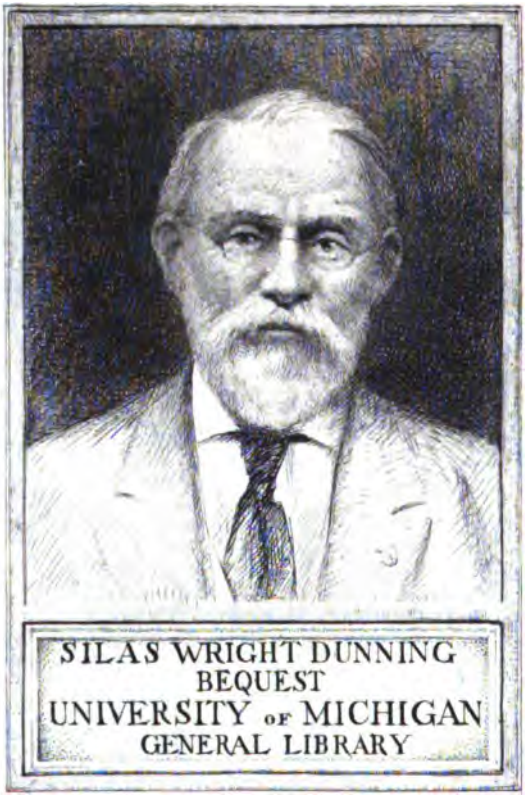
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Archæologia Cambrensis,

THE

JOURNAL

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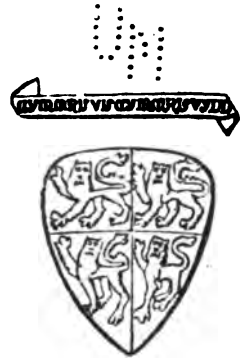

VOL. XII. FOURTH SERIES.

LONDON:
PARKER AND Co., 6, SOUTHAMPTON STREET,
STRAND.
1881.

LONDON
T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.

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Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FOURTH SERIES.—VOL. XII, NO. XLV.

JANUARY 1881.

OF THE CASTLES OF ENGLAND AT THE CONQUEST AND UNDER THE CONQUEROR.

It has usually been assumed that the rapidity of William's conquest was due to the absence of strong places in England. There is, however, ground for believing that England, in this respect, was exceedingly well provided,—quite as well provided as Normandy; and that, with the possible exception of a very few recently constructed strongholds, the works in the two countries were very similar in character. The older sites of the castles of the barons in Normandy are nearly all ascertained, and are for the most part distinguished by a moated mound with an appended court or courts also moated. This simple and very effective form of defence seems to have been in use among the northern nations, invaders both of England and the Continent, and in the ninth and tenth centuries was as common on the banks of the Thames, the Humber, and the Severn, as on those of the Seine and the Orne. It was in the eleventh century, and chiefly during the troubles attendant upon the accession and minority of Duke William, that the Normans seem to have adopted a new and more permanent description of fortress, and the old fashioned structure of timber began to be replaced by walls and towers in masonry, and especially

by keeps of that material. Of these, the best known, because the most durable, form was the rectangular, of which not above half a dozen examples can be shewn with certainty to have been constructed in Normandy before the latter part of the eleventh century, and but very few, if any, before the English conquest. Nor is there known to be in Normandy any specimen of the polygonal or circular form of keep as early as that event. De Caumont attributes the rectangular keep of Langeais, in which brick is largely used, to the year 992; but Du Pin and St. Laurent are probably among the oldest, and do not seem to be earlier than the reign of Duke William; and this is true also of Arques and Nogent-le-Rotrou, both early structures. In Normandy as in England, the polygonal or shell-keep, though on the older site, seems usually to be, in masonry, the later construction; that of Gisors was built by Robert de Belesme in 1097, and that of Carentan at about the same time. Many even of the most considerable mounds, as Briquessart and Vieux-Conches, shew no trace of masonry. The shell-keep of Plessis-Grimoult was held by De Caumont to have been constructed before 1047; but if this be so, it is certainly a singular exception. Castle building in Normandy seems to have preceded the English conquest, if at all, by but a very few years.

The Romans left behind them in Britain many walled towns; but it is not known to what extent these defences were preserved by the Northmen, or in what condition they found them. At the Conquest, Chester, Lincoln, Exeter, Hereford, Leicester, Oxford, Stafford, and Colchester, seem to have been already walled, and the walls of Exeter had been repaired or rebuilt by Æthelstan. Canterbury, Nottingham, and York were defended by a ditch. There were also probably some others, and possibly a few military towers in masonry of English workmanship; but there is no evidence of there having been anything like a rectangular keep, notwithstanding the special mention in 1052 of Richard's Castle, the work of Richard the son of Scrob. There is no reason

to suppose that it possessed a tower of that character, which would have been quite out of keeping with the moated mound which even now marks the spot. Still less had the English any shell-keeps in masonry. What there really was in the way of military masonry, and what was its character, is not so clear. It was said of Dover by William of Poictiers, that it was by Harold "studio atque sumptu suo communitum", and that there were "item per diversa loca illius terræ alia castra ubi voluntas Ducis ea firmari jubet"; also in the account of the advance of William from Canterbury it is added, "ad fractam turrim castra metatus est", pointing to a work in masonry, though, no doubt, it might, as at York, be Roman. Arundel, named in *Domesday* as having been a castle in the reign of the Confessor, was probably, from the size of its mound and the depth of its ditches, as strong as any castle of its type in Normandy; but no masonry has been observed there, either upon or about the mound, of a date earlier than the Conquest, if as early.

That there existed in England, at the Conquest, no castles in masonry of English work, it may be too much to assert; but it may safely be said that, save a fragment of wall at Corfe, no military masonry decidedly older than that event has as yet been discovered. In 1052, when the Confessor and Earl Godwin came to terms, and the attack on London was set aside, it is stated that Archbishop Robert and his Frenchmen fled, some westward to Penticost Castle, and some northwards to Robert's Castle; so that these places probably, like Richard's Castle, were in Norman hands, though it does not follow that they were constructed of the material, or in the fashion, then coming into use in Normandy.

Domesday mentions directly forty-nine castles as existing at the date of the survey, and of these at least thirty-three were on sites far older than the Conquest; and of them at least twenty-eight possessed artificial mounds similar to Arundel and the castles in Nor-

mandy. *Domesday*, however, is notoriously capricious both in its entries and omissions on such matters as were not included in its proper view, and its list of castles is nearly as incomplete as its list of churches. Neither were required to be noted. "Of the forty-nine castles recorded", says Sir H. Ellis, "eight are known either on the authority of *Domesday*, or of our old historians, to have been built by the Conqueror himself; ten are entered as erected by greater barons, and one by an under tenant of Earl Roger; eleven more, of whose builders we have no particular account, are noticed in the *Survey*, either expressly or by inference, as new". The fact is, however, that although the number of castles actually mentioned may be only forty-nine, of castles and castelries (which imply a castle) there are named in *Domesday* fifty-two. The castles reputed to have been built by the Conqueror himself are Lincoln, Rockingham, Wareham, two castles at York, Dover, Durham, London, and Nottingham, of which the last four are not mentioned in *Domesday*. Exeter, also omitted, is generally reputed to be one of William's castles, as was Stafford; which, however, was constructed and destroyed before the date of the *Survey*. "Terra de Stadford in qua rex percepit fieri castellum, quod modo est destructum." A very short period for the construction and destruction of a work in masonry. Mr. Pearson, who has given great attention to the subject of Norman castles in England, tabulates the result of his researches in the atlas attached to his *History*. He there enumerates as standing in the reign of the Conqueror forty-nine castles belonging to the King, and fifty to his subjects. Of these, at least thirty-eight have mounds. He gives also a list of fifty-three belonging to private persons in the reign of William Rufus, of which at least five have mounds. Probably there were of each class many more than these. Colchester, for example, is not included, nor Farnham, nor Berkhampstede.

Of the ninety-nine castles enumerated by Mr. Pear-

son as belonging to the reign of the Conqueror, at least fifty are on old sites. These are Arundel, Berkeley, Bramber, Cambridge, Carisbrook, Chester, Clare, Clifford, Caerleon, Coningsburgh, Dover, Durham, Dunster, Dudley, Eye, Ewias, Guildford, Hastings, Huntingdon, Launceston, Leicester, Lincoln, Lewes, L'wre, Marlborough, Montacute, Norwich, Oxford, Pevensey, Pontefract, Quatford, Raleigh, Richard's Castle, Rochester, Rockingham, Shrewsbury, Striguil, Stafford, Stamford, Tickhill, Tonbridge, Trematon, Tutbury, Wigmore, Windsor, Wallingford, Wareham, Warwick, Worcester, and York. Almost as many are doubtful, and probably not more than two or three, such as Richmond, London, and possibly Malling, were altogether new. The fact is, that all these lists, however valuable they may be as shewing what castles were taken possession of or re-edified or strengthened by the Normans, give no adequate idea of the fortresses already existing in England, and omit scores of earthworks as large and as strong as those occupied by the Normans in England, or left behind them in Normandy, of a date long before the reign of William,—probably before the end of the tenth century. Every part of England, much of Scotland, and the accessible parts of the Welsh border, were covered with strong places which were, no doubt, defended, and well defended, with palisades, as more suitable to made ground than work in masonry such as was more or less in use for ecclesiastical purposes. It was not that these places were less capable of defence than those in Normandy, but that England was broken up into parties. Harold's seat was too insecure, and the few months of his reign far too brief to allow his great administrative talents to come into play; and his early death left the English without a leader. The power of the other earls was local. There was no organised opposition. Notwithstanding the assertion of Orderic that the English were mere tillers of the soil, a convivial and drinking race, they by no means submitted quietly to the Norman rule; but their efforts

for freedom, boldly devised and gallantly executed, were ill timed and ill combined, and were, in consequence, put down in detail. Under such circumstances the strongholds of the country availed little. Dover, Lewes, Arundel, Bramber, Tonbridge, Rochester, Guildford, Farnham, Wallingford, and Berkhampstede, had their strong earthworks been held in force, would have rendered William's advance too imprudent to have been attempted; and that these and other not far distant positions were well chosen, is shewn by the fact that they were all adopted by the Conqueror. The conquest of England was made possible, not by the absence of strong places, but by the want of organisation for their defence.

But whatever may have been the character of the defences in use in England before the arrival of the Normans, it is certain that from that period they underwent a considerable and probably a rapid change, though scarcely so rapid as has been supposed. The Normans, who had so long, in common with the English (probably by reason of their common ancestry), employed the moated and palisaded mound, proceeded to carry out in England the important improvements they had already commenced in Normandy. William's chief object, having conquered, was to secure his conquest; and his first care, on obtaining possession of each division of the kingdom, or each capital city or town, was to regard it from a military point of view, and to order the construction of such strong places as might be necessary for the holding of it. How completely, in so doing, he trod in the footsteps of those who had gone before, is shewn by what he found and what he did towards the covering of London, and the maintaining of his communication with the sea. Thus he found and reinforced castles at Chichester, Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Hastings, and Dover. On his road he found and strengthened Canterbury, Tonbridge, Rochester, and Ryegate. In London he founded the Tower, an entirely new work; but for the defence of

the basin of the Thames he trusted to the ancient sites of Guildford and Farnham, possibly Reading, and certainly Wallingford and Berkhampstede. And so all over the kingdom, such strongholds as were central, in good military positions, or of unusual strength, or were placed in the ancient demesne-lands of the crown, were taken possession of or reconstructed for the sovereign; but every baron or great tenant in chief was permitted—and, indeed, at first expected, and was, no doubt, sufficiently ready—to construct castles for the security of the lands allotted to him, which in the vast majority of instances were meant to remodel the defences of the English predecessors. This was under the pressure of circumstances, for William seems always to have been awake to the danger of uniting extensive hereditary jurisdictions, and even from the first to have contemplated governing the counties through the intervention of *vice-comites*, or sheriffs, who were appointed, and could be displaced, at pleasure. But this policy was at first, in certain districts, necessarily postponed, though even then William made it to be understood that the chief castles of the realm, by whomsoever built, were royal castles, and their actual acquisition was always an important part of the policy of both him and his successors so long as castles were of consequence. Thus Windsor, Cambridge, Exeter, Corfe, Wareham, Winchester, Porchester, Southampton, Carisbrooke, Canterbury, Dover, Lincoln, Rockingham, Nottingham, Stafford, Guildford, Warwick, Marlborough, and York, were royal castles from the commencement. Wallingford, Gloucester, Bristol, Oxford, Tutbury, Worcester, though built by subjects, were not the less claimed and officered by the crown. Even Durham, though held by the bishops, and Leicester, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, by the lords of those earldoms, were from time to time in the hands of the crown, whose rights over them were of a far more direct character than those it claimed to exercise over the lands and feudal possessions of lords of the above mentioned castles.

Arundel, Shrewsbury, Montgomery, Bridgenorth, and some less important fortresses, fell to the crown on the overthrow of the house of Talvas; and with this event a number of castles on the Welsh border, built by tenants of Earl Roger, became fiefs *in capite*, dependent directly upon the crown. Besides these, there are on record, in England, about forty or fifty castles built by local barons, which, when it suited the crown, were taken in hand and repaired and garrisoned at its charge.

Of nearly all the castles on record, as existing in the reigns of the Conqueror and his sons, the site is well known; and of very many, fragments of the masonry remain. What is very remarkable is, that of this masonry there is but little which can be referred to the reign of either the Conqueror or William Rufus, that is, to the eleventh century. Of that period are certainly London and Malling, Guildford, Bramber, the Gate-House of Exeter, the foundation of Chepstow, the keeps of Chester, Goderich, Walden and Wolvesey, Colchester and Newcastle, though this last looks later than its recorded date. Probably there is more of this masonry, but not much. Dover, Rochester, Porchester, and Hedingham, among our finest examples, are certainly later. Part of Durham Castle is, no doubt, of the age of the Conqueror; but the shell-keep has been rebuilt, and it is doubtful whether the original work was of the age of the early Norman chapel and hall attached to it. Speaking generally, those castles in England which belong to what is called the Norman period are too late to be the work of the Conqueror or his personal followers, and too early to allow of any preceding work in Norman masonry (usually sound and solid) to have been constructed and swept away. What is the solution of this difficulty? Of what character and material were the great majority of the castles which William ordered to be constructed? Of what character were those mentioned in *Domesday?*

That William ordered many castles to be constructed

is certain; and among the orders left with Bishop Odo and William Fitz Osborn, when acting as joint regents of the kingdom, was one specially charging them to see to the building of castles; and no doubt these orders were obeyed. But it has been hastily assumed that the castles constructed were of masonry. The keeps of Dover and Rochester, for example (if such were erected under the Conqueror), were certainly not those now standing, which belong to the reign of Henry II; and so of Norwich, and probably of Nottingham, now destroyed. And yet the masonry of William's reign was of a very durable character, as is seen in the Tower of London, and in not a few still standing churches. Also it is stated that William "custodes in castellis strenuos viros collocavit, ex Gallis traductos, quorum fidei pariter ac virtuti credebat". This looks very much as though the castellans were at first, at any rate, put in charge of existing castles; which must mean that in most cases some temporary arrangement was made, and the existing works strengthened, until it was convenient to replace them by others more in accordance with the new ideas of strength and security.

William and his barons evidently employed two classes of castles,—one always in masonry, and one very often in timber. Where a castle was built in a new position, as in London, or where there was no mound, natural or artificial, they chose, as a rule, for the keep the rectangular form,—a type said to have been introduced from Maine, and employed at Arques, at Caen, and at Falaise; but where the site was old, and there was a mound, as at Lincoln, Huntingdon, Rockingham, Wallingford, or York, they seem to have been content to repair the existing works, usually of timber only, and to have postponed the replacing them with a regular shell till a more convenient season, which in many cases did not occur for a century.

Nor was the postponement very serious, for the native fortresses, if well manned, were strong, at least for a limited time. The attacks of the Danes upon

Towcester, Bedford, and Wigmore, are on record; and yet these, of all of which the earthworks remain, were not burhs of the first class, and certainly would not contain a hundred men; or even if the base-court were occupied, more than thrice that number; and the Danish army could scarcely be less than ten times as numerous. The fact is, however, that such a mound as Arundel or Tonbridge, palisaded, could be held for a time by three or four score of resolute men against a sharp attack from any number, armed as men were armed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. No doubt towers of masonry were more secure, because less dependent upon the vigilance of the garrison; less obnoxious to fire, less liable to be taken by surprise. But the Normans were stout soldiers, well disciplined, and could, from the first, expect no quarter from the insurgent English.

Among the castles ordered by William to be built, one of the most important was York. The order was given in the summer of 1068; and it is known that the new castle was to be upon the old English site, which contained a moated mound of the first class, commanded and protected on one side by the Roman city, and on the others by the swamps and waters of the Ouse and Foss. William's castle was to be garrisoned by three leaders and five hundred knights, which implied a considerable following. Its area, therefore, must have been spacious, and no doubt included the mound and its ample base-court as seen at the present day. In 1069 the castle was attacked by the citizens in revolt, and was even then capable of being held, and was held, till William came to its assistance. He then ordered a second castle to be constructed upon the Bayle Hill; and this was completed in eight days, before he left the city. A few months later, before September 1069, the citizens, aided by the Danes, again attacked and burned the castles, which in 1069-70 were again renewed. Now York was the metropolis of the most disaffected half of the kingdom. There, if anywhere, a castle of stone

would be desirable, and stone could readily have been brought by water; and yet York Castle was constructed, and made capable of being defended, in a few months, and its subsidiary fortress in eight days; and both, soon after, were taken and burned, and at once ordered to be rebuilt. It is clear, from the time occupied by the whole sequence of events, that these castles were not of masonry. Moreover, the masonry of the present York keep contains nothing that can be attributed to the eleventh century; but much that is far too early to have replaced a really substantial keep or curtain of Norman date, had such been built. Upon the great and artificial mound of Bayle Hill, the site of the second castle, there is neither trace nor tradition of any masonry at all.

