and finally "dormant". There was little difference at first between the ordering of a feast in hall and the disposition of the messes in camp. King Mangons and a hundred companions camp near a spring—

" Et quant bien l'orent conrée (corné ?)
Les tables misent, si s'assist
Li rois si com lui plot, et sist
A son dois, et tout environ
S'assisent li. C. compaignon."

Conte, vv. 38588-92.

At a meeting of the Round Table the knights are described in the same *Conte*—

" Assis partout, si com il durent
Au dois et as tables *par tière*";

v. 1588.

and in another place

" S'assist li rois
Lassus *amont* al mestre dois."

v. 21912.

where it is plain that "tables" is used for the more ancient *mensae*, *mwysau*, *missoria*, set on the ground, unless we assume that tables and trestles were carried for a hundred people, and faldstools also; but the expression *par tière* scarcely allows of any other interpretation than that of

sitting on the ground. The half-round table, *dois*, for the King, is abundantly represented in MSS.¹

We now understand how it happened, that while the Trouvères were repeating stories of the Grail, in which the feasters are described as sitting *par tière*, they also imagined a round table big enough to seat five hundred knights. The beginnings of the story were inherited, and they were repeated with reasonable accuracy by the French writers, but as the tale grew in their hands they had to work it out as they might. The number of the "companions" of the table increased from twelve to twelve score, and then they were reckoned by hundreds, and for all these the supposed table had to be enlarged. The Trouvères were thus brought to imagine a monstrosity, but they had for it a certain authority in the *Estoire*; the table which Joseph dressed for believers in the Grail was a circle on the grass, which, according to the number of communicants, would be greater or less; it would be easily adjusted, but always the table was full—

"Dou peuple assist une partie
Li autre ne s'assistront mie
La taule (table) toute pleine estoit
Fors le liu qui pleins ne pooit
Estre ;"

De Borron, vv. 2559-63.

If all had sat it would have been only full, just the same, the one place excepted.

And now we come to speak of this one place, *le liu vuit*, which is so important a feature in the Table of the Grail and the Round Table equally; which is indeed the same place, the two tables being one.

The "high-seat" in the hall was that of the King or

¹ *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023. Monte Cassino. Westwood, Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria.*

Master, it was left empty in his absence and at his death, and could only be filled again after death by his son, or by his elected successor. The seat would remain vacant in case a young son inherited, until his coming of age, and anyone daring in the meantime to occupy it, would have looked to be rudely expelled. Leading up to, and placing in the high-seat was formal investiture. The practice in the case of bishops and their seat in church was the same: between the death of one bishop and the institution of another the "see" was vacant. The Table of the Grail was established "in semblance and remembrance of the first", viz., of that at which Christ had eaten with His Apostles. At this table the place of Christ could only be filled by His legitimate representative. De Borron did not understand that, he thought the vacant place was that of Judas.

"Qui par folie
De nostre compeignie eissi."

v. 2529.

He was confused, perhaps, by the presence of Joseph, who may have seemed to him the proper president, and he rightly was, so soon as this part of Joseph's history had been invented; but the Grail is older than the story of Joseph of Arimathea, and when that was taken in hand to give a logical foundation to the belief in the existence of the Precious Blood, the Table of the Grail with its one vacant seat was already in existence. De Borron was right in making Joseph the visible president during his life, and in assuming therefore that an empty seat would be that of an Apostle, but he might have suspected some confusion if he had regarded more closely the story he tells, for it makes Moses ambitious of the office of Leader. This is part of another story, where Peter, the vicegerent of Christ, is assailed by Moses, who thinks himself entitled to the place. De Borron did not like to exclude this inci-

dent, but Joseph was the necessary Leader, the first of the series of Grail-keepers and heroes to which Perceval and Galahad belong, and he could only make a vacant place by supposing that of Judas had not been filled.

The punishment of Moses was a frightful example; henceforth the *liu vuit* becomes the *siège périlleux* of the romances. It had been the seat of Christ reserved for His second coming, it was now the seat of the "Good Knight", who should preside in His name, and let all usurpers beware.

A contemporary illustration will show exactly what was understood of this *liu vuit*; it is from the poem of "The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne," written early in the second half of the eleventh century.¹ At that time, when pilgrimages were general, and a visit to the Holy Sepulchre the ambition of every brave and pious soul, it was not permissible that the great Emperor should have done less than the best, so a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was imagined for him also, and he is supposed to go thither with his peers. When he arrived he went straight to the "Temple", where, in the sanctuary, were the seats of Christ and his Apostles; that of Christ carefully "sealed", to guard it from profane intrusion. It was believed that here He had instituted His sacrament—

"Dieu i chantait messe, si firent li apostle
Et le xii chaires i sunt tutes encore
La trezième est en mi ben sellée e close."

Charles took it without hesitation, and his twelve peers the seats of the Apostles—

"Karles i entrat, ben ont al queor grant joie
Le xii peers as altres en virunt et en coste
Ainz n'i sist hume ne unkes prus encore."

¹ Gaston Paris, *La vie poétique de Charlemagne, and Romania*, No. xxv, p. 481.

Nevertheless Charles had no fear, nor would a Briton have feared any more for Arthur placed in the same seat. Were they not both Champions of Christendom, carrying on in their day the work Christ had begun, killing His enemies, maintaining His Law? It was part of the proper mythical character of each that he should preside at the table Christ had established as a perpetual sign of His kingship.

(To be continued.)

Reviews.

EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL BANGOR (1902): Y Farddoniaeth a'i Beirniadaeth. Dan Olygiaeth E. Vincent Evans. Cyhoeddedig gan GYMDEITHAS yr EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL, 64, Chancery Lane, Llundain, 1903.

AWDL Y GADAIR: "*Ymadawiad Arthur*", gan T. Gwynn Jones, Caernarfon.

PRYDDEST Y GORON: "*Trystan ac Esyllt*", gan R. Silyn Roberts, M.A., Llundain.

CRWYDRODD yr Awen Gymreig ym mhell oddiar ban bynciai Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd ei "Orhoffedd", neu ban nyddai Dafydd ab Gwilym ei gywyddau i Forfudd; ac fel y dywedir am y gwr adfydus, hi a ymdarawodd â chymdeithion rhyfedd. Pe gallasai y Cynfeirdd ddychwelyd i dir y byw, prin iawn yr adwaenent eu mam Ceridwen, gan mor llesg ei cham, mor llwyd ei gwep, ac mor garpiog ei gwisg lawer pryd. Sawl gwaith y gwelsom y foneddiges eiriandlws a groesewid gynt i fysg tywysogion wedi syrthio, druan o honi, ar elusen plwy neu drugaredd Dorcas. Ond gwnaeth Pwyllgor Llenyddol Bangor ymdrech i'w hudo yn ol i'w hen gynefin, sef llwybrau anian; a chawn weled iddynt lwyddo i raddau o leiaf. A thyma'r moddion a gymerasant i'w denu; nid ei llygad-dynu a llawer o aur ac arian, eithr cynyg testynau cyfaddas iddi ganu arnynt. Pa fenyw freiniol na ddirywiasai o gydgam â'r fath bethau a "Brawdoliaeth Gyffredinol"? Pa bren tîrf na wywa wedi tynu ei wreiddiau o'r ddaear roddasai faeth iddo?

Testyn y Gadair oedd "*Ymadawiad Arthur*"; testyn y

Goron "Trystan ac Eysyllt". Yr oedd cymaint a hyn o debygrwydd rhyngddynt, perthynai y ddau i gyff y chwedlau Arthuraidd; yr oeddynt yn rhamantus ac yn Gymreig. Ond yr oedd y ddwy stori yn bur wahanol i'w gilydd, a gofynent ymdriniaeth wahanol. Un digwyddiad, un syniad geid yn "Ymadawiad Arthur"; i wneyd gwrhydri ohono rhaid i'r bardd wrth amgyffred, darfelydd, ac awen. Ar y llaw arall stori amlganghenog ydoedd "Trystan ac Eysyllt", yn orlawn o amryfal elfenau, ac ar brydiau yn treiddio i guddfanau mwyaf cyfrin traserch. Cynwysai y testyn hwn gyflawnder o ddefnyddiau; y penaf peth a ofynid oddiar y bardd oedd gallu i ddethol ac i grynhoi. Yr oedd llawer o feirdd, mewn llawer iaith, wedi canu ar y ddau destyn, ac oni buasai eu bod yn dwyn y nodwedd sydd byth yn newydd, tra byth yn hen, gallasai hyn fod yn anfantais i'r ymgeisydd. Amcan yr ysgrif hon yw chwilio ansawdd y ddau gyfansoddiad buddugol, er gweled pa gymaint o ffyniant a ddilynodd antur y Pwyllgor. Cymerwn orchest y Gadair yn gyntaf.

Er fod y Proffeswr J. Morris Jones, yn ei feirniadaeth ddysgedig a dyddorol, wedi talu clod uchel i *Tŷr na n-Og*,¹ prin y sylwodd ddigon ar yr hyn a ymddengys i mi yn brif gamp yr awdl, sef ei *dramatic qualities*. Mor gyfyng oedd cylch y testyn fel yr oedd yn demtasiwn i gyfansoddwr anghelfydd fyned tuallan iddo a llusgo pob math o bethau afreidiol ac amherthynasol i mewn. Hyny wnaeth wyth o'r deng ymgeisydd. Yn lle barddoniaeth, eb y beirniad, "ni gawn ymsonau a myfyrdodau, traethodau ar ddylanwad Arthur, Arthur eto'n fyw, ac felly ymlaen." Prawf yw hyn o dlodi awenyddol, o anallu i amgyffred y testyn, o eiddilwch dychymyg. Yr oedd Camlan wedi ei hymladd

¹ Y ffug-enw a ddefnyddiwyd gan awdwr yr Awdl fuddugol, Mr. T. Gwynn Jones.—(E.V.E.)

rhwng Arthur a'r carnfradwr Medrawd. Ni bu erioed y fath wrhydri, erioed y fath laddfa. "And ever they fought still till it was nigh night, and by that time was there a hundred thousand laid dead upon the down"—dyna eiriau yr hen chwedleuwr diddan Malory. Meddianodd *Tir na n-Og* ei hun. Efe yn unig gafodd "weledigaeth eglur". Difynaf sylw y beirniad ar ei ddull o gyfleu yr hanes. "Medrod wedi ei ladd. Y mae yn dechreu fel hyn ar ddiwedd cad Gamlan, ac yna'n adrodd yr hanes, a dim ond yr hanes, hyd y diwedd, ond ei fod ef yn ei addurno a disgrifiadau a chyffelybiaethau tlysion o'i waith ei hun, a'r oll yn null ac ysbryd y rhamantwyr." Ond fe wnaeth *Tir na n-Og* fwy na hyd yn oed hyny. Mewn byr eiriau fe dynodd bictiwr ddryr ini well dirnadaeth o frawychdod yr olygfa na phe dilynasai hynt y frwydr yn fanwl. Medrawd wedi ei ladd! Y gorchfygwyr yn anos y gorchfygedig! Wedi'r trin neb yn aros i gadw gwyluos a'r meirwon oddieithr y brenin clwyfedig a'r ffyddlon farchog Bedwyr!

"Yno, mal duw celanedd,
A'i bwys ar garn glwys ei gledd,
Y naill oedd, a'r llall gerllaw,
A golwg syn yn gwyliaw."

Nid anhebyg i hyn ydyw dull Tennyson o agor ei gerdd ar yr un testyn, "Morte d'Arthur":

"So all day long the noise of battle roll'd
Among the mountains by the winter sea;
Until King Arthur's table, man by man,
Had fallen in Lyonesse about their Lord."

Dichon fod *Tir na n-Og* yn ddyledus i Tennyson am yr awgrym. Boed hyny fel y bo, yr wyf hyfed a meddwl fod y Cymro yn y fan hon yn fwy grymus na'r Sais. Llwyddodd *Tir na n-Og* i gadw'r nodwedd hon i fyny bron hyd y diwedd. Lle mae Tennyson yn colli, ceir fod *Tir na n-Og* yn enill, sef mewn angerddoldeb a chynildeb. Mae

cymeriadau Tennyson yn rhy barablu. Nid naturiol, i'm tyb i, yw gwneuthur i frenhin wedi ei glwyfo hyd farw draddodi araeth o bum-llinell-ar-hugain yn y dull chwydd-fawr ac amleiriog hwn :

“The sequel of to-day unsolders all
The goodliest fellowship of famous knights
Whereof this world holds record,”

ac felly ymlaen. Gwell genyf dawedogrwydd a dwyster *Tir na n-Og*. Pan fynai Bedwyr i'r brenin ymuno yn yr anos, ei ateb yw :

“Ebr yntau ; Clyw, brwnt y clwyf
Hwn ; clyw, Fedwyr, claf ydwyf.”

Ni ddaw neb person arall i dori ar y gyfeillach hon sydd yn dyfnhau ar drothwy'r bedd. Dim ond y ddeuddyn—a'r celaneddau ! Yng nglyn a chysondeb dramadig, dengys *Tir na n-Og* fedrusrwydd dihafal i dynu *contrasts*. Mor frawychus, eto mor dyner, yw y darlun hwn o'r haul yn bwrw ei rudd-wawr dros yr erchylldra !

“Troes gemliw wawl tros Gamlan
Oni bu coch wyneb can
A marw pawb o'r Cymry pur
Yno syrthiodd dros Arthur,
Ac onid oedd holl gnawd du
Drudion Medrawd yn madru !”

“Drudion Medrawd (*Mordred's braves*) yn madru”—buasai hwn bron yn anioddefol heb y tosturi oddifry. Ni fyn y bardd arteithio ein teimladau yn rhy hir. Ceir gwanwyn a gaeaf, marwolaeth a bywyd bob amser finfin a'u gilydd. Ar ei fraich gref cludodd Bedwyr y brenin claf ymaith i le esmwyth lle caffai ymgeledd.

“Yngo'r oedd lannerch rhwng iraidd lwyni
A llen dêr wastad o foillion drosti ;
Wynned oedd a phe ddi hi, Olwen dlos,
Ar hyd yr hinos i grwydro arni.

"A ffynon dirion o dan y deri
 Oedd, a ffernid â rhad gyneddf arni,
 Sef oedd, os ef ae iddi, y ddi glâf
 I'w glan heb anaf na'i glwy'n ei boeni."

Ond rhy dda y gwyddai y teyrnflwr clwyfus fod ei awr wedi dod, a rhaid gwneyd y goreu o'r munudau gwerthfawr oedd yn aros. Dyry i'r marchog y genadwri fythgof-iadwy drist, sef myned o hono a bwrw yr hen gleddyd hardd ergydlym Caledfwlch i'r llyn gerllaw, a dychwelyd i adrodd yr hyn a ddigwyddai. Yma ceir un o'r darnau prydferthaf yn yr awdl. Clywsom lawer o son am *natural magic*. Peth anhawdd i'w ddeffinio yw, oddieithr ei fod yn golygu rhyw ddawn gyfriniol i ddeongli natur—nid yn unig i adnabod ei hwyneb, ond hefyd i glywed curiadau ei chalon. Dyma'r olygfa a ymagorodd o flaen Bedwyr wedi myned i wneyd y neges a roddes Arthur iddo :

"O'r drum, rhoes Bedwyr dremyn,
 A chafas faith, frychlas fryn,
 Tonnog, a marian tano,
 Yn dres fraith ar draws y fro,
 'Roedd prydferth flodau'r perthi,
 Unlliw ôd neu ewyn lli ;
 Dibrin flodau'r eithin aur
 Mal haen o glych melynaur ;
 Mân flodau'r grug yn hugan
 Ar y geillt, o borffor gwan ;
 A gwrid yr haul ar grwydr hyd
 Y bau, bron bob rhyw ennyd
 Yn newid lliw, troi dull hon
 A'i hen woddau'n newyddion."

Nid wyf yn petruso dweyd fod y penill hwn yn farddoniaeth byw, ac yn deilwng o'r delyn Gymreig yn ei dyddiau hoewaf a dedwyddaf. Yn sydyn clywai Bedwyr ryw "grawc anghynes grâs" a dorai yn anhyfryd ar ei fyfyrdodau ; a safodd yn syn i wrando. Hyd y gwn, mae y ddyfais hon gan *Tir na n-Og* yn perthyn iddo 'i hun. Ni cheir dim tebyg yng nghân Tennyson nag yn hanesion

Malory. Dywedais nad oedd un bod rhesymol i'w weld yn y fangre oddigerth Arthur a'i farchog. Y mae ymddangosiad disymwth y frân ddu frudiol yn gwneyd yr olygfa yn fwy llethol fyth.

"Brân ddu groch ar bren oedd grin,
Goelfawr a hir ei gylfin,
Fwriai'n oer, afar ei nwyd,
Fregliach o'r dderwen friglwyd."

A pha iaith mor addas i greglais yr aderyn hwn a thriban milwr?

"Glywaist ti a gant y frân,
Ai drwg ai da'r darogan,
'Na fid cryf heb gleddyf glân."

Parodd hyn i Fedwyr ystyried ac ymson ag ef ei hun. Mae'n sicr fod cywreinwaith y cledd yn ei demtio, ond nid hyn y gyfaddefai efe iddo ei hun. Pa fodd yr ymdarawai ei wlad wedi colli yr arf anorfod hwn?

"Cododd Bedwyr y cadarn
Gledd gerfydd ei gelfydd garn,
A thremio'n hir a thrwm wnaeth
Ar ei gywrain ragoriaeth."

Mor anhawdd oedd ymadael a'r fath drysor! A thyma Bedwyr yn dechreu anwesu'r cledd a'i gyfarch fel petai beth byw:—

"Ba dro fyth" eb Bedwyr, "fai
Ddigon i'r sawl a'th ddygai
Di, Galedfwlch deg, glodfawr,
Heb falio, a'th luchio i lawr
Megys pedfai ddirmygwr,
Onid aet o dan y dwr!
A'n hil, Och! ba ryw farn lem
Nas gallai'n dal pes collem
Dithau? Gan adwythig gur
Y dinerthwyd dawn Arthur,
Onide, diau nad hyn
A barasai, heb resyn.
Diogel mi a'th gelaf,
A gwel'd a ddigwyddo gâf."

Rhaid fod poen wedi dyrysu pen y brenin—dyna sut y cyfiawnhai Bedwyr ei dwyll. Ac yn lle bwrw y cledd i'r llyn yn ol arch ei deyrn, efe a'i cuddiodd mewn ogof gerllaw. Yna dychwelodd at Arthur a chelwydd ar ei dafod. Yn y fan yma eto tybiaf fod Tennyson yn llawer gwanach na'r bardd Cymreig.

"He gazed so long
That both his eyes were dazzled, as he stood,
This way and that dividing the swift mind,
In act to throw: but at the last it seem'd
Better to leave Excalibur conceal'd
There in the many-knotted waterflags,
That whistled stiff and dry about the marge."

"Better to leave Excalibur conceal'd",—nid hawdd fuasai llunio brawddeg fwy anheilwng o'r achlysur. Ond ni chymerai y brenin mo'i dwyllo. "Ba argoel fu", ebai. A Bedwyr atebodd:—

"Hyd y gwn, bid wiw gennyd,
Ni bu un arwydd o'r byd."

Braidd yn wan yw yntau, *Tir na n-Og*, yn yr ateb hwn. Llinell wael enbyd yw, "Ni bu un arwydd o'r byd." Gymaint yn well yw y geiriau ddyry Malory yng ngenau y marchog: "Sir", said he, "I saw nothing but waves and wind." Eilchwyl gorfu i Fedwyr fynd ymaith ar ei neges drom. Och! mor anhawdd oedd ymadael â'r cledd. Yn ebrwydd mae *Tir na n-Og* yn adenill ei nerth a'i swyn-gyfaredd. Dyma eto ddarlun byw:—

"Yna rhag genau'r ogo,
Safodd ac edrychodd dro;
Eto, nid oedd yno ddyn
Yn ymyl, na swn, namyn
Twrw'r dwr, man lle torrai'r don.
Mwynder hiraethus meindon
Awel y'mysg y dail mân—
Ochenaid enaid anian."

Pan oedd ar gyrchu y cledd o'r ogof, clywodd grawc y frân.

"Gwae i'n tud o frud y frân
A drwg oedd ei darogan—
'Na fid cryf heb gleddyf glân.'"

Eilchwyl dychwelyd at Arthur. Yma eto ceir ychydig o arwydd llesgedd neu ddiofalwch yng ngwaith *Tir na n-Og*. Onid rhyddiaith troednoeth yw llinell gyntaf yr englyn hwn?

"Ceisiodd Bedwyr bob cysur—oedd ddichon
Wrth ddychwel yn brysur;
Er gwaith câd, er gwaetha' cur,
Rhy wrthun oedd marw Arthur!"

Lled ddibwynt, hefyd, yw yr esgyll. Mae ateb Bedwyr i'w feistr yn well y tro yma. "Ba argoel sydd?"

"Troes Bedwyr gan ynganu,
'Un arwydd, farglwydd ni fu,
Ond dwr a'i dwrdd yn taro
Ar y graig, a'i su drwy'r gro.'"

Yr wyf yn tueddu i feddwl fod *Tir na n-Og* wedi efelychu tipyn ar Tennyson yn y fan yna:—

"I heard the water lapping on the crag,
And the long ripple washing in the reeds."

Ni thyciodd y celwydd. Cychwyn eto tua'r llyn, a cherydd ei frenin yn ei glust, fu raid i Fedwyr. Y drydedd waith daeth at yr ogof. Prin yr wyf yn hoffi'r llinell:

Plygodd, penlinodd mewn pannwl yno,

Nid achwyn yr wyf ar y gair—"pannwyl" (*a hollow*), ond tybiaf fod gormod o debygrwydd sain drwy y llinell, nes ei gwneyd fel tincian efydd. Ond hawdd maddeu y mân fefflau hyn, pan geir yn ymyl ddarn mor orchestol a'r disgrifiad a ganlyn o'r cledd:—

"Trwy'r bwch, dwyn Caledfwlch lân
O'r gwyll a orug allan.
Ei ddyrnfol aur addurnfawr,

Cywrain oedd, ac arni wawr
 O liwiau gemau lawer,
 Lliw'r tân a lliw eira têr,
 Lliw'r gwaed rhudd, lliw gwydr a haul,
 Neu ser y'ng hyfnos araul;
 Ei hir lafn dur lyfned oedd
 A difreg lif y dyfroedd,
 A gloywed â gwiw lewych
 Rhudd yr haul ar ddisglair ddrych."