The building of a Norman castle required both time and money. The architects, overlookers, and probably the masons, had to be imported from Normandy, and in many cases the stone for the exterior; and as most of the existing square keeps, and very nearly all the shell-keeps, are of the twelfth century, it seems probable that the Conqueror was to some extent content with such defences as he found in England; strengthened, no doubt, very materially by the superior skill and resources of his engineers. This is quite consistent with the fact that the art of castle building did, from the building of the White Tower, undergo a great and somewhat rapid change. It is true of William, both in Normandy and in England, as Matthéw Paris observes, "ad castra quoque construenda, rex antecessores suos omnes superabat"; and he, no doubt, as we are told by William of Jumieges, "tutissima castella per opportuna loca stabilavit". Lanfranc, writing to Roger Earl of Hereford before his rebellion, assuring him of William's confidence, adds, "et mandat ut quantum possumus curam habeamus de castellis suis, ne, quod Deus avertat, inimicis suis tradantur"; and in the subsequent rebellion it was, when Ralph Guader found the men of castles against him, that he left his wife and children

to make terms from Norwich Castle, while he himself fled. Lanfranc's dispatch informs William, "Castrum Noruuich redditum est, et Britones qui in eo erant et terras in Anglia terra habebant, concessis eis vita et membris." Besides the Bishop and Earl Warrene, the Castle contained three hundred "loricati", with cross-bowmen and many artificers of military machines. Also the same prelate charges Bishop Walcher, of Durham, "Castrum itaque vestrum, et hominibus, et armis, et alimentis vigilanti cura muniri facite."

Castles, no doubt, there were at William's command, many and strong. All that is here contended for is that, whatever he may have desired, William was able to construct but few castles such as London or Durham; and that the greater number of those that remain, and exhibit the Norman style of architecture, belong, some to the close of the eleventh, and a greater number to the twelfth century. But if William did not actually build so many castles as is supposed, he and his followers certainly restored and refounded an immense number, upon which those who came immediately after him built structures, the ruins of which we now see.

There is much to be learned from the consideration of the positions of these fortresses. William's first care on obtaining possession of each district was to order the preparation of such strong places as might be necessary for the holding of it. But it is evident that he was influenced also by another consideration. He desired to be regarded as the legitimate heir of the Confessor rather than as the conqueror of the kingdom; and so far as was consistent with his own security, he strove to administer the ancient laws, and to leave the ancient tenures and private estates, and even English owners, undisturbed. This, indeed, owing to the strong national discontent, shewn by repeated insurrections and by a general current of ill will, of which these were the indications, he speedily found to be out of the question. But even while driving out the native magnates he was

careful to associate the new men, as far as possible, with the past, in the hope (well founded) that before long the "successores et antecessores", as they are called in *Domesday*, would be looked upon as part of a continued line,—Earl Roger, for example, as the representative of Edwin at Shrewsbury, Hugh Lupus of Morcar, and William Fitz Osbern of Ralph the Earl of Hereford under the Confessor.

And this policy is particularly evident in the sites of the castles. Where circumstances absolutely required it, an entirely new position was selected; but this was extremely rare, and probably did not occur in half a dozen instances; if, indeed, in more than London and Richmond. Usually it was found that the English lord had attached to his estate an earthwork upon which he and his ancestors had lived for centuries, which was identified with the estate or district, and regarded with respect and confidence by the surrounding tenantry. It is surprising to find how completely the leading positions in the country had thus been occupied. The upland passes; the margins of the rivers; the summits, where readily accessible, of the detached hills; the spots rendered strong by cliffs or ravines, or extended or impracticable marshes. Each had its *aula*, where a succession of lords had identified themselves with their people, afforded them protection, and received in return their support. Such were Guildford, Farnham, and Berkhampstede, in the clefts of the belt of chalk by which London is girdled; Hertford, Bedford, Wallingford, Tamworth, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Durham, and York, upon the banks of deep or rapid streams; Windsor, Belvoir, Lincoln, Corfe, and Montacute, placed on the summit of more or less detached hills, commanding a broad sweep of country; Dover, Scarborough, and Bamborough, upon rugged and lofty sea-cliffs, isolated by deep and formidable ravines; Huntingdon, Cambridge, Ely, and Oxford, more or less covered by marshy fens at that time almost impassable; while attached to, and so placed as to overawe their adjacent cities or towns,

were such fortresses as Exeter, Leicester, Winchester, Chester, Chichester, Taunton, York, Norwich, and Nottingham. Each, excepting such as belonged to the crown, represented an English estate. To many of them military service had long been paid; and now into them the knights and barons from Normandy, and the lieutenants and governors for the crown were inserted.

So far the policy was sound, and promised to be successful; but when the new lords began to build castles of stone, they became obnoxious to both sovereign and people. The possessor of a strong castle was ever ready for rebellion, and was not uncommonly a tyrant even to his own people, of whom this made him independent: hence castles properly so called,—buildings in masonry,—were hated by both king and people. The old fashioned residence, half mansion, half fortress, formed of earth and timber, or at best of a rude kind of masonry, such as Scott, more by intuition than inquiry, attributes to the Saxon Cedric, was strong when held by brave men in sufficient numbers, for a short time; but under ordinary circumstances it could easily be attacked, and set on fire. These fortified residences were out of fashion with the Normans, and fell into disuse. The English lords were of the same immediate lineage with their tenants; and if they occasionally squeezed them, they did it as a man squeezes his own milch cow, tenderly. But the castle of stone was held by a stranger whose language, arms, and armour, were strange to the people, and by them feared and hated. The Norman castle was a purely military building. It was not only strong when well garrisoned, but its passive strength was also great; and when the bridge was up, and the gates closed, it was at all times safe against an enemy unprovided with military engines. Fire, the ordinary and ready weapon of the populace, against such a wall, for example, as Cardiff (40 feet high and 11 feet thick), or against such a Tower as London, could do nothing. The garrison also, composed in the English times of the tenants of the lord, under the

Normans were not unfrequently mercenaries,—men without ruth or conscience, distrusted even by their employers, whose trade was war, and whose gain plunder, and of whom Maurice de Bracy was a very favourable specimen. "Quot domini castellorum", it was said, "tot tyranni". No wonder, then, that the Norman castle came to be regarded as the symbol of rebellion on the one hand, and of tyranny on the other.

Although the personal attention of the Conqueror was necessarily confined to the chief cities and central towns of England, to Exeter, Gloucester, Nottingham, York, or Durham, his western frontier was not neglected, although he was obliged to depute its ordinary defence to others. The Welsh, hardened by centuries of constant warfare, held with tenacity their strip of mountain land between Offa's Dyke and the sea, and were ever on the watch to spoil that other more fertile tract which lay between the Dyke and the Severn and the Dee, known as the March. Foremost among the barons of the March were Roger of Montgomery and Hugh D'Avranches, Earl of Chester, to whom later generations gave the surname of "The Wolf." The *caput* of this latter earldom, protected by the deep and rapid Dee, was posted at one angle of the old Roman enclosure; and the castle of Earl Roger, girdled by the convolutions of the Severn, was an almost impregnable citadel. From these fortresses these great Earls exercised more than regal power over the counties of Salop and Hereford, composing the Middle March. The border barons, their feudatories, succeeded to no peaceful heritage; but by degrees they possessed themselves of the older English possessions upon the border, and along with them, of the fortresses by which, in Mercian times, the Welsh had so long been held at bay. That these were numerous is evident from the remains of their earthworks; and that they were strong and well held against the Welsh, is evident from the English names along and beyond the frontier. *Domesday*, however, though compiled after Earl Roger had

held the earldom of Shrewsbury about twelve years, only mentions four castles upon his border,—Oswestry, Montgomery, Shrewsbury, and Stanton or Castle Holgate, and the Earl's house at Quatford. Bridgenorth and Carreghova were built a few years later, in the reign of Rufus; but Bridgenorth represented the burgh of Æthelflæda, the remains of which are seen at Oldbury, as are works of still stronger type, actually employed by Earl Roger, at Quatford. Besides these, Wattlesborough and Clun exhibit rectangular Norman keeps; and eleven or twelve more castles in those districts are mentioned in records as early as the reign of Henry I. Altogether, by the close of the twelfth century, there were fifty to sixty castles in the county of Salop alone. Now, although the masonry of these castles, or of such of them as remain, can very rarely indeed be attributed to the Norman period, the earthworks shew that they existed as fortresses long before that time; and it seems, therefore, certain that here, as in the other parts of England, Earl Roger and his barons made the most of such works as they found ready to their hands; and this applies equally to the Palatinate of Chester and to the southern Marches, where also Norman castles took the place, with more or less of interval, of strongholds of the English type.

G. T. Clark.

HUTS OF ARDUDWY.

DURING a short stay at Barmouth last autumn, enjoying its scenery, I had several opportunities of crossing the hill at the back of the town, in the direction of Upper Ardudwy, a part of Merionethshire described by most writers as abounding in British remains. These consist chiefly of hut-ruins found scattered along the skirts and shoulders of its hills, dotting here and there an extensive tract frequented only by the shepherd. Their numbers indicate the presence of a large population here in remote times; but the land these ruins occupy is now a deserted waste not very pleasant to traverse, the course of the explorer being often interrupted by wet morass, long tracts of boulders, rocky declivities, and walls of loose stones, 6 and 7 feet high, the risks of getting over which he prefers to the uncertainty of meeting with an outlet elsewhere.

In the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for the year 1873, p. 84, we have an illustrated description of many of the archæological attractions of this neighbourhood; to which excellent paper the reader is referred. My present object is simply to invite attention to a class of small huts and chambers met with here, which, if ever occupied by man, speak of a period when the inhabitants lived principally in the open air, regardless of roof-protection, excepting at night or in severe weather.

Ascending the hill from Barmouth, on a dusky morning, a remarkable scene opened to view. From a cold mist below, drifting in from the Bay, I found myself, by slow degrees, emerging into bright sunshine, which became so intensely warm that I moved with difficulty. The scenery around was most striking. On my right the estuary of the Mawddach, usually so beautiful with its long vista of water and wooded rocks, was completely lost beneath a cloud of fog, whilst the hills beyond and around it stood out in perfect clearness,

each seam and fissure in the rugged front of Cader Idris being as distinctly defined as if there had been no space between it and myself. Diphwys, Rhobell, Moel Offrwm, and other hills, were equally conspicuous. On my left the low lands of Ardudwy, with Cardigan Bay, were one sea of silvery fog, out of which rose the higher mountains of Lleyn, like so many islands out of a beautiful lake.

The first object of archæological interest I met with was about a mile from the town, on the western side of the hill, in a retired nook between two outcrops of rock, in which dry and sheltered situation were the ruins of a hut with two adjoining courts. Its builder had availed himself of every surrounding advantage. One rock he had used as a support to the gable of his house, and the other had served his purpose equally well in completing the enclosure of a small court in front of it. The interior of the dwelling is 8 feet long by a central width of 5 feet, which narrows to a width of 4 feet at each end. It has a large covering slab of slate at top, measuring 5 feet in length by 2½ feet in width, which, reaching from wall to wall, is interesting inasmuch as it indicates the manner in which some of the huts of this neighbourhood were roofed over. The gable inclines inwards with a considerable overlap in each of its courses, the result being that gable and roofing-slab combined cover about 4 feet, or one half of the chamber, which I am disposed to think was the family sleeping place.

Continuing my course along the western side of the hill, and following a trackway leading to some neglected slate quarries, I observed on a sheltered limb of the mountain with a southerly aspect, a group of three enclosures, a ground-plan of one of which is given in sketch No. 1. It consists of what appears to have been a small open space, quadrangular in form, measuring 10 feet each way, and having a narrow, dilapidated entrance with shattered walls on each side.

I suppose this part of the building to have been open,

because its walls are scarcely strong enough to support such an extent of roof. To the left of the entrance, and extending along the eastern side of this uncovered space, is a curiously narrow chamber, partitioned off from the rest of the enclosure by a stone wall, as shewn in the plan. The interior measure of this compartment is 6 feet long by 2 feet wide: dimensions which the reader will kindly bear in mind, as they will more than once occur in the course of my observations. Near to it, in the wall of the court, is a square recess or cupboard. In the western wall, on the right of the entrance, and near to the corner, I noticed a square aperture measuring 18 inches each way, which proved to be the only perceptible passage leading to a second chamber, 10 feet long by 5 feet wide. Piled on the floor of this apartment, and filling its interior, are longish stones lying transversely, which are unmistakably the remains of its collapsed roof. At first it was difficult to conceive that this small opening in the partition-wall was intended as a doorway, but subsequent observation has convinced me it was so used by the inhabitants. This is a very curious specimen of a primitive dwelling; and the only suggestions I have to offer in respect to its arrangements are, that the open court may have served the purpose of a general apartment, where the family assembled, kindled their fires, and prepared their food; where, sheltered by its walls from ordinary winds, they spent their daylight hours; and when evening closed, they retired for the night into the adjoining roof-covered chambers, entering them on all fours, as an Esquimaux does into his ice-built house, having previously lined them with a bedding of heath, fern, or rushes.

From this point, maintaining an upward course in the direction of Diphwys (a line evidently too high and exposed for dwellings of any kind), I at length got a view of Llyn Irddyn, the object of my search, on the western shore of which I hoped to find traces of a British village. The rapid advance of an autumnal

evening and rising fog prevented my reaching its supposed site; but the view obtained of the lake from its southern end gave the impression that on all sides it is bordered by a wilderness of undisturbed boulders, amongst which are no architectural remains. One structure at this end of the lake took my attention, the size and masonry of which I found it difficult to reconcile with its position. It is 17 feet long by 11 feet wide; and its gable, with well built corners, is still 7 feet high. It stands amidst stones so thickly strewed up to its very walls that even a cleared pathway leading to the entrance is untraceable. Near to its eastern end is a small circular spot cleared of stones; but for what purpose I was unable to determine during my hurried observation. Its doorway is narrow, and it has neither window, chimney, nor fireplace. Low in its eastern gable are two small niches corresponding in size and position. They are narrower above than below, with inclining jambs, each of a single stone placed endwise, having another at top horizontally imposed, much in the style of ancient Irish doorways. The object of the builder in selecting a spot now so dreary is not easily ascertained. The lake in front of it has been styled "The Priest's Lake", for some reason unknown to me. It is possible that the wild retirement of this stony Paradise, with its sombre outlook over lake and hills, may have harmonised with the feelings of some pious recluse, and induced him to spend his days here. At the same time, it is likely that security from piratical invaders on the coast, and abundant pasture on the neighbouring hills for sheep or goats, were the objects of a settlement here. The building does not seem to have been designed for the housing of stock. At the back of it is a low and longish hut with a skeleton roof of stones in position, which I much regret I had not a second opportunity of examining.

My next excursion was by the way of Dyffryn Station and the mansion of Corsygedol, in the direction of Craig y Ddinas, a small and primitive fortress described

HUT NO. 1, P. 18.

HUT NO. 2, P. 21.

Interior, 7 feet by 2 feet. Exterior, height 3½ feet.

by Pennant and others. It stands at the extreme end of a low ridge which, spurring out from the foot of Moelfre, runs obliquely across a wet mountain glen, the upper and broader part of which it cuts off, and partly encloses. Immediately beyond the crest of this ridge are the remains of many habitations, in front of which the glen widens into a basin-like mountain cwm, and stretching away for about a mile, in the direction of Llawllech and Diphwys, is intersected by the river Ysgethin. Along the rushy margin of this basin, where it touches the hills, the curious in such remains will find many hut-ruins in a better state of preservation than they are usually seen. This marsh and its environs I suppose to be the original Corsygedol, which in remote times may have been called Corsygadhel, Gaedhil, or Gwyddel,—a name suggested by the fenny nature of its soil and a supposed link between its antiquities and a Gaedhelic race; a random conjecture I fully admit, and to be received as such.[1]

Midway up the Craig y Ddinas ridge I came upon hut No. 2, which is a strangely small structure standing alone, as it does, quite unconnected with other buildings, and some 40 yards apart from walls of any kind. The interior measure of this sleeping chamber, or night retreat, if I may so regard it—and I know not at present for what other purpose it could have been built—is 7 feet long by 2 feet wide. The outside elevation of the gable, as seen in the sketch, is 3½ feet, and its height within is not more than 2½ feet. At the eastern or opposite end are two slaty roofing-slabs resting on the side-walls, in their original positions, each of them being 3 feet long by 1 foot across. These had probably an exterior covering of sods or rushes when the roof was in a perfect state. An overlap appears in its upper courses, as represented in the sketch. Its broken down entrance is in a

[1] Cors-y-gadheol? An old road from Ardudwy passes through the marsh, and crossing the Ysgethin by a stone bridge winds over Llawllech in the direction of Dolgelly. *Gedal* (Irish) signifies a reed.