Dyddorol yw cymharu y darn hwn a disgrifiad Tennyson :

"There drew he forth the brand *Excalibur*,
 And o'er him, drawing it, the winter moon,
 Brightening the skirts of a long cloud, ran forth
 And sparkled keen with frost against the hilt:
 For all the haft twinkled with diamond sparks,
 Myriad of topaz-lights, and jacinth-work
 Of subtlest jewellery."

Edrychwn lle maent yn ymdebygu, a lle y gwahaniaethant. *Blank verse*, wrth gwrs, yw y llinellau Seisnig; er hyny, cynhwysant gryn lawer o gynghanedd o ddosbarth y "braidd gyffwrdd", a byddai yn iechyd i'r moel-odlwyr Cymreig sylwi ar hyn :

"The brand *Excalibur*.
 And o'er him. . . . winter moon
 Long cloud sparkled keen
 With frost against the hilt for all the haft
 Topaz-lights subtlest
 Jacinth-work jewellery."

Er nad yw y gynghanedd wedi ei gwneud wrth reol fanol, na thybier mai damweiniol yw. Y mae yn fwy cudd na'r gynghanedd Gymreig, ac ar ryw ystyr yn fwy celfydd. Dibynai y bardd ar ei glust ei hun i gynyrchu cydbwysedd prydferth rhwng y cydseiniaid a'r llafariad. Yn y mesur Seisnig, nid yw fai yn y byd fod rhan o linell yn cyng-haneddu a'r llinell nesaf. Yn y darn cywydd cawn gynghanedd reolaidd, a hi yn ddiau yw'r felusaf i'r glust

Gymreig. Y mae cynghaneddion *Tir na n-Og* yn gywrain heb fod yn rhodresgar. Ar eithriad y deurn ar draws swm clogsiâu difwsg fel “a magwyr yn ei mygu”. Mae’n amlwg fod *Tir na n-Og* dan ryw gymaint o ddyled i Tennyson am ei ddisgrifiad penigamp o’r addurnwaith. Llinell gampus yw “Lliw ’r tân a lliw eira têr”, ond perthyn yn agos i “With frost against the hilt”. Wedi’r cwbl, nid yw hynny o debygrwydd sydd yma yn tynu dim oddiar ogoniant y darn Cymraeg.

O’r diwedd mae y marchog yn ufuddhau. “Yn iach Galedfwlch glodfawr”, llefai, dan fwrw y llafn i’r llyn.

“Ond ar un naid, er hynny
Chwyfiodd ei fraich ufrudd fry,
A’r arf drosto drithro drôdd
Heb aros, ac fe’i bwriodd
Onid oedd fel darn o dân
Yn y nwyfre yn hofran.
Fel modrwy trwy’r gwagle trôdd .
Ennyd, a syth ddisgynnodd
Fel mellten glaer, ysplenydd,
A welwo deg wawl y dydd ;
Ond cyn iddo daro’r dwr,
I’w wyneb daeth rhyw gynnwr’ ;
Ar hyn o’r llyn cododd llaw
Gadarn, gan fedrus gydlaw
Yn ei garn, ac yna gyd
A dehurwydd drud wryd,
Codi’r cleddyf a’i chwyfio,
Gwaniad a thrychiad dri thro ;
Yna’n ol hynny wele,
Tan y dwfr y tynwyd e !”

Disgrifiad rhagorol. Mae darfelydd y bardd yn gyfartal i’w ddawn i drosi geiriau. Mor gyson, mor gryno yw y darlun drwyddo ; mor lân oddiwrth ddim byd ystrydebol ! Does yma ddim gwastraff ; êl pob ergyd i’w nod yn syth ac uniongyrch. Ni thynwn oddiwrth werth y disgrifiad drwy ei gymharu ag eiddo Tennyson :—

"Then quickly rose Sir Bedivere, and ran,
 And, leaping down the ridges lightly, plunged
 Among the bulrush-beds, and clutch'd the sword,
 And strongly wheel'd and threw it. The great brand
 Made lightnings in the splendour of the moon,
 And flashing round and round, and whirl'd in an arch,
 Shot like a streamer of the northern morn,
 Seen where the moving isles of winter shock
 By night, with noises of the northern sea.
 So flash'd and fell the brand Excalibur:
 But ere he dipt the surface, rose an arm
 Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,
 And caught him by the hilt, and brandish'd him
 Three times, and drew him under in the mere."

Nid gwiw gwadu fod Tennyson wedi awgrymu rhai o
 ymadroddion goreu *Tir na n-Og*, er engraifft:—

"And strongly wheel'd and threw it."

"A'r arf drosto drithro drôdd."

"Made lightnings in the splendour of the moon."

"Fel mellten glaer, ysplenydd."

"And flashing round and round," etc.

"Fel modrwy trwy'r gwagle trôdd."

"But ere he dipt the surface."

"Ond cyn iddo daro'r dwr."

Dyma'r cwbl a geir yn y chwedl: "And then he threw
 the sword into the water as far as he might, and there
 came an arm and a hand above the water and met it and
 caught it, and so shook it thrice and brandished. And
 then the hand vanished away with the sword in the water."
 Dengys hyn faint o gynorthwy gafodd *Tir na n-Og* oddi-
 wrth Tennyson. Mwy priodol, hwyrach fyddai "ysbry-
 doliaeth" na "chynorthwy". Oni thynodd Tennyson ei
 hun yn helaeth oddiar Malory yn yr "Idylls of the King"?
 Nis gwaeth faint o ddeunydd gafodd *Tir na n-Og* yng
 ngherdd Tennyson; oni chreodd rywbeth newydd?
 Ac wedi'r cwbl, onid oes mawr wahaniaeth rhyngddynt?
 Mae *Tir na n-Og* yn ddigon beiddgar i dori llinell newydd
 pan welo hyny yn oreu.

Rhaid i minau frysio, fel y bu gorfod i Fedwyr, i gludo'r brenin claf hyd fin y dwr. Caraswn ddifynu disgrifiad Tennyson o'r gorchwyl blin a phruddaid hwnw. Dengys fwy o ofal ac o dosturi dros glwyfau y gwr ardderchog oedd ar adael y byd na *Tir na n-Og*.

"Quick, quick !

I fear it is too late, and I shall die."

Fel engraifft o saerniaeth farddonol, hwyrach nad oes yn awdl *Tir na n-Og* ddim cystal a'i ddisgrifiad o'r llong oedd i gludo Arthur i Ynys Afallon. Llong ddu ddarparodd Tennyson, "dark as a funeral scarf from stem to stern," ag ar ei bwrdd lu o wryfon urddasol mewn galarwisgoedd, "black-stoled, black-hooded". Ond "llong eres", sydd gan *Tir na n-Og*, a thyma'i ddisgrifiad:—

"Y'nghraidd y llong, ar ddull ail
I orsedd, 'roedd glwth eursail,
Ac ar ei gerfwaith cywrain
Gwrlid mwyth o 'sgarlad main.
Tair hefyd o wryfon
Ar sedd wrth yr orsedd hon
Eisteddai. Dlysed oeddynt !
Nid oedd gwedd Blodeuwedd gynt
O geinder ail ; rhag gwyndawd
Perlog ne eu purloyw gnawd
Pylai gwawr y pali gwyn,
A ymdonnai am danyn' ;
A lliw teg eu gwalltiau aur
Drwyddo fal cawod ruddaur.
Gyddfau a thalcennau cân
Mal eira ymyl Aran ;
Deufan goch pob dwyfoch deg,
Lliw gwin drwy wynlliw gwaneg."

Y mae y darlun godidog yna ynddo ei hun yn werth mwy na chadair Bangor. Ond beth yn enw barddas, a wnaeth i *Tir na n-Og* ollwng i mewn i'w awdl linell mor ddiawen, mor ddiurddas a hon :—

"A chodwyd e'n barchedig—i'r glwth draw."

Os byth y caffo gyfle, tyned hi allan pe costiai hyny iddo ei fywyd. Lled oeraidd ydyw araeth ffarwel Arthur. Brudio am ddyddiau adfydus a wna, ac am ei ail ddyfodiad.

“Yn fy nghledd
Gafaelaf, dygaf eilwaith
Glod yn ol i'n gwlad a'n hiaith.”

Eto, mae yr araeth hon yn gorwedd yn esmythach ar galon Cymro na'r bregeth wyntog a geir yn yr un cyfwng yng nghân Tennyson; “The old order changeth, giving place to new,” &c. Ac y mae diwedd awdl *Tir na n-Og* yn hollol deilwng o'r dechreuad.

“Yn y pellter fel peraid
Anadliad, sibrydiad braidd,
Darfu'r llais; o drofau'r llyn
Anial, lledodd niwl llwydwyn,
Yna araf cyniweiriodd,
Ac yno'r llong dano dôdd
A'i chelu; fel drychiolaeth
Yn y niwl diflannu wnaeth.

“Bedwyr yn drist a distaw
At y drin aeth eto draw.”

Nis gallaf ddychmygu am ddim mwy effeithiol na'r diwedd glo hwn. Hapus a phrydferth iawn, hefyd, yw disgrifiad Tennyson o ymadawiad y llong: maddeuer imi am ei ddifynu:—

“So said he, and the barge with oar and sail
Moved from the brink, like some full-breasted swan
That fluting a wild carol ere her death,
Ruffles her pure cold plume, and takes the flood
With swarthy webs. Long stood Sir Bedivere,
Revolving many memories, till the hull
Look'd one black dot against the verge of dawn,
And on the mere the wailing died away.”

Nid wyf yn hoff o broffwydo, ond credaf y cymer awdl *Tir na n-Og* safle uchel ym mysg canïadau ei wlad. Enwais y gamp fwyaf arni, sef *dramatic realization*. Yn nesaf at hyny ei rhagoriaeth yw mireindeb. Y mae yr awdwr yn

artist. Amlwg ei fod wedi efrydu yr iaith yn llwyr, a gwyr yn dda sut i'w defnyddio. Gwelir fod ei arddull yn tynu yn nes at gyfnod Dafydd ab Gwilym na'r dyddiau diweddar hyn. Eto, nid arddull Dafydd ab Gwilym moni. Saif, yn wir, ar ei phen ei hun. Dichon fod ei iaith a'i ddull-ymadrodd yn rhy goeth, rhy glasurol i rai pobl; ond eu hanffawd hwy yw hyny. Gwir iddo arfer rhai geiriau ansathredig, megis *llas, deryw, drudion, breithell, gwrn, gnawd, orug, neud, glaif, dioer, gwyndawd, pannwl*; ond nid ydynt mor lliosog, ac y mae rhai o honynt na ddylesid eu gollwng oddiar gof. Un arall o deithi mwyaf hudolus yr awdl yw swyngyfaredd. Y mae *Tir na n-Og* yn caru natur yn fwy nag athrawiaeth. Efe a ddug yr awen Gymreig yn ol i'w hen arfer. Ychydig o fesurau a ddefnydiodd—Unodl Union, Deuair Hirion, Toddaid, a Thriban Milwr. Gwnaeth yn ddoeth ymwrthod a phethau ffug-gywrain ym mhlith y mesurau Cymreig. Os oes bai ar yr awdl, yr wyf bron meddwl y gall fod rhy fychan o deimlad ynddi. Buaswn yn barod i gyfnewid peth o'r ceinder marmoraid am ychydig o dagrau. Ond nid wylo gwneyd ychwaith: gwell genyf heb hwnw. Be ddywed yr hen benill bendigaidd:—

“Ti gei glywed os gwrandewi
Swn y galon fach yn tori.”

Oni sibrydodd yr Awen wrth y bardd, “Dod dy glust ar fron y gwron clwyfedig, a thi a gei glywed swm y galon fawr yn dryllio.” Ond dyna; nis gall dyn na bardd fod yn bobpeth.

Deliais yr awdl ochr yn ochr a chyfansoddiad y prif-fardd Tennyson, gyda dau neu dri o amcanion. Tybiais mai nid anyddorol fyddai i'r darllenydd wybod i ba raddau yr oedd y bardd byw yn ddyledus i'r marw, yr anenwog i'r bydenwog. Os digwydd i rai o awenwyr ieuaic Cymru ddarllen hyn o ysgrif, hwyrach yr argyhoeddir hwynt

gymaint allent fanteisio drwy efrydu gweithiau dynion mwy na hwy eu hunain. Hefyd, yr oedd yn haws ffurfio barn deg am yr awdl drwy ei dal yn gyfochrog & gwaith awdurol, a chyferbynu yr hyn oedd wych yn y naill â'r hyn oedd wael yn y llall. Yn olaf, credaf imi roddi prawf y gall y bardd Cymreig, ond iddo wneyd tegwch ag ef ei hun, fod yn gystal a'r goreuon. Am un peth yn arbenig dylem ddiolch i *Tir na n-Og*; ni ddarfu iddo, fel y gwnaeth Tennyson yn ei ol-arawd, gyffelybu Arthur—yr Arthur a ddaw—i “modern gentleman of stateliest port”. Cyngor bach yng nghlust *Tir na n-Og*—Na fydded iddo gipris am ormod gwobrau. Mae un gadair gystal a chant. Y cywydd deuair-hirion yw ei nerth. Boed iddo ddewis ei destynau fel y daw yr hwyl, a chanu ar ei fwyd ei hun.

II.

PAN drown oddiwrth awdl *Tir na n-Og* at bryddest *Gwydion ab Don*,² symudwn i hinsawdd dra gwahanol. Nid oes eisieu manylu ar y gwahaniaeth rhwng y ddau ddull o ganu—yr hen a'r diweddar, y caeth a'r rhydd. Llai fyth sydd o anghen dadleu pa un yw y mwyaf gorchestol: pe caem y ddau ar eu goreu, gwynfydedig yn wir fyddem. Na, meddwl yr oeddwn am y ddau destyn. Yn y naill, cerddem ar adegau hyd lenyrch paradwysaidd. Ond swm hiraeth a marwolaeth oedd yn yr awel. Nid yw ceinder yn gyfyngedig i fywyd na dedwyddwch. Onid yw gruddiau anghen yn aml yn hawddgar, ymylon bedd yn flodeuog? Yn ing “Ymadawiad Arthur” ni chlywsom air o son am Wenhwyfar, na thanau'r delyn, na dewiniaeth Myrddin. Ond yn stori amlgeinc-

² Hwn yw y ffug-euw a ddefnyddiwyd gan y Parch. R. Silyn Roberts, M.A., awdlwr y Bryddest fuddugol.--(E.V.E.)

iog Trystan ac Esysllt, yr hyn oedd yn ein haros oedd swynion serch, ei nwyfiant a'i soriant, ei fwyn ofalon, ei dor calon a'i dranc. Bawb ohonom oedd wedi croesi'r cyhydedd, deisyfasom fyned yn ifanc drachefn. Canys hoen ieuenctid sydd lond y testyn. Yr oeddym, hefyd, yn gwybod am y bardd enillodd y llawryf. Darllenasom ei delynegion. Disgwyliem lawer oddiwrtho. O blith y rhai a ganasant o'i flaen i'r un testyn, dylid enwi Matthew Arnold a Swinburne. Nodweddir cerdd Arnold gan dawelwech prudd-dyner. Disgrifir y gwron yn ei gystudd olaf, yn ail fyw yr helynt caru mewn breuddwyd. Difera ambell air neu riddfaniad dros ei wefusau, yna dyry'r bardd gainc i mewn i lenwi'r bylchau. Ymestyn cân Swinburne i bum mil o linellau agos. Edrydd efe yr hanes bron o'r dechreu i'r diwedd gydag afiaeth, darfelydd, a dawn digyffelyb. Mae byd o wahaniaeth rhwng cynllun ac arddull y ddwy gerdd.

Er mwyn hwylusdod rhoddaf grynhodeb o'r hanes, wedi ei godi o *Chambers' Encyclopædia* :

"Tristrem was the love-child of King Mark of Cornwall's sister and Roland of Ermonie, and at fifteen repaired to Cornwall, where he charmed the whole Court by his minstrelsy. He slew Moraunt in mortal combat, and lay ill three years of the wounds he received, but was borne to Ireland, and there cured by Ysolt or Ysonde, daughter of the Queen. On his return to Cornwall he told his uncle of the marvellous beauty of the Irish Princess, and was sent to solicit her hand for him in marriage. Tristrem escorted Ysonde on her voyage to England; but both unwittingly drank of a love-potion intended for Mark, and from that day to the day of their death no man or woman could come between their loves. Ysonde was married to the King of Cornwall, but by the help of her clever maid, Brengwain, had many a secret interview with her lover. Tristrem was banished from Cornwall, but again brought to his uncle's Court, and again their inevitable loves began anew. Next he wandered to Spain, Ermonie, Brittany, and here married another Ysonde—her with the white hand, daughter of Duke Florentine—but he could not forget his love for Ysonde of Ireland. Grievously wounded in battle, he sent a messenger to bring her to him. 'If you bring her with you,' he charged him, 'hoist a white sail; if you bring her not, let your sail

be black.' Soon the ship is sighted, and Tristrem asks eagerly what is the colour of her sail. It was white, but Ysonde of Brittany, her heart being filled with bitter jealousy, told Tristrem the sail was black, whereupon the heart-sick lover sank back and died. Ysonde of Ireland threw herself in passionate despair upon his body and died heart-broken beside him. King Mark subsequently learned the story of the love-potion, and buried the twain in one grave, planting over Ysonde a rose-bush, over Tristrem a vine, which grew up so inextricably intertwined that no man could separate them."

Stori hynod o brydferth! Cyfrifir hi gan lawer yn frenhines ym mysgr storïau serch. O'r ddeuddegfed ganrif hyd ein hamser ni fe ysbrydolodd lu o feirddion a cherddorion ym mhob gwlad yn Ewrob i ganu a phrydyddu. Hon yw testyn un o brif weithiau Wagner. Cydnebydd yr awdurdodau penaf mai stori Geltaidd yw. Ai dyna'r rheswm paham y darfu i'r beirdd Cynreig ei diystyru mor hir? Nid yw hyny yn glod nac yn enill iddynt. Modd bynag fe roddodd dewisiad Pwyllgor Bangor gyfleustra ardderchog i rai ohonynt anfarwoli eu hunain. Yn llyfr Malory mae y chwedl yn faith a chymysglyd, ag iddi lawer ystlys a mwy na digon o aniweirdeb. Fel yr awgrymwyd eisoes, o hyny y cyfyd yr unig anhawster sydd yn perthyn i'r testyn. Y gamp, felly, oedd sut i ddeol y pethau mwyaf gwrthun yn y stori heb aberthu ei bywyd a'i swyn.

Rhanodd *Gwydion ab Don* ei gerdd yn bum penod. Yn y gyntaf gwelwn long yn marchogaeth y tonau tua'r Iwerddon, a Thyrstan ar ei bwrdd. Ceir disgrifiad bywiog a chryno o'r gwron clwyfedig:

"Ar gwrlid drud, mewn gwisg o borffor breiniol,
Gorwedda clwyfus wr o drem urddasol,
Y gwinau wallt, lliw'r gneuen, yn modrwyog
Gylchynnu'i wyneb hardd, boneddig, rhywiog;
Ond yn ei lygaid tristwech du deyrnasa,
A gwywder beidd ar lwydni i rudd arhosa:
Ei glwyf a ysa'i fywyd tan ei ddwyfron,
A'i wenwyn marwol ferra waed ei galon.

A segur ydyw'r waew fawr ei grym,
Yr helm o ddur, a'r cleddyf hirbraff llym ;
Ei fron ni wisg y gref ddihafal lurig
A heriodd ruthr llawer ymwan ffyrnig,
Gorffwysa'i delyn euraidd wrth ei ystlys,
A'i thannau yn anghofio'i thonau melus."

Mae arddull y darn uchod yn fwy Cymreig, a'i symudiad yn fwy urddasol na llawer prydddest a goronwyd yn yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol. Er hyny, llithra'r awdwr weithiau. Mwy boddhaol fuasai llai o "wr o drem", "gwisg o borffor", "helm o ddur". Cydmarer y darn hwn a disgrifiad *Tir na n-Og* o'r llong y dodwyd Arthur arni, a gwelir fod pellder difesur rhyngddynt. Yn dilyn y llinellau yna, ceir cipdrem dros fywyd boreol Trystan—marwolaeth ei fam, ei gampau fel cerddor a milwr, ei ddyfodiad i Gernyw, ac yn benaf yr ornest fawr rhyngddo a Morollt, pan laddwyd y Gwyddel ac y clwyfwyd yntau. Ar y cyfan mae yr iaith yn gref, ond canfyddwn ar brydiau duedd i rigymu, megys :

"Ym mroch yr helynt Trystan a ddaeth o daith i'r llys,
Ac achos Cernyw arno'i hun gymerodd gyda brys."

Lled ddof hefyd yw ei ddisgrifiad o'r ymladd :

"Roedd wyneb yr ynysig yn weirglodd wastad las,
Ac yno bwriwyd Morollt falch a'i ryfelfarch a las.
Disgynnodd Trystan yntau i'w gyrchu gyda'i gledd,
Ond yn yr ymgyrch cafodd glwyf a lwydodd wrid ei wedd.
Er gwaetha'r archoll hyrddiodd un dyrnod grymus mawr
Nes holhti helm ei elyn a'i fwrw'n fud i'r llawr ;
A darn o'r glaif clodforus a dorrodd yn y briw
Anrhydedd gorsedd Cernyw lon a gadwodd Trystan wiw."