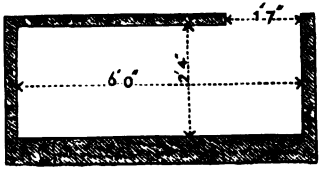
corner, or rather passes through the side wall at its junction with the gable, a characteristic which seldom varies in these narrow huts and one most inconvenient for the housing of animals, if such was their object. Craig y Ddinas is a small fortification of dry masonry, built, we may suppose, by the chieftain of the district, and regarded by his neighbours as their common stronghold and place of muster when an alarm was given. The area of its court measures about 70 paces by 36, but so rocky and uneven is its surface that a party defending its western wall would be at a loss to know how it fared with their comrades on its eastern side. Within this court are the foundation lines of three or four huts. One of them was measured and its interior found to be no more than 5 feet by 4 feet. Its main wall, described by Pennant as "retaining in many parts a regular and even facing", is 10 feet thick and in some portions from 4 to 5 feet high. Along its north-eastern extent I observed a cavity or two in its surface—one of them distinctly formed and faced within, indicating seemingly the presence of mural chambers often found in fortifications of this class. Two outer defences, projecting from its northern front and crossing the crest of the hill with an outward curve, add materially to the strength of this its most assailable point. They are walls of stone without trenches, believed to be the earliest kind of fortification in stony places. On the Breiddyn, supposed by many to be the scene of Caractacus' overthrow, we find on the breast of the hill a stone wall, as described by the historian, but lower down is a trench unnoticed by him, which if this was the position selected by the British Commander must be regarded as belonging to a later period. The first or innermost of these advanced walls at Craig-y-Ddinas is 6 feet thick and has on its eastern and exterior side marked traces of a longish hut partly built into its face. This chamber measured 6 feet by 3 feet. But the most interesting object at Craig-y-Ddinas in my estimation is hut No.

3, a long and low structure of loose slaty stones in a tumble-down condition, which stands conspicuously alone between the inner and second rampart, not far from the gateway of the fortress. Its interior dimensions, as shown in the plan, are 6½ feet long by 2½ feet wide. In its present condition its exterior elevation is 4 feet; and its doorway 24 inches high by a width of 18 inches at bottom and 12 inches at top, is placed, as usual, in a corner, or, as I have previously observed, in the side-wall, where it abuts on the gable. Its northern end has fallen outwards, and has opened to view a curiously small recess occupying the interior of a cross building or projection, in some respects not unlike a diminutive transept. This recess, the object of which is not very evident, is 19 inches high, 9 inches wide, and recedes from the chamber about 18 inches. If we admit the idea that these narrow huts were dormitories, it is possible that this niche or cupboard, so near to the sleeper's head, was intended for the preservation of his morning's repast, or otherwise as a depository for some venerated or talismanic object supposed to have the power of protecting him during the night. The side-walls of the hut converge in their ascent, and support at top six small roofing-stones, most of which are shaken out of position.

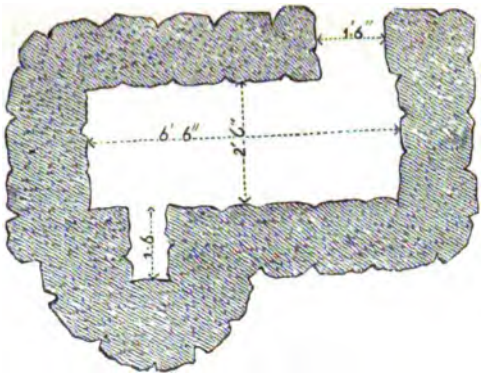
The approach leading up to Braich y Ddinas is on the eastern side of the hill, and commencing with a broad entrance, gradually narrows to a sort of gateway between two fragments of rock, whence, continuing its ascent obliquely between confining walls, it reaches the Dinas under its ramparts. Close to the commencement of this approach are well constructed quadrangular buildings superior in structure to the generality of cytiau. Along this eastern side of the ridge I counted from sixteen to twenty; and in one spot there was a cluster of nine, with an open court at hand for the folding and protection of animals. At the gable of one of these dwellings I noticed a narrow compartment measuring 6½ feet by 2½ feet. One hut was

9½ feet by 5½ feet; the height of its wall, 4½ feet; and the width of its entrance, 22 inches. Another measured 21 feet by 8 feet. Higher up the side of this ridge, advantage had been taken, in one instance, of a projecting rock which partly roofed over the remains of a chamber 6 feet by 5 feet.

From this point the explorer may follow the edge of the morass in a northerly direction until he finds himself at the foot of the hill Moelfre, where, below the rocks, or strewed on their grassy shoulders,—sometimes on a level with the plain, at others higher up, and concealed by some projecting limb of the mountain,—he will find traces of many habitations. This face of the hill, looking towards the south, is well sheltered from northerly gales; and however dreary its present aspect, it had its attractions in remote times, as appears by the number of its huts. I counted at its base from twenty to twenty-five, not far from each other, forming quite a village, and representing, I thought, in their ruder or more advanced construction, the dwellings of several periods. A few of the more striking were measured, and their dimensions are given as the readiest mode of imparting an idea of their form and size. The first entered was rectangular, and had substantial walls 5½ feet high on one side, and 4 feet on the other. It was hence inferred that the roof, of whatever kind, had but one inclination. The space within was 5½ feet by 5 feet. The entrance, placed at the north angle, seems to have been 5 feet high by 21 inches wide. There was a yard in front of it, measuring 9 feet by 9½ feet. Along its north-western gable were indications of a narrow chamber, 5 feet long by 21 inches wide, outside of which was another imperfect chamber or yard. A shepherd told me that a hut having a perfect roof of slaty stones, sloping in one direction, had recently been destroyed by a party of fence-builders. He described it as a retreat for one person only, and within it had often found shelter during passing storms. Although a shortish man, he had to stoop considerably in entering,



SEAMAN'S BERTH, P. 28.



HUT NO. 3, P. 23.

HUT NO. 4, P. 25.

but when inside was able to erect himself near to the highest wall.

At the foot of Moelfre, and some hundred paces above the marshy ground which slopes away from its base, I met with the narrow hut No. 4, a more perfect specimen than any I had yet seen. Owing to its diminutive size, and the gray mountain tint which time has imparted to it, it is very easily passed unobserved. Its roof-work of stones is undisturbed; but the whole structure is so rudely put together, that if seen on a common, or near to a farmyard, it might be regarded as a shed for poultry or other small animals. Built on a declivity, its northern gable runs into, and is partly buried in, the face of the hill, whilst its southern end, standing on lower ground, has slightly additional stonework to bring its foundation up to the floor-level. Notwithstanding this advantage, the lower gable, from base to ridge, measures no more than 3½ feet. Its entrance, placed in a corner, is about 14 inches wide by 20 inches high. Its interior measure was roughly estimated to be about 5 feet lengthwise by 2 feet across. One of its covering stones was temporarily raised; a stick was introduced; and when it touched the soil, it indicated a depth, from ceiling to floor, of 2 feet. This operation disclosed the fact that the stone covers are fixed in a most random and irregular manner. Some of them are placed with an overlap, whilst others extend from wall to wall, leaving vacancies which the builder closed as best he could with the rugged materials at hand, and completed his work by giving to the whole a rounded form. This covering being pervious to rain, served the purpose, I am inclined to think, of roof-timbers for the support of a thatch of some kind. Bearing every trace of antiquity, this hut is certainly curious, whatever the purpose of its construction. The sketch is taken from the east, with the object of including the entrance. On its western, or opposite side, a greater extent of masonry appears.

The next thing noticed was a square enclosure, well

built without cement, capable of sustaining a flat roof of poles and rushes, if thought desirable. To the right, as I entered, an opening appeared in the corner of the opposite wall, measuring 18 inches each way, which proved to be the only entrance to an inner apartment, 6 feet 4 inches long by 2 feet wide. We here meet with another example of the narrow chamber occupying one side of a dwelling, which chamber could not have been approached without passing through the court or room, roofed or otherwise, in which it is supposed the family assembled for food and shelter. Are we to imagine that this inner cell was intended for the head of the house, who had the privilege of creeping into his cheerless bed on all fours, whilst his dependents and family in the outer apartment spent the night around a fire? It will be observed how nearly alike are the dimensions of these chambers, and how closely they approach in length and width to the proportions of a man. Some of them are wider, as if for the reception of more than one person.

Near to this was an oblong dwelling, 18 feet long within by 9 feet wide. It had a cupboard in the wall at one end, and in a corner near to it a cylindrical bit of stonework, 18 inches high, with a circular top, reminding one of a modern music-stool. On this rudely contrived support, in a corner of the house, a slumberer might have dozed as securely as if in an arm-chair. In its southern wall is a square opening about 3 feet above the floor, supposed to have been for the admission of light. Its entrance was narrow; and one of its side-walls being higher than the other, suggested the idea that its roof sloped in one direction. Its gable is still 6 feet high within, and 9 feet high on the outside.

The next thing observed was a building of moderate size, scarcely inferior in its masonry and look of comfort to many a cottage I remember to have seen elsewhere. Its interior measure is 16 feet by 13 feet, and in its walls are four square recesses in the form of cupboards. Occupying one corner of it, and measuring

5 feet by 4 feet, are the remains of an inner chamber partitioned off, which might have been a sleeping-place, or otherwise a storeroom. Its walls, which are 2 feet thick, are looped in two places, either for defence or more likely for the admission of light and air. The aperture in its eastern gable is 12 ins. high by 6 ins. wide, the jambs or sides of which are neatly and angularly finished on the outside. Here, as in all the other dwellings, however roomy and well constructed, I failed to discover a chimney or fireplace, and did not notice ash or refuse-heaps near to them.

Built against this house, but not connected with it by passage or opening, is another squarish building, noticed here because, with the exception of the narrow huts, it is the only one met with having its lintel-stone in position. Its doorway is 3 feet high by 2 feet wide; and although it has excellent walls, its interior measures no more than 4 feet by 3½ feet. A cupboard was observed on one side, and its gable is still 6 feet high.

The last ruin to which I invite attention is of the narrow kind, situated in a rushy spot some distance beyond the assemblage of dwellings I have endeavoured to describe. Its roof has fallen in, and one gable is prostrate. Enough of its walls remain to shew that its length within was 6 feet, and its width 2½ feet. A part of its upper course, on one side, is entire, and indicates, by its overlap, the manner in which the chamber was roofed over.

Of the huts described here, it will be seen that four of them are of the smaller class, measuring interiorly from 6 to 7 feet in length, by from 2 to 2½ feet in width, with a height, from floor to ceiling, of 2 or 2½ feet. These stand perfectly alone, and are quite unconnected with other buildings. Two others have inner chambers which measure 6 feet by 2 feet; whilst a few, resembling the above in length, appear, by their greater width, to have been adapted for the accommodation of more than one person. The preceding dimensions are remarkable, and relate to structures so inconvenient for the keep-

ing of stores, and for the housing of animals of any kind, that I cannot think they were built for such purposes. In which case we might have looked for sheds more compact in form, with entrances centrally placed instead of in a corner. The natives, as a pastoral people, were doubtless possessed of goats or sheep; but a stock so hardy required no better shelter than the walls of an open court such as we often find adjoining or near to the huts. All circumstances considered, their size, their varied positions,—sometimes detached, at others connected with buildings,—and their suitability for the reception of a man in a recumbent position, I incline, I must confess, to my first impression that they were dormitories or night-retreats, and are the earliest existing specimens in Ardudwy of roof-protected dwellings. It may surprise many that chambers so small should at any period have been designed by man for his own comfort; forgetting, it may be, that in the present day he contrives for himself sleeping places equally confined. An ordinary seaman's berth in some of our smaller craft is remarkably similar. For the sake of comparison I had two berths measured at Carnarvon with the following result. Their entrances opening in a corner, are, as regards position, precisely the same. The doorway of one was 2 feet high by 19 inches wide. It measured within 6 feet by 2 feet 4 inches, and its height was 2 feet 3 inches. In the other ship the entrance was 2 feet each way. Interiorly it was 6 feet long, 2 feet 4 inches wide, and 2 feet 6 inches high. Into these small compartments the sailor of modern times wriggles his person, heels or head foremost, just as I suppose did the inhabitants of Ardudwy into their narrow huts.

It might be contended, however, that these supposed sleeping-places were, after all, chambers for the dead, and not for the living. My reasons for thinking otherwise are, that around them were no perceptible traces of mounds or cairns, and researches in the neighbourhood, at Hengwm and other places, have shewn

that the early inhabitants of these hills disposed of their dead by cremation, and subsequently covered their ashes with mounds of earth or stones.

The Moelfre huts and a few at the foot of Craig y Ddinas are in some respects superior to the ordinary *cwt gwyddel* met with in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire. Their forms are quadrangular instead of circular, and their uncemented walls are substantially built. With the exception of chimneys and fireplaces, two of them are scarcely inferior to many a straw-thatched cottage I remember to have seen in my younger days. The small, narrow hut I suppose to be coeval with the fortress of Craig y Ddinas; but the larger ones probably belong to a later period; and a few may represent the kind of dwelling built by the inhabitants about the time they thought of retiring from these mountain wilds to a more fertile tract near to the sea. Along the stony skirts of Llawlech, and up in its recesses, the irregular and primitive form prevails.

Their origin is attributed by the inhabitants to a Gwyddelian race, who are supposed to have preceded them in the occupation of Wales. So widely spread is this tradition along our south-western coast that no one familiar with the Welsh language can fail to meet with it. Inquiring of an aged shepherd above Barmouth whether he could direct me to any cytiau Gwyddelod, he replied that having once lived near to Corsygedol he knew of many in that locality, where there were mounds also, out of which he had seen urns filled with human bones exhumed. "They tell me", said he, "that the Kymry preceded the Saxons in England, and supplanted the Gwyddelod in Wales; but the odd part of the story, sir, is that foxes were the dogs of these Gwyddelod, and they are the people who brought them into the country." This tradition of a Gaedhelic occupation coincides, I scarcely need remind the reader, with the published views of several eminent writers, and agrees with the *Chronicle of the Princes* (*Brut y Tywysogion*), wherein it appears that so recently as the

year 966 the Gwyddelod had settlements in Mona, Arvon, Lleyn, and Ardudwy, and that during the tribal struggles of that period many of them fled to Ceredigion, Dyved, and Gower. It accords also with the fact that, with the exception of Roman antiquities, the ancient ornaments, bronze implements, and pottery, found in the western counties of Wales are, for the most part, of the Irish type. It would be interesting to know whether this tradition is as generally current in South Wales as it is in the North. Its absence would imply that the disturbance or displacement of races had not been so great there as here.

These few remarks about Ardudwy will, I hope, induce some active young member to complete the survey of these hills, where there are many objects of interest unvisited by the antiquary, or, at least, which have not been sketched and described by him.

HUGH PRICHARD.

QUERNS.

MEN in the earliest prehistoric times seem to have been ignorant of agriculture, and consequently of corn. This ignorance is thought by the latest and best authorities to have continued during the two earliest periods, namely that of the drift and cave men. When, however, the arts of agriculture became known, the possession of corn soon followed; and the earliest means of adapting it for use may have been either by boiling or parching, both which operations were performed by the use of heated stones. By throwing heated pebbles into vessels filled with water, the boiling was easily effected. while the corn was roasted or parched on hot slabs of stone. No example of the latter is known to exist, but numbers of what are generally held to be *pot-boilers* are frequently found in excavating the sites of our earliest dwelling-places. It is said that at the present

time American Indians find parched corn sustains them better than any other food during their long journeys. It, moreover, has the additional recommendation of being easily carried. But when men became more settled in their habitations, they would soon improve upon this simple process of parching and boiling; and the first thing they would do would be to reduce the corn to meal, to be made into cakes baked on a heated stone, as oatmeal cakes are to this day on iron plates. At this early period handmills were most probably unknown, and therefore they must have used stones either as simple pounders, or what may be called rubbers or mullers, but are often termed "mealing stones". As to the form, there are in various collections a large number of types, probably of different ages. These are slightly hollowed out in the middle, so as to allow an easier and firmer grasp. Such, if used for crushing corn, must have been used only with very shallow mortars, on account of the shortness of the stone; and so mortar-stones are found with very shallow cavities well suited for the purpose.

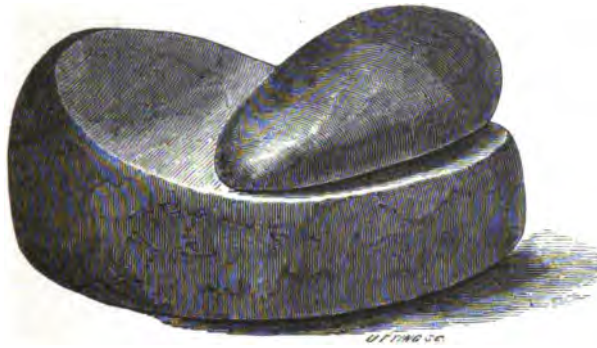
The next step may have been the using long, club-like stones which are well adapted for deeper mortars. Representations of these are given in Mr. Evans' valuable *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, pp. 228-231. One of them is the curious implement found by the Hon. W. O. Stanley during one of his numerous excavations on Holyhead Mountain. This, however, is more like a stone bludgeon or the war-hammer of a Southsea Islander, although it may have been used for pounding. The mortar with which it was used was probably a deep one, or at least deeper than those connected with the shorter pounders alluded to above. Mr. Evans has given eight or nine examples of these long stones, but many of which were probably used for other purposes. Many of these come from Orkney, and are similar to those used by the American Indians for pounding maize.

Considering, however, that the use of such stone

implements must have been among the earliest of human inventions, as well as most widely used throughout the habitable world, it is almost hopeless to fix dates even approximately to them. Mr. Boyd Dawkins assigns the knowledge of agricultural operations to the neolithic period; and if corn was then first grown, and these pestles or mullers were only used for pounding grain, it might be supposed that they were not known until this time. Mr. Evans is of opinion that the men of the river-gravel, or drift-men, and their successors the cave-men, had not got beyond the simple chipping of flints and working up the flakes into serviceable tools; yet as some kind of rude hammer must have been used in shaping the rude flint implements so constantly found in our gravel beds, these hammers may have been used also for crushing; and at any rate, any stones of a fitting shape would be available for pounding. Even if there were no corn to pound, yet there were roots that, if pounded into the form of paste, were useful.