Gymaint yn fwy arwrol yw rhyddiaeth Malory ! Dyma ddarn o'i ddisgrifiad ef :

"And they began for to fewtre their spears, and they met so fiercely together that they smote each other down, both horse and all, to the earth. But Sir Marhaus smote Sir Tristram a great wound in his side with his spear, and then they avoided their horses, and

drew out their swords anon, and cast their shields before them, and then they lashed together as it had been two wild boars that be courageous."

Pan orweddaï Trystan yn glaf, daeth "gwr o hil y tylwyth teg" ato a dywedodd mai yn llys Iwerddon yn unig y caffai feddyginiaeth i'w glwyf.

"A'r Ynys Werdd, trwy fâr y don ormesol,
A gyrcha'r clwyfus wr o drem urddasol."

"O drem urddasol" eto! Fel yna y gadewir Trystan ar y mor i gyfeirio ei rawd am yr Iwerddon. Ni adroddir ei hanes wedi cyrhaedd y wlad hono, yr hyn a bâr dipyn o ddyrswch i'r darllenydd.

"Y Llys Gennad" yw penawd yr ail adran. Egyr gyda molawd fer ar ddylanwad serch. Bydd genyf rywbeth i'w ddweyd am y dernyn hwn cyn diweddu. Erbyn hyn y mae Trystan yn ol yng Nghernyw, a chodir y llen arno yn eistedd ar grib craig uwchben y mor ac yn canu alawon serch i Esyllt, y ferch a welsai yn llys Iwerddon. Mae y darlun hwn wedi ei liwio yn hynod o gelfydd:

"Yng Nghernyw lon yn awn y lli ar glogwyn uchel unig
Eisteddaï gwr o osgedd hardd urddasol a bonheddig;
Modrwyau aml am ei law, ei wisg o bali purddu,
A rhagdal aur rhuddemog drud gynhalia'i wallt gwineuddu;
Cain lafnau euraidd oedd yn cau'i wintasau cordwal newydd,
Ei ddeheu law gynhaliaï bwys ei delyn aur ysblennydd;
Ei rudd orffwysai ar y llall: a'i dywell drem freuddwydiol
Yn erwydro ar hiraethlon daith trwy wyll y nos ledrithiol
I oleu llys yr Ynys Werdd, ei gyfoeth a'i ysblander,
A mel acenion Esyllt wen yn ysbrydoli'i londer"

Rhed ei fyfyrdodau yn ol at y feinir deg "fu'n chwilio'r archoll echrys". Iachasai'r fam y clwyf, ond "clwyfasai'r ferch ei ddwyfron". Mae'n eglur tuhwnt i bob dadl fod Trystan wedi syrthio yn ddwfn mewn serch ag Esyllt. Rhag bod cysgod o amheuaeth ar y pwnc, gesyd y bardd delyneg hiraethlawn yng ngenau Trystan:

“O dan fy mron mae cur,
 Eysyllt wen, Eysyllt wen,
 Am wên dy lygaid pur,
 Eysyllt wen,
 Cael eto'th gwmni tirion,
 A miwsig dy acenion,—
 Hyn leddfa gur fy nghalon,—
 Brysia i Gernyw, Eysyllt wen.”

Pedwar penill tebyg i'r uchod yw y delyneg. Nid oes fawr ddim newydd yn y syniadau, ac y mae gormod o adsain “Mentra Gwen” yn y seiniau. Byrdwn sal a dienaidd yw “Brysia i Gernyw”. Anaturiol i'r eithaf yw dechreu y pedwerydd penill:—

“Fy ngwlad a ddenfyn wys
 Eysyllt wen, Eysyllt wen,
 Am danat ti i'w llys,
 Eysyllt wen.”

Nis gwyddai ei wlad ddim am y ferch Wyddelig oedd wedi tanio ei fron. Y prawf goreu o hyny yw y darn sydd yn dilyn:—

“Ar hyd y llwybr anwastad, cam, dros lethrau serth y clogwyn,
 Yr araf rodiair brenin March; a chlybu glod y forwyn.”

Mae y brenin “yn ymholi am ei llun a'i lliw”, ac yn ddioed clywir Trystan yn udganu ei chlodydd. Yr oedd mor anwyl a Gwener, yn serchocach na Lalage, na Chloris, na Lesbia; yn fwy swynol na Helen Troia. Rhyfedd genyf i fardd Cymreig lusgo i'w gerdd y sothach coeg-glasurol yma sydd mor gyffredin ym marddoniaeth Seisnig yr eilfed-ganrif-ar-bymtheg—pethau nad oeddynt namyn efelychiadau o Horas. Rhaid hefyd fod dawn yn brin, a iaith yn dlawd os nad all bardd ddarlunio tegwch merch heb ymostwng i'r fath gyffredinedd a'r ddwy linell a ganlyn:—

“Ni feddai beirdd holl oesau'r byd y crebwyll na'r darfelydd
 Ddisgrifiail'n llawn y filfed ran o gyfoeth ei grasusau.”

Nid oes raid wrth fardd i ddweyd pethau fel yna. Gwell, hefyd, fuasai y gerdd heb linell mor aflednais a hon, am yr hen frenin March :

“A theimlai iasau nwydau serch yn cerdded ei wythiennau.”

Eto :

“Ond os dychwelai codid had i March o'r ieuanc fanon.”

Beth allsai fod yn fwy disynwyr, pan ystyriom nad oedd March erioed wedi gweled y ferch, na'r ffurf a roddir i'w orchymyn. “Dos” ebe March :

“I ddwyn fy mherl dros frig y don i'w chartref yn fy mreichiau.”

Perl—cartref—breichiau! A pha fath garwr oedd Trystan, pan dderbyniai y gorchymyn hwn i gyrchu y ferch i arall heb wrthdystiad bach na mawr? Yr anffawd yw fod *Gwydion ab Don* wedi gwneyd i Drystan ac Esysll syrthio mewn serch a'u gilydd yn llawer rhy gynar, a cheir gweld fod hyny wedi ei dynu i fagl arall. Ie, mae dau yn caru Esysllt, sef y brenin a'i nai. “Ond sut i'w chael”, medd y bardd :

“I'r llys anfonwyd rhoddion heirdd i'r brenin a'r frenhines,
A thlysau aur a gemau drud i Esysllt dywysoges.”

Drwy hyny cafodd Trystan ei draed eilwaith ar dir Iwerddon. Ond ni sonir dim am dano'n cyflwyno'r genadwri a ddygasai oddiwrth frenin Cernyw. Y peth a wnaeth oedd myned allan i ymladd â draig oedd yn blino'r wlad, ac oherwydd iddo ei lladd bu Trystan yn fawr ei barch. Arfollwyd gwledd iddo, a galwyd ar y frenhines a'r ferch i'w ymgeleddu. Dechreu a Esysllt amheu ai nid efe oedd y llanc a ymwelodd a'r llys o'r blaen dan yr enw Tantrys. Tra mae Trystan yn y baddon, archwilia hithau ei wisg a'i arfau, a thyn ei gledd o'r wain—fenyw gywrain—yn ei gorawydd am ryw dystiolaeth. Yn ebrwydd cenfydd y bwlech yn y llafn, a thyna'r gwirionedd yn gwawrio ar ei meddwl,

“ Fflachiodd goleuni ffaith i'w bryd yn sydyn fel taranfollt :
 Cofiodd y darn dynesid gynt o ben clwyfedig Morollt.
 Dial gynheuai yn ei gwaed ; a rhuthrai i daro'r gelyn
 Oedd yn y baddon marmor gwyn yn llesg a diamddiffyn.
 ‘ Tydi dywelltaist waed fy nghâr’, dolefai'r ferch yn lliidiog,
 ‘ Tydi yw gelyn penna ngwlad, y gwaedlyd Drystan farchog.’
 A chyda'r gair dyrchafai'r cledd i drychu Trystan fradus ;
 Ond gwelai wen, a llygaid du, a gwallt gwineuddu Tantrys.”

Mae y ferch yn gwareiddio ac yn maddeu. Ond mor afresymol yw yr ymfflamychiad hwn; mor anaturiol y darlun! Beth barai i Esysllt ymboeni cymaint am “ben clwyfedig Morollt?” A hi yn “serchocach na Lalage,” beth enynasai y fath ddygasedd ynddi at y “gwr a garai orau”? Iseult, you had a vile temper. Dywedir, hwyrach, fod digwyddiad cyffelyb yn llyfr Malory. Oes, ond y mae wedi ei gyfleu yn bur wahanol. Nid Esysllt, ond ei mham, a fygythiai lofruddio'r marchog “yn y baddon”, a rhoddir rheswm da paham. Yr oedd Morollt yn frawd i'r frenhines. Ni wneir hynny yn eglur yn y bryddest. Hawdd fuasai hebgor yr hanesyn rhyfedd hwn, ond os nad allasai *Gwydion ab Don* wrthsefyll y demtasiwn o'i ddefnyddio, beth oedd yn galw am iddo ei wyrddroi a'i wneuthur yn anfesurrol ddigrifach peth nag y cafodd ef? Modd bynag, fe ddaeth Trystan allan o'r baddon yn fyw a gwisgodd am dano, a bu yn edifar gan y fun iddi fod mor chwyrn.

“ Breuddwydiai Esysllt ieuanc am y gwr a garai orau
 A'r dagrau'n perlio ar ei grudd o dan ei muchudd aeliau,
 Glân a diniwed oedd ei serch fel gwynder blodau'r gwanwyn,
 A'i theimlad tyner mor ddi-nwyd ag awel Mai mewn irlwyn.”

Cyrhaeddir y *climax* yn y drydedd benod, “Y Cwpan Swyn”. Mae y llong yn mordwyo yn ol tua Chernyw, a'r ddeuddyn dedwydd, Trystan ac Esysllt, ar ei bwrdd. Llithra'r dydd heibio yn ddifyr rhwng ymddiddanion cariadlawn ac odlau mwyn y delyn. Erbyn yr hwyr edrychai y rhwyfwyr yn llesg gan y gwres a'r lludded.

"Ac meddai Trystan : 'Wyr, gorffwyswch, weithion,
 'A gwyliaf finnau'ch hun ar fron yr eigion.'
 Gafaelai yn y rhwyfau hir anhyblyg,
 O'i nerth ystwythent megys gwial helyg.
 Ei rym digymar yrrai'r llong i'w thaith ;
 Fel gwisgi gysgod cerddai'i llwybyr llaith."

Nid oes air o grybwylliad am hyn yn hanes **Malory**.
 Cymerwyd y syniad, mi dybiaf, o gerdd **Swinburne**.
 Pedwar rhwyfwr sydd ar ei long ef ; ac er mwyn ystwytho
 ei gymalau, cynierth Trystan le un o honynt wrth y rhwyf.

"Then Tristram girt him for an oarsman's place
 And took his oar and smote, and toiled with might
 In the east wind's full face and the strong sea's spite
 • Labouring ; and all the rowers rowed hard, but he
 More mightily than any wearier three."