In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. 27, Plate II, fig. 4, Mr. Stanley has illustrated his excellent account of excavations on Holyhead Mountain, etc., and among many illustrations gives us the figure of a large quartz shore-pebble weighing ten pounds, suited for a pounding-stone. Mr. Stanley thinks it may have been possibly shaped, in some degree, artificially; but as far as an opinion can be formed from the engraving, there do not appear to be any traces of such treatment. It does not bear marks of having been used as a hammer, although its being found in conjunction with many rude stone implements shews it was intended for some use.

Another mode of bruising or crushing corn was that of the so-called saddle-quern, if it can be correctly so named. This consists of a slightly concave stone, very similar to the hollow part of a saddle, in which the corn is operated on by a long round stone. Representations of these are given in Mr. Stanley's account of his excavations on Holyhead Mountain and elsewhere (Pl. III, fig. 3, *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxvii), and by the Rev. W.



1.—SADDLE-BACK QUERN, TREIFAN.

2.—WOMEN WORKING QUERN. FROM PENNANT.

3.—RHYDD GAER.

4.—BLOCHTY.

5.

Wynn Williams (see *Cambria Romana*, p. 40; *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1861, vol. vii, Series III). The Rev. Hugh Prichard, of Dinam, has among his numerous collection of such remains one of these primitive stones, which differs from other known examples. It may be called a double one, having two faces, the upper and the lower having been used for crushing. The rubbing stone or muller is probably varied in form, to correspond with the shape of the stone. Professor Babington, in a letter to the Editor of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of 1861, p. 245, alluding to a pair of stones found in a wall on the land of Treifan, near the river Braint, in Anglesey, thinks that these are the earliest of all contrivances for crushing meal; and from their rude simplicity, the Professor had good grounds for his suggestion. Some time before, a similar pair had been found near Anglesey Abbey, in the Cambridge fens, now in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. With this exception, Professor Babington thought nothing of the kind existed in Great Britain, excluding Wales; but Mr. Evans states that they have been found in Cornwall; some near Bridlington, now in the possession of Mr. Tindal. They are also found in Scotland. Mr. Worthington Smith has one from the east of England. One of granite, found near Weeks, is in the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. That of the Royal Irish Academy has four or five; and Mr. Evans thinks they were probably used at a comparatively late period (p. 226). Fynes Morrison mentions having seen in Cork "young maidens, stark naked, grinding corn with certain stones, to make cakes thereof"; and these, Mr. Evans thinks, "seem to point to something different from a handmill-quern. In the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury are one from the pit-dwellings at Highfield, near Salisbury (*Flint Chips*, p. 62); and another from Anglesey, presented by the Rev. Hugh Prichard of Dinam. A small one was found near Chateaudun in France, and a German one from the ancient cemetery of Monsheim has been engraved by Lindenschmidt. Some were also found in the Genista Cave

at Gibraltar. Their great scarcity, as contrasted with ancient querns properly so called, confirms, to a certain extent, their claim to a greater antiquity. At the Bangor Meeting Mr. W. Wynn Williams, as stated above, exhibited one of these querns, together with its muller or rubber, which were found close together in a wall on the land of Treifan, near the river Braint, in Anglesey. There can be little doubt that though not actually together when discovered, yet as they formed part of the building materials of the wall, and so near one another, it may be fairly inferred that they were once used together, especially as the convex form of the one fitted with the concave one of the other. The illustration is from a drawing of the late Rev. H. Longueville Jones. (Cut No. 1.) A fuller description of this curious relic will be found in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, viii, p. 157, Ser. III.

There is, however, another class of stones used for the same purpose, which, if not so ancient as the "saddleback" stones, are most probably older than the earliest handmill. Three of these are figured in Mr. Stanley's article alluded to more than once: one very shallow one found with some stone balls with which the corn was bruised; a smaller one is deeper, which Mr. Stanley thinks may have been used as a lamp. The larger and more interesting one was found at Tymawr. This contained a small cylindrical grinding-stone having a central cavity in either face, to give the hand a better hold in grinding. A similar appliance was found at Pen y Bonc in the same locality. Several examples of these are given in Mr. Evans' work.

Mr. Hume, in his interesting article on querns (see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1851, p. 90), does not mention the "saddle-back" variety. He distinguishes four stages. The first is that of simply roasting and boiling the corn; the second, by trituration, which seems to be nearly the same as the use of "saddle-back" querns. He illustrates this by the practice in New Mexico, where "the maize is beaten on a broad stone which is inclined to the ground at a small angle by a

smaller one like a painter's muller. The fragments are beaten again, if it is necessary to produce an unusual degree of fineness; then the dough is kneaded, and the cakes are baked. The same stone, therefore, is the nether millstone, the bake-board, and the floor of the oven." The first part of the description seems to represent the use made of the saddle-back querns; but that these were also used as the bake-board and floor of the oven seems doubtful.

Next come in order the pestle and mortar; but these must have been contemporaneous with the querns as both are mentioned together.

We are referred to the Book of Numbers (xi, 8), where we are informed that the people ground the manna in mills or "beat it in a mortar". The two methods of preparing meal seem then to have been coexisting. Mr. Hume suggests that the quern was used by the more enlightened of the Hebrew people only; but if mortar and pestle were ruder and less costly articles than the quern, we might think that it was more a question of money than enlightenment. At any rate it is certain that both were in use during the same period.

But before the Exodus we have evidence that querns were known in ancient Egypt, from ancient monuments which illustrate domestic manners. In the account of the destruction of the firstborn we read the announcement of Moses, that the destruction was to be "from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth on the throne to the firstborn of the maidservant that is *behind* the mill."

Handmills must, however, have been known in many other countries, probably in still more remote times. Thus they were used in China, India, and other portions of the East. In almost every country of Europe they can be found either in use or kept as curious antiquities. The Negroes of Central and Western Africa grind their corn with them. Hume quotes from the well known extemporised song of the hospitable Negress who invited Mungo Park during a stormy night, and

entertained him, the last two lines of which, in Park's version, ran,

> "No mother has he to bring him milk,
> No wife to grind his corn."

Mr. Evans, in his important work referred to above, has given an ample description and history of querns, which should be consulted. He considers such a hand-mill, with its upper rotatory stone, to be merely a modification of the pestle and mortar; but the remark does not, perhaps, apply to the later examples.

The earliest querns consist of two stones, the upper varying in diameter from 12 to 30 inches, and on an average 5 inches deep. In some instances the lower stone is convex, the upper concave; but this kind is very rare. It was usually worked by an iron or wooden peg inserted vertically near the edge of the stone. In other and more unfrequent instances, the bar with which the stone was moved was placed horizontally; in which case only one could work. On the contrary, two persons, usually women, sitting opposite one another, ground the corn. Thus two women are mentioned in St. Matthew xxiv, 41, which verse Wycliff renders—"*Tweine wymmen schulen ben gryndynge in o querne.*" Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland* (vol. ii, p. 233), represents two women grinding, with the peculiarity of the long handle hanging from the branch of a tree. What the object of this arrangement is does not appear. The illustration (cut No. 2) is from a copy by Arthur Gore, Esq. It is clear, then, that the quern was in use at that period, although the custom of singing while grinding had, according to him, ceased some time before his visit. He has, nevertheless, represented the old and young woman in the act of singing.

It is generally believed that the upper stones of querns are rare in comparison with the lower ones; but whether this is the fact is not certain. In 1284 it was enacted in Scotland that handmills were not to be used except in cases of necessity, when it was impossible,

from storm or other reasons, to convey grain to the nearest authorised mill, for the Act conferred a monopoly on certain mills; but even in these cases a certain toll was to be paid to the owner of the mill. In order, therefore, to secure the entire trade, the millers waged a war of extermination against the querns. These were either purchased or obtained by other means; but in all cases they were destroyed by breaking the upper stone. According to Mr. Hume numerous fragments might be found on the surface, or dug up in the neighbourhood of the older wind and water-mills. Mr. Evans (p. 233) mentions the contest between private individuals and the Abbots of St. Albans, who claimed the monopoly of grinding for their tenants. Thirteen of these, however, maintained their right of using handmills, as having been enjoyed of old. Other claims were raised to the privilege of grinding oatmeal only by handmills. One reason for breaking the upper stone may have been the greater ease with which it was broken. The lower stone was not only larger, but probably harder, than the upper, as we hear of a heart harder than the nether millstone. It is somewhat remarkable that the natives of Anglesey give the same reason for the destruction of the upper stones, as mentioned above. In this case it was probably by order of the Prince of that portion of Wales, who had the same motives that induced the Abbot of St. Albans and the Scottish millowners to maintain their monopoly.

The Rev. W. Wynn Williams, whose valuable collection of these relics is well known, thinks that they belong to the Romano-British period. It is a curious circumstance that the country people throughout Anglesey call them to this day "*hên meini melinau Rhufeiniaid*", or the old millstones of the Romans. Mr. Williams has also often heard them give the same reason for the upper stones being generally found broken as Mr. Hume describes, viz., that the millers did it probably by the order of the Prince, with a view to bringing all "the grist to their mill."

This local tradition is to some extent confirmed, as so many have been found in connection with the Roman camp of Rhyddgaer, in Llangeinwen parish, a full account of which, by the same gentleman, will be found in vol. i, p. 214, and vol. vii, p. 37, of the Third Series of the *Arch. Camb.* Five of these querns were found at this work, but only one of them ornamented. (Cut No. 3.) Mr. Williams, however, is acquainted with two similar ones,—one at Tantwr, a farm in the same parish; and the other is, or at least was, in the Carnarvon Museum. The ornamented one is of a primitive type, and is more probably Celtic than Roman; or if Roman, very late Roman. Another upper stone, also in Mr. Williams' possession, is what is now usually called "late Celtic" (cut No. 4), and is almost identical with the details found on some of those hitherto unexplained, or hardly satisfactorily explained, spoon-shaped articles, notices of which will be found in the Journals of this Association and of the Archæological Institute. This last mentioned quern was found on removing the earth previously to the opening of a limestone quarry on the farm of Blochty, in the parish of Llanidan. The quarry, first worked about fifty years ago, lies about 100 yards to the north-east of the quadrangular enclosure at Tan Ben y Cefn; marked in the Ordnance Map, Caer Fynwent. Many querns of plain workmanship and rude mortars have from time to time been discovered at or near the same place. When the quarry was first opened, human remains were found in considerable quantities. Mr. Williams thinks that here may have been the cemetery of the nearest village. Numerous circular foundations formerly existed at Tan Ben y Cefn, but were removed in 1851-2; but in one of them Mr. Williams found an upper and lower stone *in situ.*

The collection of Mr. Williams also includes part of an upper stone (cut No. 5) with an ornamented rim, which is, if not Roman, at least Keltic-Roman. The diameter at the upper part is 7 inches; the depth is 6. Another

ornamented fragment, in the Dinam collection, is also of the same date, though the details are different. The diameters, however, of both are the same; but the depth of this one is 1 or 2 inches less. It is worn out at the handle-mark, and shews sign of much use. (Cut No. 6.)

Mr. Prichard, of Dinam, also possesses several upper stones, and amongst them a fragment from Caerleb (a well known Roman *castrum*), figured and described by Mr. Wynn Williams in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, whence he procured several of his specimens. The fragment belonging to Mr. Prichard has radiating grooves underneath. It is remarkable that Mr. Prichard has only three lower stones of the ordinary round quern, while he has several upper ones,—a fact which corresponds with Mr. Williams' experience, that the upper are more common than the lower ones.

In addition to the above, the Dinam collection contains several stone basins, the orifices of which vary in diameter from 5 to 12 inches; all of them, found in different parts of Anglesey, shewing how common the use of them was formerly in that island. These latter are probably primitive mortars in which the grain was merely crushed by pestles.

Many examples are ornamented in various manners, according to the taste and means of individuals. Where this ornament does not exist, there is usually, according to Mr. Prichard, a moulding around the mouth of the upper stone, the use of which may be to assist in the pouring in of the grain. A more elaborate example is an upper stone found in the parish of Bal-Maclellan, near Galloway, and now the property of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who have published an account of it in the fourth volume of their *Proceedings*, p. 417. It is also given in Mr. Evans' work, p. 234, and is assigned to what is usually termed the late Celtic period. It is here reproduced (cut No. 11) with the kind permission of the owners, as it shews an advanced example of the moulding noticed by Mr. Prichard.

Another kind of quern is known as the "pot-quern",

and is here represented from a sketch, by Mr. Williams, of an example in the Carnarvon Museum. (Cut No. 7.) Its height is 4 inches; internal diameter, 8 inches. The hole for discharge of the meal is 2 inches broad and 3 high, becoming smaller and much flatter inwardly. A similar one, of about the same dimensions, is built into a wall at Porthamel. The upper stone fitted in the interior, and must have been turned by a handle, probably of metal, the opposite extremity of which fitted the small hole at the bottom, as shewn in the cut. The object of this seems to be to keep the handle constantly upright, as a well fitting stone would be kept in its place by the rim. Of the age of this class it is difficult to form any opinion, except that it seems to be a much later improvement on older querns.

Another example of the pot-quern is that found in East Lothian (cut No. 8), and now in the Museum of Antiquities, and here given from a drawing of Professor Westwood from the cut in Professor Wilson's work. Here both stones are preserved, and shew how the inner one was worked. The iron ring with which the rotating stone was put in motion, Wilson pronounces a later addition; and such it must be unless the quern itself is modern. Unless the iron ring occupies the hole for the peg or handle, there were no means of working it. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the original inner stone has been replaced by the present one, and then furnished with the ring.

This figure of a human head in this situation is so very uncommon that it might be considered unique until the discovery of a quern with the same device, but on a grander scale, in the Temporary Museum during the Meeting of the Association in 1880. This curiosity was discovered, many years ago, at Popton, in Rhoscrowther parish, on Milford Haven, not far from an ancient earthwork, with which it may possibly be connected. (Cuts 9, 10.) It has been called a "pot-quern", but it differs from those already mentioned, not having a flat upper stone like the Scotch example; for the sec-

tion here given shews the cavity in which the tenon, as it may be called, of the upper stone was worked. Some have conjectured it to be Roman, but it is probably later; and all that can be said of it is that it is certainly not Celtic.

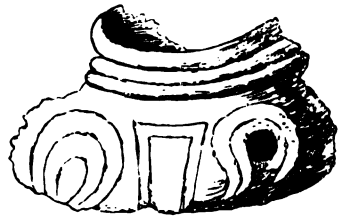
In conclusion it may be remarked that while the upper stones are frequently more or less ornamented, the lower ones are rarely so. The exceptions to the rule are those from East Lothian and Pembrokeshire—a fact which may give additional interest to them. The Popton one, the property of Col. Lambton of Brownslade, has been kindly placed in the new and promising Museum at Tenby, the most fitting receptacle for it. It is only proper to add that the Society is much indebted to their accomplished and energetic artist, Mr. Worthington Smith, for the faithful representation of what may be called the most interesting quern not only in South Wales, but in some respects even Anglesey itself.

The latest addition to our knowledge of querns will be found in a work of a well known Scotch antiquary, Arthur Mitchel, M.D., LL.D., *The Past in the Present* (1880, Edinburgh). His statement as to their present use is remarkable: "In Scotland rotating querns are found in hut-circles, circle-houses, crannogs, and brochs; and they certainly may belong to the prehistoric, if not to the stone period. Yet they are not only still in use in certain parts of Scotland, but they are in common use. Those I myself have seen at work I should count, not by tens, but by hundreds. They are most numerous, perhaps, in Shetland; but they are common in the Orkney and Hebridean Islands, and in the west coast parishes of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness. They can scarcely be called rare. Resting the opinion on what I have personally seen, I should be inclined to think that a census of the querns still in use in Scotland would shew their numbers to be thousands. This mode of grinding corn, a mode which dates from very early times, and is also still employed by the savage

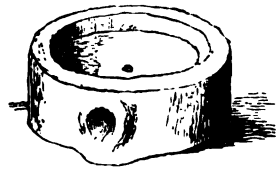
races of many parts of the world, can, therefore, by no means be said to have died out of Scotland. So far otherwise is the fact, that there are not only thousands of people in Scotland who still use querns, but there are people who earn part of their livelihood by making and selling them. One man in Shetland, who thus occupied himself, I visited; and I found the selling price of a quern to be from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* This price is lower than it is believed to have once been, because querns are now more rudely and less costly made than they were of old. The cause of this degradation is plain; only the poorer people were now the purchasers. It would be useless, therefore, to spend time in the manufacture of a well finished and ornamented quern, because it would find no buyer. The wealthier of the community get their bread from the South, or send their oats to be ground at the water-mills." Hence, Dr. Michell argues with justice that the ruder made querns are probably not so old as those on which so much labour has been spent both in the general execution and in elaborate ornamentation. He gives a figure of one now in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities, than which it is not easy to conceive anything rougher; and yet he found it in a cottage in the Island of North Yell, where it was still in use, as he ate some of the bread made from the meal ground in it. In this instance the quern was not used on the ground, but on a wooden tray, one end of which was let into the wall, the other being supported by two rough legs. In Lewis houses it is generally placed in the porch; in Shetland it usually stands in the living or day-room. To grind the corn on the floor of a rude hut crowded with a family, to say nothing of other inmates in the form of lambs, calves, etc., would indicate a simplicity too barbarous for the remotest of the western isles.

Some good specimens also of querns were deposited by the late Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth, in Harlech Castle, where it is to be hoped they will be allowed to remain.

The following are the cuts referred to:

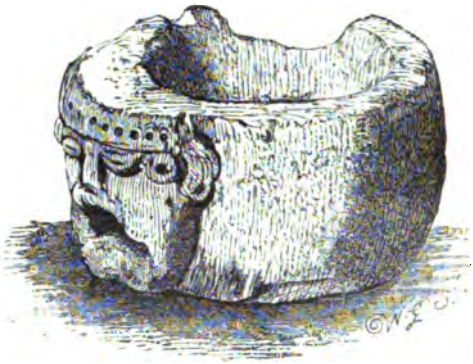


6.—DINAN.



7.—CARNARVON.

8.—EAST LOTHIAN.



9.—POPTON.

10.—SECTION OF NO. 9.

11.—EDINBURGH MUSEUM.

No. 1. Saddle-back quern found in a wall at Treifan, near the Braint, Anglesey (p. 33).

No. 2. Women at quern (p. 36). From Pennant's *Scotland.*

No. 3. Upper stone, Rhyddgaer (p. 38).

No. 4. Upper stone, Blochty, Anglesey (p. 38).

No. 5. Fragment of upper stone, Treana (p. 38).

No. 6. Fragment of upper stone, Dinam (p. 39).

No. 7. Pot-quern, Carnarvon Museum (p. 40).

No. 8. Pot-quern with human face, East Lothian, now in Edinburgh Museum (p. 40).

No. 9. Carved lower stone of quern, from Poptown, near Rhoscrowther (p. 40).

No. 10. Section of ditto (p. 40).

No. 11. Upper stone, Bal-Maclellan, near Galloway, in Edinburgh Museum.

E. L. BARNWELL.

Jan. 1881.

ANGLESEY.

INTRODUCTION.

SOON after the commencement of the Third Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1855), the late Mr. Thos. Wright put into the hands of the Rev. H. Longueville Jones a MS. containing a curious account of the state of Anglesey in the seventeenth century, with a view to its being printed by the Society. For some reason (probably for want of space in the Journal) this was not done, and the MS. was returned to Mr. Wright. Subsequently it was transferred to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, who printed twenty-five copies only, which are now not easily procured. Mr. Wright subsequently presented his proof-sheets, corrected by himself, to Mr. Barnwell; and as Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps has kindly given permission to the Society to reprint it, it is now presented to the members of the Association.

Who the author was is, we believe, not known; but he evidently writes from his own knowledge of Anglesey, of which island he was probably a native. If his language is strong on many occasions, there is nothing in it of caricature and abuse, such as marked the Torbuck school, which a century later was fond of holding up Welshmen and their doings to ridicule. On the contrary, our author's object is evidently to improve the condition of his countrymen by pointing out their numerous imperfections and shortcomings.

It is not, however, to be supposed that matters in Anglesey were worse than in other parts of Wales or England at that period, and even at a much later one. Many men now living can remember cases where curates managed every Sunday to serve four or five churches scattered in different directions; and anxiously enough were such duties sought, though their united salaries furnished but scanty support for the clergyman and his family. But we are more interested in the present state than in the past, when non-residence and pluralities seem to have been the rule; when rural deans and archdeacons were unknown,—for it is only within the last fifty years that North Wales had but one archdeacon; and he more nominal than practical, for he was supposed to have only one visitation during his tenure. How bishops of the time, with bad roads, could supervise their flocks, it is difficult to understand. If such was the state of the Anglesey clergy at the time in question, it was less the fault of the inferior clergy than of the general system. Three of the North Wales archdeaconries formed part of the endowment of the bishops; the fourth, that of Merioneth, was saved, owing to its slender income, which hardly sufficed to pay the curate of Llandudno, then an isolated, humble village. Now that we have railways and penny posts, rural deans selected from our leading clergy, four archdeacons, not endowed like the former one of Merioneth, our North Wales Church, if not already, must in a short time form a remarkable contrast to that of the time when the writer lived.

ANGLESEA.

Many and over many, yea far more then in any former age, are the Iniquities, sins, wickedness, abuses, and disorders, done, committed, and practiced in this little Island, of all sorts of men, among all degrees of persons, from the highest to the lowest, all proceeding out of the contemptuous reputation that all manner of men have of all laws divine and humane, ecclesiasticall and temporall. That scornfull contemning of all laws, and of the authority thereof, proceedeth also out of the nonchalance and negligence of the rulers, officers, and ministers of both laws, in executeing the same in due time, and in convenient measure, with due regard to Justice, the end of all laws, for the maintenance and advancement of which cardinall vertue all laws were made and ordeined. Yea, so many and so infinite are the abuses and disorders of this unhappy age, that it were an infinite labour for any man to remember them all in particular; and such habit and power have these disorders gotten in and upon the minds of men in this depraved time, yea, upon some that have the means, and are sworn to repress them, that it presently striketh a deadly despair in the very inward cogitations of their hearts, that with fervent prayer, wish, and cry for reformation of those abuses, praying that vices, wickedness, lewdness, and all manner of filthy Iniquities, were utterly abolished, and in their room all good and commendable vertues, theoricall and practicall, reestablished, renewed, reconfirmed: and because despair is worthily sorted among the chiefest vices, and ill becomeing the magnanimous heart of a resolute Christian, it behoveth then every good and courageous Christian man to proclaim open war with this deformed vice, despair, the sentinell of all the rest of her sisters (all foul and uglie vices), and armed with fortitude in a good quarrell, to endeavour every man in his severall vocation to fight manfullie for the suppressing of tri-

umphant Iniquity, and for the Restauration of more then half conquered good vertues and piety.

And because in this dangerous war and doubtfull combat, the weakling and simple man (sans authority) can do no greater good, or faithfull service, than cry and call, and give the alarum, when the aforesaid enemies approach with rage and fury to give the onset and assault; because he hath no weapon in hand, nor no force or vigour to wealde and manage a weapon if a had it, yet by the crying, the armed and valiant souldiers may awake, and take sufficient notice to stand to their manlie defence. As we read that the Capitol in Rome, the chiefest fortress of the then chiefest city in Western parts of the world, was once defended from a dangerous surprize of an huge army by the only means and confused, goggling alarum of a poor flock of geese. Let us therefore poor souls cry, make a great noise, and exclaime against vices that seek to overune us, and almost have overwhelmed us, for we have a good hope yet left, and provided by the omnipotent God for our comfort in this dangerous time; for if the well-spring and source or head of the fountain be clear, pure, and wholesome, the danger is not so much, though some of the extreamest channells issuing and derived from the fountain, to water the hardened fields of this litle Island with the rainie drops of Justice, be somewhat troubled and corrupted; we have an heroicall, vertuous, good King, and very honourable and righteous magistrates to govern under him, in the most eminent and chiefest places of command, who provide wholesome Laws and minister pure justice to their Inferiours: I mean our immediate chiefest Rulers within this Island. But the contagion begins to take place amongst ourselves, those smaller pipes, as from whom we are to receive and drawe Christaline Justice, are only infected, and unhappily intoxicated with ignorance, pride, partiality, affection, avarice, and other passions, and chieflie and specially with negligence and remissness in dischargeing their severall and respective obliged duties.

Let us, therefore, cry so lowd as that these superior Magistrates, the greater instruments in this body politick, may hear our lamentations, and if need be, till the Head and well-spring itself (our just and soveraigne good King) may take this alarum, and questionless we shall be heard, we shall see our contagious and corrupted ministers of both laws scoured, cleansed, purified, and corrected. And they being once cleared and thoroughlie reformed, we shall see the course of Justice derived from the said originall fountain, and conveyed through the aforementioned superior conduits, to run clearly through our immediate Ministers, to moisten and water the fields of our consciences as pure as the very Christaline itself. The force whereof will quickly choake up all the predominant vices that now-a-days raigne and domineer over us; and then God will be reconciled with us, his honour will begin again to flourish, the Laws of his Majestie and of the land, with due respect will be observed, charity will gather some heat, all kind of vertues will wax green, and we shall be reduced again to a happy estate in our present Pilgrimage in this life, within this litle, sweet Island.

First therefore, let us cry and complaine against our secular and lay ministers, and officers of Justice, such as are sworne, according to the laws, to suppress all abuses and disorders happening especially our Justices of the peace; who although they dayly minister innumerable occasions of complaint, for their palpable and affectionate partiality, in the manageing of their authorities, yet we will, for this time, pass over with silence their indirect proceedings in matter between partie and partie; and we will only complain of three especial, and general enormities, wherewith the estate our whole Island is half choked up already, which happeneth only by their sloth, remissness, and meer negligence whereof ensueth infinite mischiefs and inconveniences, as namely superabundance of rogues, and beggers of all sorts, and confused diversity of measures and waights, and multiplicity of tipplings and ale-houses. Of these three severall

and mischievous plagues, that heavily oppress the honester sort of men in this Island, I will only speak and that as brief as I possibly can, at leastwise, with far more brevity then the cause requireth, against these enormities divers complaints have been heretofore made by divers persons. To the Kings Majesties Chief Justices of the great Sessions, of the same County, who ever, and always took orders, and gave good and learned exhortations, to the Justices of peace for the suppressing and reforming of the premises. But what followed? forsooth, the Justices of peace at first, would seem to take the matter in hand very fervently, and would go to work very roundly; But ever against the times appointed for the execution of these good orders, their heat would be allayed, and every man falling in his severall humour; some of pride, and disdaine that they should be directed by the Justices of Assize, in matters belonging to their own authorities, others for some private gaine, or profit, others, for favour to the offenders, or to some of them, and all for some one or other such corruptible regarde, and inconsiderate respect, would absolutely neglect the service, and suffer all disorders to growe on, *statu quo prius*, without any further reformation or amendment, for the greatest fruit of their labour, would be no more, then threatening some of the offenders, coniving at others, encouraging some to proceed without any regard of law, to do what themselves best pleased, and so to suffer all malefactors and transgressors of the Law to escape without impunitie. In so much that still upon every attempt, or shew of reformation, for want of due execution, all kind of abuses and disorders complained against did, and do, dayly encrease, multiply and superabound: yea, and some of our Justices are so far from intending to do so much good to their country in generall, that they do not only omit to punish the delinquents, but also do incense, as far forth, as in them lieth, the common people to conceive ill of those that seek and endeavour to procure any such information at all: And for example thereof, I

will not stick to touch one instance taken out of many the like. In July sessions 1612 one among the rest, observing as well the drought, which that summer made the earth flinty, hard and barren, and also the infinite great quantity of corne then consumed in riotness, and drunkness, took courage by way of a petition, to acquaint the Justices of the great sessions therewith. Those Reverend Judges caused the Petition to be publicly read in open Court, whereupon, not only the uniform voice of the Country proclaimed the effect of the said petition to be most true, but the Justices of the Peace themselves, voluntarily confess'd that there was not a word untrue, in the said Petition. The said Reverend Judges hearing as well of such disorders, so universally confess'd of all sorts, as also of the danger the poor Island, was like to fall in, for want of bread, the next ensueing year made an excellent, learned, pathetical short exhortation to have the abuses reformed, and the said mischief publickly prevented, and took exceeding good order, for the reformation aforesaid, causeing the Justices of the peace of every severall limit, to consider, who were those that were fit (respecting the credit of their severall persons, the conveniency of their places of abode, and all other necessary circumstances,) to keep tipplings, and ale-houses causeing the order, and their names to be registred of Record by the pronotharie of the said Court, directing the Justices of peace in their severall limits, immediately without delay, to make assemblies, to enquire of all abuses, especially touching Tipplers, rogues, and false measures, and so to licence those that were registred of record, and to cut of, and suppress all the rest, with all speed and celerity: But what followed? The Justice of the peace (of some of the limits at least) defer'd this service, till toward the end of August, and then in the heat of our harvest called great assemblies accordingly; and in one of those assemblies a Justice of the Peace did not stick openly to say unto the people, that such a man alone (nameing the aforementioned petitioner)

was the only cause of their said trouble, then in the middest of harvest time, when every man had then been better occupied in harvest business, then in such unseasonable troubles: And in good sooth, it was in some sens true: for the Country was thereby indeed troubled, and not a whit bettered: for after a very diligent Inquisition made, and a great many offenders of all sorts presented, there was not so much, as one man punished nor not one indemnified, in so much as in one peny, or penyworth of their goods, except such as gave private bribes, and such as were licenced to keep tipplings those very foolishly payd 2*s.* a piece for their licences, whereas the rest as many as would, and could, kept, and still do keep tipplings unlawfull gameing and all kind of disorders without restraint, punishment, or contradicting, as hereafter shall be more at large shewed: But what followed the year ensueing? Marie, the staff of bread which ever was wont to superabound in this Island so much, as some do write, that this Island for that cause, was by antiquity stiled, Monn the mother of Wales, (because in all extreamity of dearth, the neighbour countreys, were by it plentifully relieved) was so short and so scant among us, the ensueing summer that had not we been relieved from France, Ireland, and other strange Countreys, with corn, we had died by famine in heaps, in such sort as that we had been a pityfull, and a lamentable spectacle to all beholders.

And first to speake of beggars, rogues, vagabonds, and idlers, we have an infinite number of them, and of divers sorts that live, and lead an idle life, wandring abroad over all the countrey from house to house, and from place to place, in heaps and troops, some men, some women; some old, some young; some weak, some strong; some poor, some rich; and all at their own will and pleasure, without any rule, order, restraint, or prohibition. Their number is grown infinite, as well of our own home bred beggars as also incomers, from all parts of our neighbour countreys; and at some time of the year they swarme and fill the whole island insomuch

that many housholders are forced in answering them, to bestow more food in a month, then would serve their own family in a fortnight. And as the time groweth on, so do they increase in number dayly and no marvel, for they live the best and easiest life of all others, in the carnall judgment of witty worldlings. For they can get by begging not only their necessary food and rayment with ease, but also many of them will spend largely upon good ale, in these our blind tipplings; and what they cannot get by begging, shall be largely supplyed, by stealing and pilferings. I have heard of late, an understanding Gentleman, to observe that the third part of our people in this Island are beggers and half those to be thieves and stealers. And truely his supposition was not much amiss, if we do but consider of all sorts of men that with reason may be comprehended under the name of beggers, for alas! those that have no means of themselves, and yet live, and lead an idle life, whatsoever they pretend, may go for currant under that title of beggers, wherof to omit the weak and impotent, as well old as young, and those that are blind, lame, impotent, and diseased, and all that may be lawfully admitted to beg; There are many sorts of strong, sturdie, and rich beggers as namely to remember some of them, there are many counterfeit soldiers and these by shewing some artificial fears of their own makeing must have meat, and of some will have money: There are also a great many Bedlems, that be strong, active, and lustie fellows, these go well apparell'd, and have a kind of set speech, and rhetoricall oration to be delivered at every door, and can sing out some odd song withall; And they forsooth, must have the best meat and speciallie the best drink in every house, and money of the better sort, they are skilfull in pedegree, and have an exquisite cuning in glavering and flatterie and by that means, can with great facility bring some of our Justices of peace and others into a fools Paradise, and so live at will, and wallow in drunkenness, lecherie, thieverie, and all other villanie sans check or con-

troulment. We have also many Idlers that will be counterfeit soldiers, nor cannot be Bedlems, but go abroad, from House to House, under the name of labourers, wanting place of services, And as soon as a man takes up one of these, and puts him to work, he will presently make a sure escape, far from those parts, such felicity they find in this idle drowsie life of begging. Some there are also so blinded with insatiable avarice, that in time of dearth can leave their own Houses, and grain yards stored with corn, and grain, and their fields with cattle, and put themselves, their wives, and some of their family in beggerlie apparell, and so betake themselves to the furthest parts of the Countrey, where they are less known, to cry, crave and beg for a month, or two, that their store at home, may be the better spared. I might here speak of pedlers, tinkers, and fiddlers, with a whole rabblement of such idle devouring drones, that wander abroad, and live idlie to devour and wast, that which the painfull husband-men get with the sweat of their browes, travel and industry; All these for the most part, besides their beastlie drunkeness, carry a rout of queans, whores, and children after them, and have more skill in lying, cogging, swearing, blaspheaming, and stealing, then the infernal devils themselves. And where art, and cunning, fail them, they will not stick in time, and place convenient to threat, and commit force, or violence. Of this we have lately had so many experiments, that it would seem incredible, to those that live where order and discipline is observed to hear the tenth part thereof recounted, especially of stealing; for in winter last, from the beginning of November till the end of February, when the nights were long and dark, there was nothing so common, as complaints in all parts of the countrey, of some stealing or other, there was almost none free, from some losses in that behalf, for muttons, gees, turkies, capons, hens, pullets, ducks, and all kind of poultries, were stoln in abundances, and for an instance, there was one gentlemen that had 36 capons

stoln from him in less than 20 days; Breaking of barns, and grain-yards, and stealing of corn and grain by loads and horse loads, was too common; Stealing of cloth, linnen and apparrell, and pilling of sheep was over riffe. To be brief, the loss of the Countrey is infinite, and if it were possible to gather a collection of all, it would growe to a thing incredible; for it is certain and affirmed by many, that there was more felonies and petit larcenies committed in this Island, this last winter, then in any seaven years of this age, before this time. And all this mischief proceedeth from the neglect of officers, in suffering such offenders to escape with impunity. And if this remiss cours, will be still continued with these men, it will encourage them to wax the more and more audacious, in their villanies. And what then shall we expect? But that at last, they will combine and gather into societies, if not into a head, among themselves, and in a short space, bring the whole Island into confusion. Let God provide some speedy remedy, to prevent this, and other mischiefs. Besides all these aforemenconed sorts of beggers we have many others, which were very long to recount in particular with their manner of begging, and infinite abuses and inconveniencies thereupon depending, only I will glance at some of them. As namely, we have never a church or chappell, upon any sabbath or holy day, without a gathering of alms, or a Cymhortha, as we term it, and many of these will presently drop from the Church to the ale-house, and there for that evening will be as drunk as a beast, upon the alms of the Parish. And some, upon some colourable pretence or other, can procure a license from the Justices of peace, for that purpose which is a foul abuse, for while every lewd villain is permitted and licenced in this manner, those that be in extreamitie of need indeed must fare the worse for it; I have seen of late, and it much grieved my heart to see and consider the same. A lewd, lascivious, lying, treacherous drunkard, having obtained his Majesties letters Patent, under the great seal of