Ond ni foddlonai *Gwydion ab Don* ar hyny ; mynai efe
 i Drystan wneyd gwaith y cwbl. Nid wyf yn ei feio am
 fenthycio'r ddyfais, ond yn hytrach am ei difetha. Y
 gwir amcan oedd codi syched ar Drystan ar gyfer y peth
 pwysig—y pwysicaf yn y gerdd—oedd i ddilyn. "Trystan,
 gad dy rwyfo", sibrydai Epyllt, ac yntau a eisteddodd
 wrth ei thraed. Yna ceir disgrifiad maith o'r ymserchu
 fu rhwng y ddau. Difynaf ranau ohono, a gofynaf i'r
 darllenydd sylwi mor frwd oedd eu teimladau, mor nwyd-
 lawn eu hymarweddiad.

"Addolai Trystan brydferth fun ei gariad,
 A pheraroglan serch yn meddwi'i deimlad,
 Trwy wythiennau llosgai tân y duwiau ;
 A chrynnai neges serch ar ei wefusau.

Ei mynwes hithau'n llawn o dyner dân,
 A'i wres yn araf wrido 'i gruddiau glân ;
 Pelydrai 'i llygaid fel dwy seren befr :
 Agosrwydd Trystan deimlai megys gwefr ;
 Disgynnai llesmair serch ar ei haclodau
 A'i ddwys ddyhead byw yn llenwi ei bronnau.

Dymunai Trystan sugno mêl y rhos ;
A chuddio 'i ben am byth tan lenni'r nos.

Fe blygai Esysllt ar y cwrlid purddu ;
A'i lili law roi ar ei wallt gwineuddu ;
A phwysai 'i ben i orwedd ar ei gliniau ;
A theimlai'r gwres ennynai 'i wythiennau."

A llawer mwy o bethau cyffelyb, yn gwneyd cant o linellau. Prin y gallasai'r awdwr dynu y gorchudd ymhellach oddiar ddygyfor cariad heb groesi terfynau gweddeidd-dra. Yn wir y mae rhai o'r llinellau yn cerdded yr ymylon. Ond dyma'r pwynt—yr oedd y Cwpan Swyn eto heb ei yfed! Pryder y frenhines am y ferch oedd yn myned i briodi hen wr wnaeth iddi barotoi y diodlyn serch. Wele eiriau Malory :

"And then the Queen, La Beale Isoude's mother, gave Dame Bragwaine, her daughter's gentlewoman, and unto Governale a drink, and charged them that what day King Mark should wed, that same day they should give him that drink, so that King Mark should drink with La Beale Isoude, and then 'I undertake,' said the Queen 'either shall love other all the days of their life.'"

Dyna sut y daeth y *love philtre* i chware rhan mor bwysig yn y stori. Y mae *Gwydion ab Don* wedi gwneyd i Drystan syrthio mewn serch ag Esysllt, ac Esysllt â Thyrstan o'r dechreu. Beth sydd i'r cwpan ei wneyd wedi hyn? Mor wahanol yw ymdriniaeth Swinburne! Cyfyd syched angerddol ar Drystan wedi y rhwyfo, a geilw am ddiod. Naid Esysllt i fyny rhed i ymofyn gwin; cenfydd y gostrel aur wedi ei chuddio ym mynwes Branwen, a dwg hi at Drystan. Nid oes dim mwy effeithiol yng ngherdd Swinburne na'r llinellau lle disgrifia'r ddeuddyn yn edrych i wynebau eu gilydd am y tro olaf yn ddibrofiad o boenau serch :

"The last hour of their hurtless hearts at rest,
The last that peace should touch them breast to breast,
The last that sorrow far from them should sit,
This last was with them and they knew not it."

Yf y ddau o'r ddiod, a thyna'r drwg wedi ei wneyd, y fflam aniffoddol wedi ei henyn. Disgrifia *Gwydion ab Don* y weithred hon yn fanwl. Ond i ba beth? Yng nghân Swinburne gofyna Trystan i'r fun gyffwrth y cwpan â'i gwefusau :

"Give me to drink and give me for a pledge
The touch of four lips on the beaker's edge."

Dyfais Swinburne ei hun yw hon, a thyma'r defnydd wna *Gwydion ab Don* ohoni :

"I gwpan swyn edrychai'r non ddigymyl ;
A gwelai bedair gwefus ar ei ymyl
Yn yfed hudwin tynged heb betrusder,
Yn draectio rhudd ddiodlyn gwinllan Gwener."

Dau yn yfed o'r un gostrel, neu phiol, ar unwaith ! Nid felly Swinburne ; y fun yn gyntaf, yna y llanc. Wedi yr yfed, ceir gan *Gwydion ab Don* ail genllif o ufelwy serch a nwyd :—

"Ili doimlai'r tân yn ennyn yn ei chalon,
A'i wres yn gwrïdo 'i grudd, yn chwyddo 'i dwyfron,
Ei chorff yn crynnu dan ei loesion melus,
A'i swynion yn parlysu ei hewyllys.
Gogwyddai 'i phen ; a cheisiai guddio 'i llygaid ;
Ond methai 'i gwallt gymylu 'u pelydr tanbaid.
A thraserch Trystan, wedi ei wallgofi,
Fel ufel mynwes Etna yn dylosgi,
Dynesai ; ymddisgleiriai llygaid Esyllt,
Serch, dychryn, nwyd yn llenwi ou dyfnder trywyllt ;
Dychlamai bronnau'r ddau ; ymwelwai 'u gruddiau ;
Byrhâi, dyfnhai, cyflymai 'u hanadliadau."

Yr unig wahaniaeth rhwng y darn hwn a'r disgrifiad ddifynwyd eisoes cyn yfed ohonynt o'r Cwpan Swyn yw yr awgrym o drythyllwech tua'r diwedd. Cyfrifir Swinburne y mwyaf nwyfus a hyf ei leferydd o'r beirdd Seisnig, ond y mae yn llawer cynilach o'i eiriau a'i afiaeth na *Gwydion ab Don* yn y cyfwnghwn. Dim ond un-llinell-

ar-bymtheg sydd ganddo ar ganlyniad uniongyrchol yr yfed. Dyma'r cryfaf o honynt:

"And all their life changed in them, for they quaffed
Death

Each on each

Hung with strange eyes and hovered as a bird
Wounded, and each mouth trembled for a word;
Their heads neared, and their hands were drawn in one,
And they saw dark, though still the unsunken sun
Far through fine rain shot fire into the south;
And their four lips became one burning mouth."

Erys dwy benod eto—"Yr Alltud", a'r "Hwyl Ddu". Ond mae'r amynedd yn pallu. Fe'm siomwyd yn aruthr yn y gerdd hon. Dywedais air da am ran ohoni. Gyda gofal ac ymdrech, diau y gallasai yr awdwr gynyrchu rhywbeth a bri arno, ond methodd a chadw ei safon ei hun i fyny. Ar brydiau naid yn uchel i'r nwyfre, ond yn ebrwydd disgynna yn ol i'r ddaear. Mae weithiau yn ehedydd, weithiau fel hwyaden yn hedfan ar ei thraed. Yn awr ac eilwaith meddienir ef gan iasau o glefyd y Bardd Newydd. Ar dudalen 36, ceir y ddwy linell a ganlyn bron y drws nesaf i'w gilydd:

"Mae calon tragwyddoldeb ynddo'n curo."

"Mae'r sêr yn gwenu cariad tragwyddoldeb."

Am Esyllt ym mhothder ei serch dywed:

"Ni chaiff ond cariad weld ei thrysor penaf,—
Shecinah glân ei chysegr sancteiddiolaf."

A glybuwyd erioed y fath ffwlbri? Yn un o'i delynegion serch sonia am "y manna a'r gwin", ac "emynau mawl". Os emyn, emyn; os telyneg, telyneg. Yn gymysg a hyny daw y mursendod colegaidd y soniais am dano. Fwy nag unwaith ceir ganddo bethau gwir chwerthinllyd. Yn y bedwaredd benod llwyddodd rhyw grythor

erwydrol drwy dric lled blentynaid i ysbeilio y brenin March o'i wraig. Ond yr oedd Trystan yn gwylio ei gyfleustra "mewn ogof yn y coed". Daeth yntau ar warthaf y crythor a chyda tipyn o *strategy*, cipiodd Esyllt o'i feddiant. Chware teg iddo; nid twyll twyllo twyllwr. Y peth sydd yn anfaddeuol yn yr helynt yw y cwpled a ganlyn:

"A flachiodd cilwg Trystan, i'r Gwyddel rhoddodd wth:
'Fy nhelyn aur a biau'r ged enillaist ti a'th grwth'."

Beth pe dywedasai Mathew Arnold neu Swinburne yn eu cerddi hyglod:

"His eye flashed out in anger fierce, he gave the Pat a shove,
'My golden harp has won the girl, a fiddler she's above.'"

Pan êl *Gwydion ab Don* i gyfarch yr Awen, boed iddo ar bob cyfrif orchfygu ei duedd i wneuthur ei hun yn gareg ateb i feirdd eraill, waeth pwy fyddont. Yn y gân hon ceir amryw adseiniau o Elfed. Un o honynt yw "Milfil chwerthin distaw'r lli" ("Milfil chwerthin ei diluw"—*Caniadau Elfed*). Ar y goreu nid yw ond cyfieithiad o ymadrodd enwog Æschylus, "Kumaton anerithmon gelasma" (*Prometheus Bound*). Mae amryw feirdd ereill wedi gwneyd defnydd ohono (e.g. "Many twinkling smile of Ocean"—*Keble*), ac y mae i'w gael ym mhob geiriadur Groeg o bwys. Gan ei fod wedi chwerthin ers mwy na dwy fil o flynyddoedd, y mae'n bryd iddo dynu ei gernaau adref. Engreiffitiau pellach o Elfediaeth yw "O ddwyfol serch, anfarwol serch", a "Llwybyr paradwys mab a merch".

"O! wynfyd Serch, O! ddolur Serch."

"Penyd nefolaidd mab a merch."

(*Caniadau Elfed*.)

Un o'r pethau hynotaf yn perthyn i gerdd Swinburne yw ei ragarawd maith ar Serch fel dylanwad cynwynol drwy'r greadigaeth. Ceir rhagymodrodd byr ar yr un

pwnc ar ddechreu ail benod *Gwydion ab Don*. Dechreua Swinburne fel hyn :

“Love, that is first and last of all things made.”

A Gwydion ab Don :

“Serch, cryfach yw nag angyddu, a hynach na'r mynyddoedd.”

Mae'n ddigon eglur eisoes mai Swinburne awgrymodd y drychfeddwl hwn i *Gwydion ab Don*. Yn awr mi godaf ychydig linellau o'r naill a'r llall er mwyn dangos pa ddefnydd wnaeth bardd coronog Bangor o'r awgrym :

“One fiery raiment with all lives inwrought,
And lights of sunny and starry deed and thought.”

“Serch yw goleuni bywyd dyn a dwyfol grewr hyder.”

“And with the pulse and motion of his breath
Through the great heart of the earth strikes life and death.”