England, to gather alms for one whole year, in divers shires and counties, under the pretence of an infinite loss that he had sustained by fire, which (as by his letters testimonial, under the hands of 5 of the greatest members of this province of North Wales, appeared) had utterly consumed three of his houses to ashes and cinders, to his loss of I know not of what great deal of substance; whereas the vile rogue had but a poor cottage, with a little front only burnt, where his married wife, that lived by begging, harboured in the night time, he keeping with other lewd light huswifes that he had at his command. And I dare affirm it, upon my knowledge and conscience, and shall have the testimony of all the neighbours with me, that his said whole loss might well have been made up and repaired with 8 or 10*s*, or under. And was it not a lamentable thing to see the great seal of England, and the name of his sacred Majestie, so far abused as to be a means to maintaine whordom and drunkennesse. And I much marvail how those five eminent persons, chiefest for command and authority in these parts, were so far beguiled as to subscribe to such a testimonial, for I dare affirm, upon mine own knowledge, that the best three of those five men never sawe the said cottage, and do believe in conscience, that the other two never knew or observed the same. Let all wise men conceave what use a lewd fellow would make of such a licence; for he gathered much, where he was less known and consumed the same as fast in all wickedness and villany. I brought in this instance purposely for a caveat to all Magistrates, to be less prodigall of such untrue testimonies: Besides this kind of Cymhortha we have many other fashions of begging: especially every married couple must go a begging the year after they be married, though many of them have well to live of their own. The men go in sowing harvest abroad to begg grain and seed, and in corne harvest to gather. . . kes, and thraves of corn over all the countrey where they can reach, and the good young wife must take an

old impudent drabb with her, that can alleadge either kindred, alliance, nurserie, or some affinity or other, with all men. And in this manner, you shall find them go by couples from door to door, over all the countrey, from the beginning of June till midd August: Insomuch, that you shall many a day, see half a dozen or half a score couples of these at an honest man's door, useing all kinds of Rhetoricall perswasions to beg cheeses, wool, hemp, flax and such commodities: And these are called by us (Gwragedd Cowsa) that is chees gatherers: some perhaps would think those to be not much prejudicial to the common good: but those are deceived, for besides that there's a special law provided against these, and all such kind of roguerie and begging, I could detect a number of abuses and villanies, committed under the shadow of this pretence: and therefore would wish it were repressed &c. There are also another kind of people that would scorne to be called beggers, and yet being considered *in re vera* may well be comprehended under the generall term of beggers, and those are such of the pensioners of the countrey, as go under the name of maimed souldiers, that are no souldiers indeed, and that either were never in the wars, or being there, never did any good service at all, or lost a drop of their blood at the hand of an enemy. But rather drop into the List of Pensioners, by some unlawfull favour or some preposterous means or other, and those also of the lewdest sort of idle villains, as drunkards, whoremasters, incestuous persons, and such like notable delinquents. And if but a few of these copesmates had crept into the catalogue of our pensioners, the matter had been more tollerable: But to the countreys great grief, and wrong, the greatest part of our unruly pensioners consist of these rakehells, and such like; and yet all admitted by our good Justices of the peace, for some corrupt consideration or other: Thus this laudable law enacted for the relief of true hearted souldiers that loos their blood, and limbs, in the service of their Prince and countrey is now most

wickedly converted, to maintain a number of the lewdest persons, and least worthy of respect in the common wealth : a thing much to be pitied, and pity but it were for shame reformed.

In the reare of all noysome beggers I will, in a word or two, toutch and remember our milkwifes, and these are not few but very many in number, and of all others most pernicious, for they dwell over night in cottages that they have of their own, sometimes two or three together in a cottage (meer repugnant to the statutes of Inmates). And these walk abroad in the day time, with their pitchers under colour, to gather some milke from house to house, and know the humor of all men, especially the good wife of every house, and can tell and devise news from all parts, and rip up all the neighbours most secret faults, and have all the craft of the devil to glaver, flatter, and insinuate unto fools, whereby they sowe so many strifes and discentions between neighbours that scarce shall you find three neighbours but two of them are at enmity among themselves; and thereof ensueth infinite and innumerable inconveniences to all men in generall. And with all these idle drabbs have the faculty, of all others, to provoke and allure mens children and servants to steal from their own Parents and masters all such grain, butter, cheese, and such trashes as they can come by, and will receive them into their cottages and make a light sale of them, and so part the bootie as please themselves. I have myself felt the grief of this inconveniency so far, that I would pursue this abuse over many leaves, if it were not that I have been over tedious already. And I woulde to God that my self alone, and none but I, did feel the smart of this plagueing practice. But I think that few or none in this Island are free from loss in this respect, the thing is so rife and so common.

All these aforementioned beggers and beggings proceed from idleness, which was one of the sins of Sodom, as the holy prophet Ezekiel recounteth it, saying, Ecce hæc fuit iniquitas Sodomæ sororis tuæ, superbia, saluri-

tas (*sic*) panis et abundantia et otium ipsius, et filiarum ejus &c. And no marvail that so many villanies are dayly committed by these idle droanes, seing the spirit of God sayeth, Multam enim malitiam docuit otiositas. And to that end Plato and Cato were wont to say, that men in doing nothing did learn to do evil. St. Ambrose calleth idleness the pillow of Satan.

Neither have our Justices of the peace not so much as a thought or a good purpose for the reformation of these rogues, although we have many laws made to that end, and that they are sworn to observe those laws and statutes, among others. But their oaths they observe herein as well as in other matters belonging to their offices, as dayly experience sheweth. Marie, sometimes they will take matters in hand so hotly that a man would ween they would do wonders. But presently, before their business takes effect, you shall find them so allayed that a man might think they never purposed any such good. As for an example of the matter we have now in hand: upon the publication of the late statute for the erecting of a house of correction in every countrey, under pain of a penalty to be inflicted upon them, for want of executeing the same statute, good God! what hast they made for to assemble together, to devise a convenient course for the performance of that law (for fear of the rood, if I be not deceived), presently they agreed (as indeed they are very prone) to cast a Taxation upon the Countrey, for the erecting of this house of correction; thereupon in some parts of the countrey this mise was never cessed, in other parts it was cessed, but never leavied, in some parts it was cessed and leavied, and since converted to another use. But in that part of the Island which ever feeleth the greater grief of their misgovernment this Taxacon was cessed and leavied, and never repayd again, but still remaineth in their hands, or where they know, even to this day, let the poor Inhabitants complaine and murmur never so much thereat. And thus our poor countrey is used by her own principall members, that ought to have

the greatest care of her good. And our new House of Correction smothered in the very Embryo, and they leye open for the penalty of the said statute, to any that will aime at their nakedness. And by this means, and by many such experiments of their loose government, no marvail that we have the number of our rogues and vagabonds so far multiplyed, and they also so cocksure, and so bold to commit all villanies the Devil can put into their heads, hereof ensueth the infinite felonies of late committed, and the diversity of actions of slanders dayly brought by known thieves against them whose goods they steal, thereby redoubling the poor simple mens wrong. And now it is come to that pass that thieves will not stick to burn their houses over their heads, in the night time, when they are fast asleep, that will offer to lay any such matters to their charge.

And if these escape with impunity, let wise men consider into what case honest men shall be brought unto shortly. Oh Lord! how long shall we groan under the Burthen of these abuses, and gape for a Reformation? Have we no hope left in this depraved age, to see these and such like abuses repressed? Oh! that we had not in exchange for our Justices of Peace, those Indian Philosophers, whom the Greeks call Gymnosophistæ, who, for punishment of Idleness, were accustomed at dinner time not to give any meat to those that could labour, unless they perceived that they had well deserved to be fed, by their Travel and Industry, and he or she that could work, and did not work, should not eat: the fittest punishment that ever for that offence could be inflicted. Could the Pagans, in their times, find out a Licurgus, a Solon, yea, and a Draco, to make severe laws against Idlers and Loyterers, and to execute them? And many common-wealths, especially the Lacedemonians, Egyptians, and Romans, had Censors purposely ordained to take exact accompt how every living man in the common-wealth lived. And cannot our Christian Magistrates find out a means to shake off their drowsiness, and to execute some of so many excellent laws

as remain in force in this flourishing Common-wealth against these putrified limbs of our body politick? But suffer all men to live according to our own corrupt nature. Macrobius, in his book, De somno Scipionis, menconeth of an ancient Law amongst the Hetruscians, much observed, and since practised by the Romans: That in every Town through their dominions, upon the first day of the year, everyone appeared before the Magistrate or chief Ruler of the place to render accompt of their life and manner of living, and those that were found to live an idle, loytering life, were heavily punished. For the ancient Laws of flourishing Republiques, and the duty of Magistrates in this respect, I will not presume in this place to commemorate, my purpose being only to discover the abuse, and to complaine and implore for Reformation. And for this time let that suffice which I have already written concerning the same.

OF THE DIVERSITY OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

As concerning measures and weights I know not what is more necessary to be duely observed among civil and well governed people then uniformity of weights and measures, for that is agreeable to Justice, honesty, and truth, whereas the diversity of confused weights and measures openeth the way to all fraud and guile, and to commit infinite mischiefs besides, whereof ensueth a number of inconveniences; as this little Island may well bear witness, by many millions of experiences happening dayly within the same. The necessity whereof may well appear, as well by the providence of this wise Common wealth of England, in providing so many good laws for the establishing and preserving of true and just weights and measures, as may be seen in Magna Charta, and among the Statutes of Edward the first, Edward the 3rd, and Henry the 7th, and others. As also by the endeavour of the Devil and his adherents, in withstanding so many good orders,

as of late have been taken by the justices of the great Sessions of North Wales, for the conformity of measures within this and the next adjoyning Countrey, wherein the more pains and travell have been taken about the same, the more diversity of confused measures are every where used, as anon shall be partly toutched, what shall we talk of the Laws and ordinances of man in this respect, while we have the authority of so many passages of the laws of God himself to warrant the same, for we read in Leviticus: Statera justa, et æqua sunt pondera, justus modius æquusque sextarius. And in Deutronomy it is written, non habebis in Sacculo diversa pondera, majus et minus: non erit in Domo tua modius major et minor. Pondus habebis justum et verum et modius æqualis et verus erit tibi. In the Prophet Ezekiel we read thus, Statera justa, et ephi justum, et Batus justus erit vobis ephi et batus[1] æqualis et minus mensuræ erunt. And to shew yet more clearly the will and pleasure of God in this behalf, we find it recorded in the divine volumes of God's own book thus, pondus et statera indicia Domini sunt. And in another place of the same book, Statera dolosa abominatio est apud Deum, et pondus æquum voluntas ejus, and again, Pondus et pondus, mensura et mensura utriumque abominabile est apud Deum. And in the Prophet Micah we read that God, threatening his people for useing of false weights and measures, saith, Numquid justificabo Rateram (?) impiam et sanelli pondera dolosa. By these and many other places of Scripture may be evidently gathered how pleasing it is to the blessed Jehovah to use and observe uniform and true weights and measures, and how abominable a thing it is in his sight to use and maintaine the contrary. But now let us consider a little how conformable we are to these sacred laws, both of God and man. In our late Queens time we had ordinarily two sorts of usuall measure of corn in this Island, takeing their denomination of the two usuall markets of Bewmares and Carnarvon, whom this Countrey doth frequent; for the East and the

[1] Meaning *ephah* and *bath?*

North part of this little Island resort most commonly to Bewmares, and the South and West part thereof frequent Carnarvon Market over the water. Neither of these Towns had the true measure established to be the standard of England, called Winchester measure, but rather a kind of measure used by custom in each of them, and takeing name of the Town where it was used. And Carnarvon bushel was then wont to be bigger then Bewmares bushel, by the one eight part or thereabouts. But the mischief was that these measures were not permanent and settled, especially in Carnarvon, but rather almost yearly altered and changed, according to the will and pleasure of the officers and Clerks of those Markets. And the greater mischief it was, that in each of these Towns there were always divers bushels, all differing in quantity among themselves, and which is worse of all, it went for true, that in some houses, especially amongst the malt women, there were two severall bushels, the one bigger to buy barly, and the other lesser to sell malt. So that the Countrey did not know for their hearts what measure to send to the markets, such chopping and changing, and such cogging and foisting were there amongst them. This being of late years shewed and complained to the Justices of the great sessions, divers good and commendable orders have been published for the establishing of the true Winchester bushel in either of these Towns; much pains and some cost have been bestowed in procureing these orders to be performed. But what followed? And what good hath the countrey reaped thereby? Marie, the self same event as we have seen in these depraved times to take place in other matters that were assayed to be reformed, especially in the suppressing of tipplings, for always after every meeting, like Hydra his head, we had two for one, and their villanies still increase with their number, and so it doth to this day. So in this business, we see, and have those that prosecuted and followed this Reformation to be cursed, reviled, threatned, and abused beyond all reason; And the measures

three times more diverse and more confuse than ever before: for in Bewmares, where there was before but the name of one measure, though diverse bushels much differing in quantity went under the name of that one, now they profess two severall measures, give them severall names: the one they call the water measure (which is the biggest), the other is the Town measure, with the one they did use the last dear Summer to buy corn of strangers, and with the other to sell the same to their neighbours; but in Carnarvon theres now three severall measures, all used to severall purposes, called the greater, the lesser, and the middle measure, and so many subdivisions of those also, and so many abuses thereon depending, as the iniquity of man coulde devise. A man shall not there have a bushel to measure his corn or meal unless he pay towle for the same; and when towle be paid, he shall not measure it himself, but he must look upon a drabb corrupted by the buyer to measure his corn or meal, who (let a man do what he will) will beguile the seller, by diverse slights and cogging shifts, of the tenth part of his market at least. Thus are we so fast sticked in the mire of iniquity, that the more we strive and struggle to get out, the more we sink into the same, till at last we shall be overwhelmed. And this hath put all good and honest men almost out of hope to obtain any reformation of this and other abuses. And surely experience sheweth it to be a greater piece of work then a man would deem it at first to be, because we have none to execute with effect the goodly laws and laudable orders made, or to be made, to that purpose. And if we had ministers fitting and willing and fully authorized to reform this abuse, it were very necessary that the matter should be redressed from the very foundation. For we had of late in Bewmares, when the last order was taken for the establishing of Winchester measure, two honest gentlemen for officers in the same Town, very good members of the same corporation, whom I the more boldly commend because they are now both dead, and

in their life deserved much commedation. These two, or one of them, did undertake to sett up a true bushel according to the lawfull measure of Winchester, which being performed, and many bushels both in Town and Countrey made correspondent thereto, all sealed and marked, within a short time it was boasted abroad that it was not indeed the true Winchester measure, but rather somewhat lesser then the same; which report procured such loathsomeness in all men in generall, and such a dispair of Reformation, that the established measures were and are neglected, and things grown to that confusion as never the like had been seen before. Therefore I hold it were a good and a convenient course that there were provided at the common charge of the countrey, one brass bushel in every market Town, stamped with the seal of the Tower of London, and a good treene bushel of dry wood, to be duely and justly made by the brazen bushel, to be delivered to every high constable in the countrey; and Proclamations made to bring in all the bushels in Town and every severall hundred to be reformed thereafter, and all the rest to be broken, burnt, and suppressed; and especial men to be appointed once at least in every year, to see and view all measures upon their oaths, to present all men that should buy or sell by any other measure then the uniform Bushel and parts thereof so settled. And a good sound penalty (I could wish it were felony) to be inflicted upon whosoever would presume to transgress in that respect. And then the poor and the simple should not be so much beguiled and deceived as now they are. But all men in generall, both rich and poor, high and lowe, great and small, should have the selfe same measure. The abuse is not only in measure of corne, which is far more confuse and out of frame then here hath been declared.

But also in measures of lenth, in liquid measures, and in weights. Of each of these there are diverse sorts. And first, for measure of length, we have two usuall yards as commonly used as we do our two hands:

the one is the Welsh yard, the other the English. The English yard is certain and known, and being reduced from a known ground, and allowed by the law, the other is uncertaine and unlawfull, and the ground thereof (to me at least) unknown, but taken to be some $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches, or much there abouts, longer then the English yard. The one is used by all merchants, mercers, pedlers, masons, carpenters, land meeters, and others; the other by all taylors, weavers, fullners, huswifes, and such like, etc. And this is one inconvenience that ariseth of the use of these two yards: let a Countrey huswife upon the street sell a piece of cloth to a mercer by the yard, it must be measured by the Welsh yard; and let that huswifes owne husband, or any other follow the mercer close by the heels to the shop, and there agree with him for the same piece of cloth, or any part thereof, by the yard, and it shall be instantly measured with the English yard.

In like manner we have in liquid measures two severall gallons, the English and Welsh gallon, and both uncertaine and differing so much among themselves, especially the Welsh, as the humor and consciences of men differ. The Welsh gallon (wherewith is usually measured butter, tallowe, hony, and the like), is thought to be seaven quarts and a half, or, as some hold, eight quarts English; and of this diversity insulteth many abuses too long here to repeat.

In weights, besides the Troy weight used by goldsmiths, we have the Avoir-du-pois weight used by merchants and mercers; and withall we have another kind of Pound used in this countrey, called Pwys y garregwlan, or the wool pound. By this is weighed all butter and chees sold in the countrey, all yarn, wool, hemp, flax, tallow, and many other commodities. By this all our huswives deliver their yarn to the weavers; and these are so diverse and uncertain, that look how many huswives and weavers, so many diverse pounds: hereof insulteth many strifes and contentions between them, and very many actions in the base courts, and many of

them determined by wilfull perjury, which is so common in base courts as drunkards in the ale-house. This pound is taken by some to be $4\frac{1}{2}^{ll}$, by some $4\frac{3}{4}^{ll}$, and by others 5^{ll} of the Avoir-du-pois, but so diverse and uncertaine that it would require a pretty volume to lay down in particular all the known abuses that ariseth thereof. Neither would it be nothing amiss to examine now and then the Avoir-du-pois so much used by our merchants, mercers, and pedlers; for some will not stick to say that they are somewhat lighter then the London weights. For mine own part I cannot affirm it, because (besides report) I have no warrant for it. And yet I must uphold mine own countrey Proverb which saith: Ni waeth cowir er ei chwilis; that is, The honest man is nothing impaired by being serched. Even so, by examining their weights, either their falshood would be detected or their honesty better approved, which might prove very profitable to the common good.

OF ALE-HOUSES AND TIPPLINGS.

Now we are come to say somewhat of the third abuse before mentioned, that is, of the schools of drunkenesse, which are the ale-houses and tipplings that are suffered at randome to run the race, and to practice all the villanies, that the enemy of mankind can devise. These be they that do not only consume in excess and riot the better part of the fruit of the earth, which God sendeth for the relief of mankind, but also have already corrupted the most part of our labourers and craftsmen with this beastly vice of drunkeness. These made them that were wont with great Industry to till the earth, to become, some liers, some thieves, many of them loyterers, and almost all drunkards; for those that tipple overnight in an ale-house cannot, nor will not, the next morrowe perform their ordinary work, but must needs spend some part of the ensueing day in sleeping and slumbering, and some part thereof in devising with

themselves what to steal from their masters to fall to it afresh the next night following. These Tipplers have a thousand slights to allure and entice mens children and servants, to spoyle their parents and masters, for to get wherewithall to maintaine this and other lewd practices incident to the same. There be some of our said Ale-houses that have a barrell or two of good ale drunk in a week; and let them be privily watched in the day time, and many a day you shall not see two pots drunk in one of them; but all their drink is consumed in the night. And this is one reason that we have of our more tipplings in Winter then in Summer, because the summer nights are too short for their purpose. And thus with drunken soppes and sweet morcells these dampned villains have bereft us of our best means for tillage by intoxicateing not only our mechanicks, but also almost all sorts with drunkeness. They can entice our gentlemen to haunt their pestiferous dens with unlawfull gameing and lechery, and our servants and labourers with thievery, and all sort with drunkeness. They buy their corn, mutton, and poultry, and other commodities, where they can have it best cheap; and who give a better penyworth than the theefe that takes it up for nothing. These Ale-house keepers have, and will have, all such attractive enticements that may be, to draw all sorts of men to their poysoned nests. They must have tobacco, for sooth, to allay the foaming froth of their strong liquor; and presently they must quash the smoak with the self same liquor. So that these good fellows cannot be without both; the one for a remedy to the other, as they suppose, whereas, in truth, both are the Devil's bait to catch them with his hook for their utter undoing. And the most of our Ale-houses have a Punke besides; for if the good hostess herself be not so well shaped as she may serve the turn in her own proper person, she must have a maid to fill pots that shall be fitting for the purpose. And this is one especial cause that when these Tipplers are complained upon to the Justices of

the great sessions for some offence or other, they cannot want some of the better sort to plead in their behalf. I cannot, and it is not my purpose at this time to discover the tenth part of the villanies and of the wicked abuses that are dayly practiced by means of these corrupt and rotten members of this body politick, but rather to shew the just grief of the countrey in generall against our justices of the peace, that do not only suffer and permit as many as will to follow this trade, but also do cherish and maintaine some of them for no good purposes.

Diverse complaints have been heretofore made of this abuse, especially in July 1612, upon the great fear of dearth that happened the year ensueing, as well by the excessive consumeing of corn and other provision to maintaine and keep afoot about 300 ale-houses within this little Island, who consumed no less than 60,000 bushels of barly yearly, one year with another, besides what wast the Town of Bewmares could perform, which by the judgement of some amounted to near the third part of as much as the countrey tipplings wasted, as also by the great drought wherewith Allmighty God had then so hardened the earth as a just punishment for our sins; which dearth and scarcity being then foreseen by many, as indeed it happened in the year 1613; for if our countrey had not then been happyly relieved with corn and grain from foreine parts, especially from France and Ireland, in great quantity, we had died in heaps of the said famine.

But that reliefe of corn hath so emptied this Island of money as we shall not be able to recover the same in a long time; which if the justices of the peace had then effectually performed the order taken by the justices of the great Sessions, and entred of Record, it would have saved to this little Island no less than seaven or eight thousand pounds, and had done much more good besides.

But what did our Justices of peace then? Marie! the Justices of the great Sessions were no sooner gone

but they began to stand so much upon their own Authorities to grant licenses to divers that were not allowed by the order entred of Record; and those also without respect of any good cause, place, or person, but upon corrupt and shamefull considerations, granting some of their licenses to some of the vilest rakehells in all the countrey. I coulde bring divers instances to prove this to be true. Let one serve at this time for many. By the standing order of record in the great Sessions there were two allow'd in one village towards the north of the Island, where one had been sufficient. Three others were presently allow'd within a mile compass to the same; one of the three dwelling within the village. And what was that one? Forsooth, the reputed son of a gentleman that once upon his oath denied him for his son; but it was to save a little fine. This base fellow was married to a scolde that stands endicted of record for a common Barreter, and had no wrong neither. This good woman also had a son dwelling in house with her, that was the most notorious theefe in those parts; and within three months after his mother was admitted to keep an alehouse, comitted infinite pettit larcenies, divers felonies, and many burglaries besides. Let any indifferent man judge whether this partie (all circumstances considered) was fit to have a licence and authority conferr'd upon him to keep this helly trade or no. And yet this is all true; and more then this, too, I could alleadge another instance of one in like manner licenced, that came in upon the by, not through the gate, but over the walls of good order, whose life would make an honest man's ear to Itch for very horror to hear it fully and distinctly repeated. Many others were in like sort licenced, as by conference with the Records of the Pronothary and the Cl're of the Peace appeareth. And all these that were of late so licenced to keep ale-houses, I must needs reckon to be either unfortunate or fools. Those I account unfortunate that were at first allow'd and entered of Record in the great Sessions, because they were enforced and

compelled to sue forth new licences, which cost them 2*s.* a piece. The rest that dropped into the list since by some corrupt means and special labour, were meer fools that would make such a do to their charge of 2*s.* a piece; whereas all others, of what condition soever, whether they be notorious malefactors, or light huswives, or whatsoever, that could get malt either for money or credit, fell a brewing as well as the rest, and kept, and still do keep, their tipplings with all the unlawfull gameing and disorders that may be, as free and as open as the rest, *sans controule.* And though some one be known among the rest to be a conspirator of murther, to entice his neighbours wifes (not one only, but two or more) to leave their husbands and children, and to follow him by turns into other countreys, and after a long vagare to return again, and with his own wife (being not much better then himself) to keep a continual tippling for this ten or twelve years at least, without leave or licence, and withall to keep a braze of punkes in his house, yet did I never see him no more restrained then the rest, nor no kind of punishment offered to him or his wife; saving once I remember to have seen his wife and his neighbour's wife, which he kept for his queane, to fall out by the ears at a meeting where the Justices of the Peace did pretend to reform many abuses; and there his married wife was well and soundly beaten, and all imbrued in her blood. She was, withall, committed by the Justices of the Peace, out of their discretion, for the fray, which, perhaps, the other drabbe began; but it pleased our good Justices, upon the reconciliation of these haggs, to release again, in that instance, the parties committed, which is all the punishment that ever I saw against these damnable crewe. The example whereof animated as many as would and could to fall to this trade without either law or licence; and no marvail then if their number be so well encreased as now they are, and especially at certain times of the year. I know a little Parish, being, indeed, but a small Chappell Parish,

wherein could be found but 14 persons to bear part of a taxac'on of £140 in all the county; and yet a gentleman of credit told me that the Devil could at one time this last winter find 16 persons to sell ale within this little Parish. Let men suppose, by this one Instance, what number of Ale-houses we have at some times of the year in all the whole countrey, and suppose further what an enormity is this to be suffered in a civil countrey.

I could here relate an infinite number of inconveniences depending upon this abuse, and describe what kind of light persons are allow'd for pledges for our tipplers, especially for such as come into the Rowle by extraordinary means; but my purpose is only to give a tast of the abuse, and not to make a full declarac'on thereof, to see whether God will stirr the hearts of some good men to heal this grievous malady before it proves to be an irremediable ulcer past all hope of recovery. I do wonder, and cannot choose but marvail, when I consider with myself what reason those gentlemen have that are sworn to see and to look to this business, to suffer such disorders to be so apparantly permitted, that are so hurtfull to the countrey, so dangerous to themselves, and so repugnant to the laws not only of the realm, but also of God himself. I dare not call them fools, though some of them already foresee and discerne the very disolution and destruction to their own Houses to proceed from these Ale-houses, which they not only connive at, but also in some sort support and keep afoot; but yet I may boldly conclude with Solomon, who by the Spirit of God said that they are not wise men when he saith, Luxuriosa res vinum, et tumultuosa ebrietas: quicumque his delectatur non erit sapiens. The Blessed Apostle St. Paul saith, Nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria. And yet our great men must needs frequent these Ale-houses; there must all their meetings and Assemblies be appointed; there they must come, though they have no business saving to make merry in an Alehouse, and there they must be

all day long; which puts me in mind of that place of the Holy Prophet, Væ qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam et potandum usque ad vesperam, ut vino æstuetis. And would they could remember another place of the same Prophet, and ruminate thereupon, when they most glory in their carousing and great drinking. I mean that verse which saith, Væ qui potentes estis ad bibendum vinum, et viri fortes ad miscendam ebrietatem. Let them for shame hear what another Prophet saith unto them by name, with like woe still, in these words: Væ qui potum dat Amico suo, mittens fel suum et inebriant ut aspiciat meditatem ejus, repletus es ignomina pro gloria Bibe tu quoque et consopire; circundabit te calix dextræ domini, et vomitus ignominiæ super gloriam tuam. The Prophet Joel hath left them a caveat also, saying, Expergisemini ebrii, et flete, et ululate omnes qui bibetis vinum in dulcedine, quoniam periit ab are vestro. But perhaps our great ones come not to the Ale-house to drink only, but rather, withall, to see their hostess or her maid. I believe that well, the rather because it was fore-seen and fore-spoken by the spirit of truth long ago, saying, Vinum et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes, et arguunt sensatos.

Many and diverse are the passages we find in Holy Writ against this beastly vice of drunkeness, which for brevity I must pretermit, and hasten to come to finish my pretended purpose, which is to shew what grief and hurt the countrey most justly conceives against these gentlemen that suffer these and many other abuses to sway and domineer amongst us, and that aspire to their offices to maintain pride, and to have the precedency to them and their wifes; and having attained to places of dignity and command, use, or rather abuse, the Sacred Law (which God bestowed upon men as a superexcellent gift to reduce and hold men in perfect and civil society) as a stoaking horse to attain to their own disordinate and lustfull desires; which to comprehend in few words is nothing else but

to please a friend or to displease a foe; and that without respect of Law, but by colour of Law, many a time as well to punish an innocent adversary as also to procure a wicked friend to escape with impunity; and to spare a nocent is in effect as great an injustice as to punish an innocent.

Thus we see the Law is brought to that pass that it is not much better then when we had no laws at all; for the abuse of the Law is waxen so strong that the same Law which God and good men ordained to give every man his own, and to defend the simple innocent from the cruel nocent, is now most justly reckoned for a plague to them that must follow the same, as very experience teacheth that many are utterly undone by the following suits in law. Thus we see how the adversary of mankind can find out the means to abuse the most supereminent gifts that God bestoweth upon us. We have very many good laws and statutes provided almost against all crimes, offences, and wrongs, that may be thought upon; but what good do we reap thereby, seeing they are not executed? Or if they be, they are not according to the meaning of the Law, but rather abused to a contrary sense. And while the Magistrates are so careless for the right administration of laws, what marvail is that we have so many delinquents, so many villanies and abuses? What crime dare not men in passion attempt and undertake when Justice sleeps and magistrates wink?

The perverse nature of man is such that he findeth nothing fairer, sweeter, or more desirable, then the thing strictly forbidden and prohibited; and therefore what can be more dangerous than to create laws against offences, and to suffer those laws to go into contempt and unexecuted? I know not which is worst, to live without laws, or to have laws and not to execute them in their right meaning.

But our Gentlemen that bear office know nothing of this; or if they do, they regard it but a little. Good Lord, how different in opinion we are from many of our

ancestors! Totilas, King of the Goths, being earnestly entreated by a great favorite to pardon a friend that had ravished a woman, answered, To commit an offence, and to hinder the punishment of the offender, is the selfsame thing. Take this for certaine, quoth he, if I do not punish him the common weale of the Gothes will perish; for call to remembrance, my friend, that since Theodatus began to make more accompt of riches then of Justice, God hath not been favourable unto us. Seneca, in his book, *De Beneficiis*, writeth that when Cæsar profer'd Demetrius 200 talents for to corrupt him, he smiled and forsook them; and wondering at the folly and indiscretion of Cæsar for imagining that gold or silver could have altered him, said to his friends thus: If he had meant to try me, he should have tempted me with his whole empire. Oh, good God! what shall we say of officers that will not stick against their oathes to violate justice for less than a talent, yea, for a flietch of bacon, a mutton, a pair of capons, few wild-fowls or puffings, or such like trifles, when the worthy Pagan did prefer Justice before such a masse of treasure? But we are unhappily reserved for those times that carry little good with them besides the name. We have the name of Christians, but the very Pagans lived a far better life.

Well, these contemplations, with many thousands more then I intend here to digest, hath brought me to this digression from the Ale-houses, where I left our Justices of Peace carousing among their cups, and makeing merry in an Ale-house; and there, instead of suppressing tipplings and disorders, and of conserving the peace, let them chidd and brawle, and offer to draw and to strike, as I have heard that some of late did, to his small credit. Or if some of them be grown so old as that they cannot or dare not fight themselves, let them advise, animate, and set on, such as can. As of late one of them did when a lusty young man was brought by a warrant before him to be bound of the peace to an old wretch whom he had formerly well

beaten and abused. The boon Justice of Peace, like a good ghostly father, tooke ye fellow aside, asked him what he had done to the simple wretch. The fellow confess'd that he had given him two or three sound buffets about his ears, and no more. Go thy ways home, quoth the Justice of Peace, and when thou meetest the churle in place convenient, alone, toward night, take him by the beard and cuff him well, and spare not; but be sure to draw no blood, and that no man see thee. And was not this a straight recognizance? And truly I think the fellow had done no less, unless he by chance had met with a better councellor that diswaded him from that attempt, advising him to think himself well to escape punishment for the first offence.

Are these fit men to govern a countrey that forget themselves and their oaths so abruptly? Have we not offended heavily the Divine Powers, that we are to be ruled by such Magistrates? I do not intend here to tax all our Justices of Peace with such palpable wrong doing, though I can excuse none of them from being remisse in their government, which is an inexcusable fault, as may well appear by the proceeding described by our Saviour in the Gospell of the latter Judgment, where Christ expostulateth with us, not for committing of great and grievous sins, but rather for omitting this and that good that we could and should have done; therefore these our Justices of Peace that think they do well in withdrawing themselves from intermeddling with business are justly to be condemned.

But my purpose here is only to tax those that take the matter in hand, and think to make themselves great by shewing favour to the one and rigor to the other without any regard to Justice. These that glory to see themselves well clienteled, and are the best Jury mungers, and that by colour of law do more wrong in a week then Justice in a whole year; these only I intend now especially to tax. Neither am I ignorant also how that some part of the countrey is somewhat better governed than the other; and those which for years

and knowledge ought to do best, prove, indeed, the worst and the more dangerous. If they suffer the estate of the countrey to run to ruine of ignorance, God forgive them, and illuminate their hearts to see and amend their errors; but if they erre of malice and set purpose, I doubt me much that prayer can do them but small good, for Voluntarie peccantibus hostia non relinquitur. I will instantly wade no further into this puddle of errors to detect further abuses, though many other absurdities might be discovered; but I will most heartily pray the Father of all Goodness, for the Glory of his own name, and for our common good, to send his heavenly grace upon some fit instrument to reform these and all other abuses that tend to the dishonour of his holy name and to our inevitable grief.

OF THE CLERGY.