“Ym more gwyn ieuentyd bod, ar wawr y dechreu cynnar,
Deffrodd pelydrau tân yr haul nwyd serch ym mron y ddæar.”

“Love that is blood within the veins of time.”

“Anfarwol serch yw'r bywiol waed yng ngwythiennau amser.”

Tybiaf i mi ddangos yn fy sylwadau ar awdl *Tir na n-Og* nad wyf yn gulfarn na chrintachlyd ynghylch hawl awdwr i gymeryd awgrymiadau o waith awdwr arall. Y cwestiwn yw hwn,—beth a wna o honynt. Yr hyn a wnaeth *Gwydion ab Don* yma oedd pigo llinellau o ragarawd Swinburne a'u troi i'r Gymraeg a'u doddi yn ei gân ei hun yn y drefn a welodd efe yn oreu. Beth yw y llinell olaf a ddifynais heblaw cyfieithiad noeth o un o'r llinellau mwyaf barddonol a ysgrifennodd Swinburne erioed ?

Ond yr anaf mwyaf ar y gerdd yw ei chynlluniad. Teimlwn fod gormod o wagle rhwng y benod gyntaf a'r ail. Trwyddo i gyd cyll y cyfansoddiad mewn cysondeb. Nid oes yma ddim o'r *dramatic instinct* hwnw a esyd y fath arbenigrwydd ar awdl *Tir na n-Og*. Ni bu *Gwydion ab*

Don yn ddoeth i ddewis y pethau goreu o'r hen chwedl ; ni bu yn gelfydd wrth gyfleu y rhai a ddewisodd. Benthyciodd amryw bethau o gerdd Swinburne, ac andwyodd hwynt. Gwaeth na'r cwbl methodd yn ei ymgais i ddwyn rhawd y stori i'w *glimax* yn namwain y Cwpan Swyn, yr hyn yw craidd a chnewyllyn yr holl ramant.

R. A. GRIFFITH (*Elphin*).

OLD PEMBROKE FAMILIES in the Ancient County Palatine of Pembroke. Compiled (in part from the Floyd MSS.) by Henry Owen, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A., High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire. London: Published for the Author by Chas. J. Clark, 36, Essex Street, Strand, 1902.

IN the book before us Dr. Owen makes another valuable addition to his scholarly researches into the history of his native county. The work forms a welcome supplement to the volumes he has already issued, concerned as those are with the topography of the shire.

We owe what knowledge we possess of the ancient families of Pembroke to the History of the verbose and inaccurate Fenton. The contrast between the two books is remarkable. Indeed, one might well suppose that Dr. Owen had ever before his mind's eye a fear of Fenton's failings, for never was there a book so shorn of verbiage and so minutely accurate. The author might well have been pardoned had he dwelt at greater length upon the

story of some of the notable personages whose names he records, or given the reader a glimpse of the romances which underlie the history of the families whose fortunes he narrates. But he dismisses the famous Tournament held at Carew Castle in 1507 with a bare reference, and even Sir John Perrot has to be content with a paltry page or two. To a certain extent, however, this deficiency is made less apparent by the play of the dry wit never absent from Dr. Owen's pages. Occasionally, also, the reader is enlivened by the author's cynical contempt for shams, as for instance in his exposure of the Norman pedigree of the De La Roche family.

When William the Conqueror turned his horde of adventurers loose over England and Wales, the rich pasture lands of Glamorgan and Pembroke soon attracted their notice. Not only did these districts promise a rich harvest to the Norman knight, whose only fortune was his sword, but he also got something else which probably pleased him quite as much, namely, his stomachful of fighting. There were other attractions too, does Welsh tradition belie not, for if fate decreed that the Welsh chieftain and his heirs fell on the field of battle, the Norman was seldom averse to an alliance with the chieftain's daughter and her estate. The fair Welshwomen made easy captives of the men who had defeated their fathers and brothers. The voluminous works of Mr. G. T. Clark and Dr. De Gray Birch have, of recent years, placed us in possession of a mass of details about the Glamorgan settlers; but hitherto no attempt has been made to reduce these isolated facts into an accurate and consecutive narrative.

That interesting story still remains to be told, and we fancy the coming historian will find his labours considerably lightened by delving into the Floyd Collections now

at Aberystwyth College. Dr. Owen has generously paid his acknowledgments to Mr. Floyd, though every page of the book bears witness to his own unrivalled knowledge of the history of the County.

But what remains to be done for the Glamorgan lords has been accomplished for their Pembroke compeers in the book before us. We have here a succinct and compressed account of twenty-eight of the chief families of the County Palatine. When it is stated that eight of these families settled in the county early in the twelfth century, and that the history of all the others is traced back to the fourteenth century, it will be easy for those who delight in antiquarian pursuits to gauge the value of the book.

Few of the families mentioned are to-day represented in the county, and fewer still retain their ancient heritages. The Hon. Mrs. Trollope, who is at present the owner of Carew Castle, is a lineal descendant of Nest, the "Helen of Wales", who brought it as dower to Gerald de Windsor about the year 1104. Surely few families in the United Kingdom have a record such as this. The Wirriots also, who were settled at Orielson in the twelfth century are now represented by Sir Hugh Owen, of Goodwick, one of whose ancestors married the heiress of the family. From Nest and Gerald de Windsor are descended some of the most famous families of Ireland: the Fitzgeralds, who became Earls of Kildare and Dukes of Leinster; the Fitz-Maurices, Earls of Kerry and Marquises of Lansdowne; the Graces, Barons of Courtstown, and the Gerards, Lord Gerrard. A branch of the family returned to Wales at a later date, and, settling in North Wales, became the founders of many of the best-known families there, such as the Vaughans of Corsygedol, and the Wynns of Peniarth.

Quite a controversy seems to have risen as to the

meaning of the word Carew. Old Richard Carew, the Elizabethan historian of Cornwall, quaintly says :

“Carew, of ancient, Carru was,
And Carru is a plough ;
Roman’s the trade, Frenchman the word,
I do the name avow.”

Dr. Owen thinks the word is of Welsh origin, and probably meant *Caerau*, camps, the local pronunciation, Carey, giving some colour to this surmise. In Welsh poetry of the fifteenth century, it is spelt *Caeryw*, and this was probably the Welsh pronunciation as distinguished from that adopted by those living in the locality, who were certainly not Welsh-speaking.

Next to the Carews, the families whose history presents the greatest interest are the Wogans, the Perrots and the Owens. Sir John Wogan, “the greatest man of all the Wogan families, and one of the greatest men whom Pembrokeshire has produced”, was Justiciary of Ireland in the thirteenth century, where “he kept everything so quiet that we hear of no trouble in a great while”.

Surely, no better proof of shrewd diplomacy or great wisdom could be adduced. Another Wogan, Thomas by name, signed the death warrant of Charles I. At the Restoration he escaped to Utrecht, and amused himself by plotting against his jovial majesty Charles II. Tradition says that he afterwards returned to his native county, and lived on charity in the church porch of Walwyn’s Castle, where he was one morning found dead. Yet another Wogan was a correspondent of Dean Swift, and was created a baronet by the Pretender in 1719. A Sir John Wogan, of Wiston, was killed fighting for the Yorkists at the battle of Banbury in 1469, along with many another gallant Welshman.

ledge of "the sources" which is displayed throughout Mr. Morris's book.

From this point of view alone the book must be of real value to the students of the period, whilst its interest is certainly many-sided. As an essay on the military aspects of the Feudal System it contributes a number of new and material facts to our knowledge of contemporary warfare; but this, though perhaps the chief, is not the only merit of Mr. Morris's work. The customs and topography of the Welsh Marches are carefully described, with references to original records, which unfortunately are not described in a series of mediæval calendars, such as those which are devoted to the description of the Scottish and Irish records preserved in the London Archives.

Naturally, these careful details of the military operations against the Welsh fastnesses between the years 1277 and 1295 involve an examination of the political and constitutional history of the period, and, to some extent, of the social and economic conditions of the times. Mr. Morris handles the difficult subject of the Edwardian policy with much dexterity; and, allowing for a good many necessary assumptions, it may fairly be considered that many obscure points in that policy have been illumined by the author's industrious researches. Indeed, it was inevitable that the production of a mass of statistics from contemporary records should materially contribute to the better comprehension of the deep-laid plans of the conqueror of Wales and Scotland. In this connexion Mr. Morris seems to have received valuable assistance from a careful study of the best authorities, though he very properly declines to follow the example of a former generation of scholars in a blind acceptance of the statements of contemporary chroniclers.

On the other hand, Mr. Morris's speculations on several

THE WELSH WARS OF EDWARD I. A Contribution to Mediæval Military History, Based on Original Documents. By John E. Morris, M.A., formerly Demi of Magdalen College, Oxford. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1901.

It is now very generally recognised that the value of an historical work no longer depends chiefly on the interest of the subject-matter, or the attractiveness of the author's style. There are many important problems of national history which could scarcely interest the general reader; and, again, there are many highly-trained and acute historical scholars who could make no pretension to elegance of literary composition. When these difficult problems have been solved by the patient researches of the scientific student there will be materials available for the construction of a national history which may take its place amongst the masterpieces of our national literature.

These reflections naturally occur to us after the perusal of such a monograph as that which Mr. Morris has laboriously compiled to illustrate the historical significance of "The Welsh Wars of Edward I."

A work of this kind makes somewhat high demands upon the intelligence both of its author and his readers, but the former is also required to possess a special knowledge of several distinct branches of historical and antiquarian study. It is important, therefore, to satisfy ourselves that the author's equipment is sufficient for the historical object which he has in view, before we rely upon the authority of his statements, and here we are at once reassured by the comprehension and technical know-

ledge of "the sources" which is displayed throughout Mr. Morris's book.

From this point of view alone the book must be of real value to the students of the period, whilst its interest is certainly many-sided. As an essay on the military aspects of the Feudal System it contributes a number of new and material facts to our knowledge of contemporary warfare; but this, though perhaps the chief, is not the only merit of Mr. Morris's work. The customs and topography of the Welsh Marches are carefully described, with references to original records, which unfortunately are not described in a series of mediæval calendars, such as those which are devoted to the description of the Scottish and Irish records preserved in the London Archives.

Naturally, these careful details of the military operations against the Welsh fastnesses between the years 1277 and 1295 involve an examination of the political and constitutional history of the period, and, to some extent, of the social and economic conditions of the times. Mr. Morris handles the difficult subject of the Edwardian policy with much dexterity; and, allowing for a good many necessary assumptions, it may fairly be considered that many obscure points in that policy have been illumined by the author's industrious researches. Indeed, it was inevitable that the production of a mass of statistics from contemporary records should materially contribute to the better comprehension of the deep-laid plans of the conqueror of Wales and Scotland. In this connexion Mr. Morris seems to have received valuable assistance from a careful study of the best authorities, though he very properly declines to follow the example of a former generation of scholars in a blind acceptance of the statements of contemporary chroniclers.

On the other hand, Mr. Morris's speculations on several

difficult constitutional questions do not appear always convincing, and his account of Knight-service and Scutage in this later period does not add to our knowledge of the subject. Here, perhaps, Mr. Morris lost an opportunity of throwing light upon the later history of this institution by his obvious anxiety to reconcile the conditions which existed in the twelfth century with those which characterize the period of transition at the close of the thirteenth. More than once the author hazards, in a half-hearted fashion, suggestions of his own, which show a true appreciation of the altered conditions. In short, if Mr. Morris had been a little more dogmatic at this point his conclusions would perhaps have been both more valuable and more intelligible to the general reader. As an instance in point the "Note on Scutage" (p. 108) may be mentioned, which appears to have been inserted at the end of the chapter dealing with the Edwardian army for the purpose of discounting the theories to which the author has apparently given some credence in the preceding pages. At the same time, it is scarcely fair to lay stress upon a point which lies somewhat beyond the scope of Mr. Morris's work, and it would be still less fair to pick out a few slips here and there in the references and facts. The feeling of every practical student of History who has read this book carefully, and estimated the methods by which it has been compiled, should be one of keen appreciation of the writer's industry and scholarly discernment.

HUBERT HALL.

Correspondence.

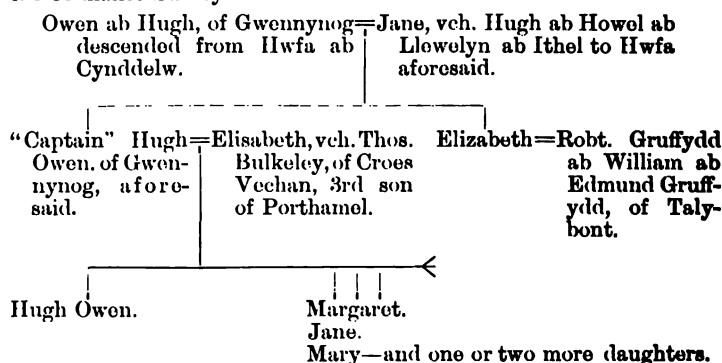
THE TWO HUGH OWENS.¹

THE following correspondence with reference to certain interesting points suggested by Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams in Appendix H (*The Two Hugh Owens*), to his Article on "Welsh Catholics on the Continent,"² has been placed at the disposal of the Editorial Committee.

Mr. HUGHES of Kinnel, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Flint, writes as follows to Mr. Llewelyn Williams in reference to

CAPTAIN HUGH OWEN, OF TALEBOLION.

"I think I have discovered the *Hugh Owen* you are in search of. In the parish of Llanflewlin, Hundred of Talebolion, co. Anglesey, there is a small place called 'Gwennynog', mis-spelt 'Gwnwnog' in the Ordnance Survey.



¹ Vide "The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion." Session 1901-02, p. 128.—(E.V.E.)

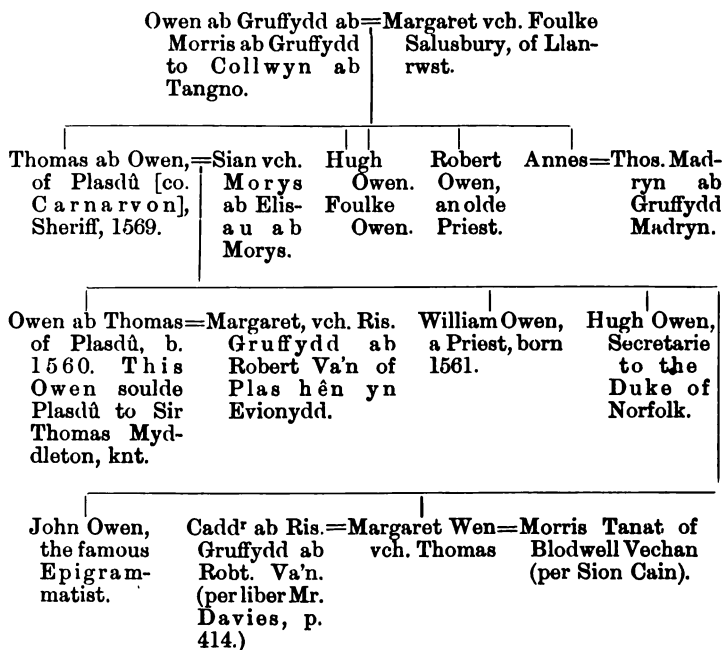
² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

"What became of Hugh I have not been able to ascertain; but all the daughters appear to have married. One of them to 'Nightingale, a white silversmith.' This couple were living in great poverty in Beaumaris, when an estate fell to Nightingale in England, and there they went to live.

"Captain" Hugh Owen could hardly be described as a *relation* of Sir Hugh, of Bodeon. To find a common ancestor they must go back to Howel ab Iorwerth Ddû, whose eldest son, Hwlkin ab Howel—Sir Hugh's ancestor—was alive on the next Monday after the Festival of the Assumption, 21 Richard II (1398). Captain Hugh Owen was descended from Hwlkin's third brother, Llewelyn ab Howel.

HUGH OWEN THE CONSPIRATOR.

"In reference to *Hugh Owen, of Plasddû*, the 'Conspirator', there can be no doubt that the Salusbury Pedigree is wrong. He was unquestionably uncle to John Owen the Epigrammatist, brother of Thomas Owen, of Plasddû, and son of Owen ab Gruffydd ab Morris, by his wife, Margaret Salusbury, of Llanrwst.

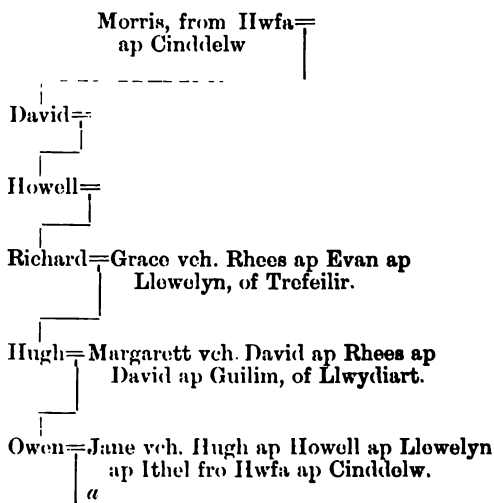


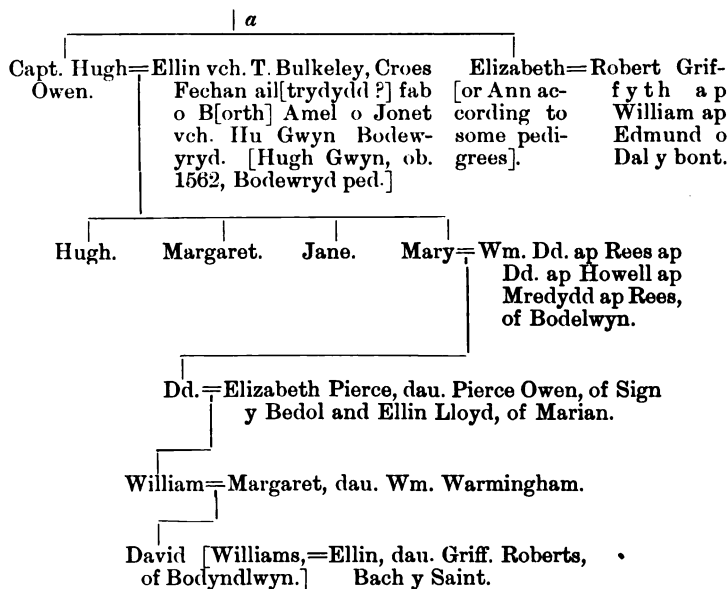
"In an old Carnarvonshire MS. I find the above Hugh Owen described as—'privatte Counsell to the Prince of Parma. This Hugh Owen was born in this county [Carnarvon], a younger brother of an ancient gentleman's house, called Plas dŷ. He served in great credit with the Earl of Arundell, and was a chief actor in the Duke of Norfolk's action, and was thought to be the wisest man amongst them; and when he saw that his Counsell was not followed, he traversed his ground in time into Brussells, where he continued privée Councillor to the State for forty years, until the end of his dayes.'"

MR. W. PRICHARD WILLIAMS, of Bangor, wrote to Mr. Llewelyn Williams, as follows:—

"I submit to you a copy of Hugh Owen's Gwenynnog pedigree taken from a MS. in the possession of Mr. J. E. Griffiths, Bryn Dinas, Bangor, who has kindly allowed me to make the extract for you. It does not throw much light on Hugh Owen's life. The fact that his wife's grandfather died in 1562 may be of help. John Ellis, of Tai Croesion—in whose handwriting the book is mainly written—is considered the most accurate and careful of the North Wales Genealogists.

GWENWYNNOG [LLANFFLEWYN].





"There was one married to Price Prichd., Scubor ddu, another Edw. Owen Prees, of Cynddall or Gardd Gynddol, in Rhos golyn, and secondly, Trefridin, another to Nevydd issa, another to ——— Nightingale, a whitesmith. I have seen him, his wife and dau. at Beumarsh Hospital. An estate fell to him in Eng^d and there went in a hired coach."

[From a MS. "Llyfr Iachau", in the possession of J. E. Griffith, Esq., F.L.S., etc., Bryn Dinas, Bangor, in the handwriting of John Ellis, Tai Croesion. The above pedigree, to and including Captain Hugh Owen, is in John Ellis' hand (*circa* 1720), and he gives Catherine as the name of his wife. But another hand has drawn a line through Catherine and carried the pedigree on from "Ellin".]

JOHN ROBERTS, TRAWSFYNYDD.¹

With reference to John Roberts, the Benedictine Martyr, Mr. PRICHARD WILLIAMS writes:—

"I have been trying for some years to gather information about the family history of John Roberts without any success. A very

¹ *Vide* "The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion," Session 1901-02, p. 120.—[E.V.E.]

concise account of his life is given in a little book written in Welsh, and published in 1824, in the interest of the Roman Catholics. His birth-place is given as 'Dolgellau'. However, Dom Bede Camm is utterly wrong in associating his name with John Roberts of the Vaner Gymmer. That can be clearly seen from Lewis Dwnn, as you point out in your article. I notice that you have transcribed that pedigree from Camm's book, and not from Lewis Dwnn, as the (G) is meaningless at the end of the line. It should be at the beginning of the next, thus :—(G) [gwraig] John Roberts, etc.

"Your own conjecture about Dól y Ddwryrd will not bear investigation either. If you will consult Lewis Dwnn again you will find that Sion ab Robert ab John ab Robert is referred to in a footnote as being coroner for Merionethshire, and that is the John Roberts you must be referring to. Dól y Moch and Dól y Ddwryrd refer to one and the same place. Further, the parishes of Festiniog and Trawsfynydd are not contiguous, Maentwrog lying between them. I think that John Roberts' home must be looked for in the Dolgelley end of Trawsfynydd parish."

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

FIRST PROSPECTUS.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talysarn, the Rev. Canon Sirvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwynogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Queen's Peas-rokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued, is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Rathin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. A *Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*; and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the Series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about £250. To ensure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have resolved to do. This Fund, of which Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., are the Trustees, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the general fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purposes herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside, from time to time, from the Society's General Fund the sum of £150, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the record of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

RUTE, President.

E. VINCENT EVANS, Secretary.

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