If a man should narrowly examine as well the cause of these our grievances as also the cause efficient of all evil, and of the multiplicity of our sins, he shall not need go far to seek, but shall find the cause even hard by; and that is the negligence of the clerks in performing their duties in their severall degrees and vocations, and their ill life and wicked manners. For priests are in some respect called the princes of the people, and people must needs imitate their Priests. And so we read in Hosea the Prophet, speaking belike of our time, Et erit sicut populus, sic sacerdos. When I consider the excellency of man above all other terrestrial creatures, which the Prophet David setteth forth, saying of man to God, Minuisti eum paulominus ab Angelis, gloriâ et honore coronasti eum; and thereupon also consider the dignity of the ecclesiastical calling above the secular, for the Holy Scripture calleth a Priest sometimes Vir Dei, sometimes Homo Dei, and sometimes Angelus Dei, I cannot but admire at their calling, and reverence the same with all humility. But of the other

side, when I think of the life and manner of living of most our clergy, my understanding is so confounded that I have not what to say or think of them; for as the soul is more honorable then the body, so the Clergy ought to excell the Layty in all good qualities and vertues. But our Clergy is cleane contrary; for let us, the Layty, be never so ill, they will be sure to be far worse, insomuch that I see clearly that they must always excell either in the best or in the worst part. When the world was good, and people were devout, honest, and religious, then the Clergy were most excellent and venerable for all kind of godliness; but when the Devil found out the means to alter the condition of men from good to ill, he likewise transformed the lives and manners of the Clergy to excell the modern lewd Layty as far in all iniquity as the ancient Clerks did excell the people of their time in all vertue and holyness; and therefore when I consider of their loose life, and the ill example they give to the world, then I suppose I have found out the cause efficient of the superabundant iniquity of our unhappy time, for they have the light of the world and the leaders of the people; therefore, if they be dark and obscure, how can we shine? If they trace the way to Babilon, how can we go to Jerusalem, seeing we are to follow our leaders where ever they go? And that our Clerks are such notorious imposters, all the countrey know it and rewe it.

And myself, when at first I conceived the idea of this confused chaos, did purpose to speak of the particular sins predominant among our Clergy, and to shew how they excell all others in pride, envy, avarice, lechery, drunkeness, and perjury, and to produce horrible examples in every of those sins by themselves; but afterwards, upon a more retired consideration, I thought good to alter that course, and not to enter with my poor barke into that profound and vast ocean; and that for three severall considerations,—first, when I bethought what instances to relate, there came struggling into my

memory such a multitude of examples in every of those sins, most of them within the compass of mine own knowledge, that my poor memory was thereby cleane confounded, and knew not of many which to leave, nor which to take. Secondly, if I had delivered but few examples in every kind, such as are well known to me and most of the countrey besides to be most true, I should have thereby brought this whole discourse into small credit with any honest and true hearted stranger that would have read the same, for it is scarce possible for a man to believe how far wide divers of the Clergy have strayed from the path of good life and honesty. And thirdly and lastly, when I happened lately to read in what estimation and reverence that glorious Emperor Constantine the Great, the first Foster Father of the Church of Christ, held the Clergy in regard of their function and ministry, when he said, If I did see with mine own eyes a religious man to sin, I would cover him with my robe imperiall lest any man else might see him. If this heroicall Emperor would cover the nakedness of the Clerks with his own proper imperiall robe, why should I, poor worm, presume to discover their nudity, unless I were sure that some good would follow thereupon? For I could find in my heart to proclaime open wars with their persons, if I could but shew the way to any that would conquer their vices. And ruminating with myself why should the learned clergy surpass the vulgar layty in leudness and iniquity, I found at last some reason thereof in that learned Spaniard, Anthony Guevarra, who saith in his *Favori de la Court* that the Devil hath more pleasure in one sin committed in the Church, or by an ecclesiasticall person, then in ten like sins committed elsewhere or by lay persons. And the same he proveth by the Devils practice in bringing our Saviour Christ to the pinnacle of the Temple rather than to any tower upon the walls of Jerusalem, where many of them towers (as some writ) were as high as the said pinnacle. These reasons, therefore, being well considered, and withall

how this unpolished treatise groweth over long, I desisted from entring into that long and spacious field; and therefore will speake a word or two of the state of the Church in generall within this little Island, and then make an end.

This Island being of so small extent of ground that a man cannot in any part thereof stand five miles from the sea, was once well furnished with churches, when in times past it deserved to be called Insula Sanctorum; but this age hath brought many of them to ruin; and yet we have 32 benefices and 2 vicarages, comprehending in all 77 churches and chappelles, with their severall and distinct parishes, or more; all these being rated, but to a reasonable, indifferent rate, according to the time, amount to the value of £2500 per annum, communibus annis. The whole Island is divided into two Deaneries. In one of these Deaneries there are seven or eight rectors and one vicar, most commonly resident upon their livings. In the other Deanerie there is a vicar always resident, and one rector sometimes, and no more. Of these that keep true residency, some keep indifferent houses, others deserve no great commendation. By this may be supposed how much of this £2500 is spent in hospitallity. For preachers we have but few; the most of them very tither also in feeding their flock with spirituall food, insomuch that there are many a gentleman in the countrey, upon many a Sabbath Day may well take his horse, and not know where within ten miles of to hear a sermon; and those that preach most commonly, happily are not the best livers, and therefore their preaching doth not so well prosper to edification; for while a man sayeth one thing, and doth another thing, how can others believe him? Cardinall Pool being upon a time demanded what he thought of a Preacher that was famous for his sermons, but yet of a loose life, answered, I would to God he would first preach unto himself, and then unto others. And truly he had reason to say so; for as the sun shineth better in clear water then in a muddy

puddle, so the light of religion shineth far more bright in pure and neate spirits then in those that are polluted and contaminated with troubled terrestrial affections. Thus we are fed by the Clergy, in body and souls, in a very thin diet, God knoweth. The cures are discharged by unworthy Post Priests that serve, some two, some three, some four, and some five churches apiece. Imagine now how well are our 2500ᴴ or more deserved by this reckoning. Let these dainty clergy that to themselves receave the profits, and serve their cures by attorneys (and those the best cheap they can find), take heed least one day they shall for the same be converted to appear in Hell in proper person to answer for the same.

We did the last day conceave great hope of a reformation in this ecclesiasticall business; so in August now last past were held the metropoliticall visitations of my Lord's Grace of Canterbury for this Diocess of Bangor, by grave Commissioners that professed and protested to procure wonders, upon knowledge had of the estate of the Church, which they expected by our presentments; but now our hope is vanished, for these assemblies were ended with the most palpable extortion that ever was seen in these parts in proceedings of that nature; for after it was agreed in court, when the Bench was clustred with grave, wise, and learned Commissioners, that every parish should pay 8*d.* for the receiving of their presentments, and no more, the parishes were forced, without law, custom, or reason, to pay 4*s.* 6*d.* a piece. In such sort as that (wanting means to acquaint my Lords Grace of Canterbury therewith) we are cleane dejected in heart from seeing any goodness in our time. Let God dispose of things according to his pleasure.

EXTRACTS FROM OLD WILLS RELATING TO WALES.

(Continued from p. 221, vol. xi.)

Anglesey.—Wm. Cranewell, Sheriff of Cornwall. Will at Lambeth, 1396. To be buried either in Friars Minors at Bodmin, or in Friars Minors at Llanfaes.[1] Deceased wife, "Wenff."

Cardiganshire, Llanbadarn.—Will, 1539-40 (2, Alenger), William John Voyd... "to Cathedral Church of St. David iij*s.* iiij*d.* ...to the fabric' of Saynt Paternes[2] churche vj*s.* viij*d.* Item fabric' eccl'ie de llanychayarn iij*s.* iiij*d.* Item fabric' eccl'ie de llan Elar iij*s.* iiij*d.* Item fabric' eccl'ie de llan rychangell castell gwallter iij*s.* iiij*d.* Item fabric' eccl'ie de llan rychange gelynrode iij*s.* iiij*d.* Item I bequethe to gele my wedyd wyfe a deyre conteyning xx^{ti} kyne and iiij^{xx} shepe...sir Thom's glover my spirituall father...Item to my sone Lewys my purches in Mach'nlleth...Item to the working of the bridge at Aberystwt' xx*s.*... Richard ph' John ph' and Morgan ph' my nepotes."

Carnarvonshire.—1540 (4, Alenger), Edward Gruffith[3] of the

[1] The Priory of Llanfaes, of the order of Franciscans, was founded by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth in memory of his wife, Joan, daughter of King John, who died in 1237. It was consecrated by Howel, Bishop of Bangor, in 1240; burnt to the ground by the Welsh under Madoc, *temp.* Edward I; rebuilt by Edward II; plundered by Henry IV, in revenge for its support of Owen Glyndwr; restored by Henry V; and at the Dissolution granted to Nicholas Brownlow, by whom it was sold to a family named White; and is now in the possession of Sir R. W. Bulkeley, Bart.

[2] Llanbadarn, near Aberystwith, was once a cathedral city. The fine old church has lately been restored. Llanychaiarn, in the hundred of Ilar, in Cardiganshire, formerly a portion of Llanbadarn Vawr. Llanilar is also in the hundred of the same name. Llanfihangel Castell Gwallter, so called from a fortress built on the summit of a lofty eminence above the church of Llanfihangel Geneu'r Glyn, by Walter l'Espec, the Norman, after whom it was named.

[3] Of Penrhyn, son and heir of Sir William Griffith, and brother of Sir Rhys Griffith and of John Griffith, of Kickley, and of Sir William Griffith of Caernarvon. His sister Margaret afterwards married, 1st, Peter Moton, Serjeant-at-Arms; and 2ndly, Simon Thelwall. His wife was Jane, daughter of Sir John Pilstone, Knt. These children were probably the surviving offspring by Jane, sister of Sir John Pylston.

"dioc. of Bangorn', Esquyer, to be bur' in Cristes Churche in Dublen. Item I leave unto myn heire all suche londes as I have, deducting suche porc'ons as here folowithe...to Rice Gryffyn all the londes w^th^in Bangor and Maynoll Bangor during his lyfe. Item to John Gryffyn the comodo of Meny during his lyf. Item to Richard Will'm Nantporte and treporte during his lyfe...to my syster Margaret Gryffyn half of my kyne to hur mariage. Item I leave my wyfe Jane Gruffith, John Pylston serjeante of Armes, and Will'm App Robert Esquyre, to bestowe all other my goodes...Then being p'nt at this my last wyll S'r John Whyte knight, S'r John Pylston preeste, John Owen, Jent', S'r Robert Luttrell parsonne of Kylbery", etc. (a Kilberry, co. Meath, and another co. Kildare.)

John Gruffith of Conwey,[1] Carnarvon, Gent. Will, 1540-1 (24, Alenger). To be buried in church of St. Margaret, Westminster. Wife, Elen G. "My mother, Genet G. of town of Carnarvon, wedow, late wife of Edmond G., my father. Two susters, Elen G. and Grace G....to my brother Robert G. a tenement or ferme called Raro w^th^in Cōmode of llyvon during his lyfe, and afterward to remayn to myn heire. And also I bequeath unto my said brother Robert all my right, title, and interest whiche I now have unto the moveable goodes of John Buckley, gentilman, deceased, my father-in-lawe, and nowe being in variance betwene me and Sir Richard Buckley, Knight...unto my brother Rowland G. my Close lying nere unto Mr. Edward Gruffith Ferme, w^th^in the fraunches of Carnarvon, during his lyfe, and afterward to remayn to myn heire. And the next close to hit I bequeth to my brother William Gruffith during his lyfe. Item I bequeth to my sonne John Gruffith and to Elyn Jenkynson, the wyfe of James Smythe, tenne heffers and bullockes of three and foure yeres old."

John Gowght, "otherwyse called Powes", of Henley, Oxford. Will dated 1540. Proved 1541-2. "To William Loveles and Margery his wyfe, my doughter, my hole leace and terme of yers whiche now I have by indentur of certeyn manors, landes, tenementes, tythes, and other profyttes, in Wales, late belonging to the late Monastery of Chertsey,[2] whiche at the daye of the mak-

[1] In L. Dwnn (ii, 131), under Tref Borthaml y Plas Newydd, John Griffith is stated to be of Talybont. His mother was Janet, daughter of Meredith ap Ievan ap Robert, founder of the Gwydir family. His brother Robert was Constable of Carnarvon, and M.P. for the Boroughs. William, R. of Llanfaethlee, bought Carreglwyd, and founded that family. The other members mentioned in this will are not noticed.

[2] The Priory of Gilbertine Canons, at Beddgelert, was annexed

ing hereof ys to me, above all charges, of the yerely value of xix*li.* sterling, wherof the seyd William and Margery his wyfe shall paye yerely to William Gowght my son Fifty shillinges sterling. And to the childern of the seyd William, equally to be devyded betwene them, towardes their mariages, fyfty shillinges sterling. And also to paye yearly to Marget my doughter, suster to the said William Gowght, other fyfty shillinges sterling, and yerely to the childern of the same Margett...Fyftie shillinges sterling....And yf it shall happen they all to departe to God, that then yt to remayn hole to the seyd William Loveles and Margery his wyfe, my doughter, all the hole Rentes of xix*li.* to be devyded for the mariage of their childern and every of them lengist leving, keping an yerely Obiit w^t^in the parishe churche of seynt German[1] w^t^in the towne of penrisa, the hundred of yownyth, and countie of Carnarvon, of xx*s.* for me, my father and mothers sowles and all xpen soules, to be kept yerely the secounde daye of August during all the terme of the sayde Indentur. Item I will that the sayd William Gowght and Margret shall yerely kepe an obite in the parishe churche abovesayd the morrow next after Relike sondaye, of Ten shillinges, during the foreseyd yeres. To son Wm. G. all lands, co. Carnarvon. Kateryn, the mother of William Gowght, and Margrett shall have all the yssues and proffittes of my ferme of Botyff, paying the Kinges grace his rentes. John Will'ms, sone of William Gowght...William Thomas my doughters sone."

1551 (24, Bucke), "Griffith Johns, servante to the Right Honorable Therle of Warwycke, where as I have the advowson and patronage of a benefice in the dioces of Bangor, called Llanbeddrock,[2] and have willid and appoynted lyke as by these presentes I do nowe wille and appoynte one S'r Richard Griffith of Okinge[3] in the Countie of Surrie, to be therunto presented when the same benefice shall first and next chaunce to falle voyde; yf the said Sir Richard Gryffith shall overlyve the Incumbent there now being, the said S'r Richard Griffith shall, being thereunto presented and admitted, accordingly graunte and make a sufficient and laufull Lease of the same benyfice for the terme of his the said Sir Richardes lief, unto my sonne William, of all profyttes, commodities, and soo fourthe, whatsoever they be, grow-

by Henry VIII to the Abbey of Chertsey, and subsequently, with that Abbey, given by him to Bisham Abbey. All the lands in the county of Carnarvon, belonging to the Priory, were granted by Edward VI to Robert and Henry Bodville.

[1] Llanarmon, in the hundred of Eifionydd.

[2] Llanbedrog is now in the patronage of the Bishop of Bangor.

[3] Woking.

ing or rysinge in any wise upon the said benefice", etc., etc.... "My brother Thomas...executor...shall sell my weyre at Carnarven...Item to paye twentie poundes to the king, that remayned in my handes unbestowed upon the Castell of Conwey ...my brother in law John Wyn ap Howell."

Will dated 12 Oct. 1556, proved 10 May 1557 (13 Wrastley). Ryse Powell, clerk,[1] "to be buried in the churche or churche yarde of Aldermarie. Firste of all I will that xx*li.* xj*s.* v*d.* q' be paide unto the Quenes grace for the first frutes of the Deaynery of Bangor...my Cosyn Robert Meredethe...my Cosyn his wief... I will xx*s.* be paide to Mr. John Pytton, priest, which taught scole lately at Higham Ferys....Also I bequethe my moietie upon the ferys in Northe Wales called Porthathwy bonedon...to my two brethern Thomas and Evan...my sister Katheryn." Robert Meredith, the executor, died before administering, and grant issued to John Payne, gent. On April 21, 1559, another grant issued to Owen Thomas, next of kin of the deceased.

1557 (26, Wrastley), "David lloyd ap John Gruff'...to the reparacion of the Cappell of Botwynnoke x*s.*...of Aberdaron x*s.* ...of Manywynadell[2] x*s.*...of Bryncoris iij*s.* iiij*d.*...of the Chappell of Tedweliock vj*s.* viij*d.*...to the poore folkes of the parishe of penllech vj*s.* viij*d.*...to Jenet verch Res owyn ap Mores sixe poundes...to my son John lloyd, fellowe of all sole colleige in Oxforde, towardes his procedinges and for his paynes and labour to be Coexecutour to me with my sonnes Gruff' and Owen, the some of fourtie poundes...my doughter Katheryn verch D'd.... My owtes that are in my new howse at Nangwynedyle[2]...Marget verch John ap Robert, my wedydd wief, all my mesuages... within the towne of Bottwynok in ye Commote of Garfleyon[3] in the Countie Caern....for the space and terme of eight yeres."

1558 (32, Noodes), William Glynne, Bishop of Bangor.[4] Interesting will.

[1] Rhys Powell was appointed to the deanery of Bangor in 1554, in place of Robert Evans, LL.B., who was deprived for being married, but restored in 1557, on the death of Rhys Powell.

[2] Llangwnodl Church is described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1846, p. 146, by Mr. Jones-Parry.

[3] *Alias* Cyfflogion or Canologion, one of the commotes of Lleyn, within which all the churches mentioned above are situate, viz., Botwnog, Aberdaron, Llangwnodl, Bryn Croes, Tydweiliog, and Penllech.

[4] Bishop Glynne succeeded Bishop Bulkeley in 1554, died in 1558, and was buried in the choir of his Cathedral.

Obituary.

The Association has lost its oldest member by the death of Mrs. Stackhouse Acton, who died at her residence, Acton Scott, on the 24th of January last, in her eighty-seventh year. She was the survivor of the three daughters of the late Andrew Knight of Downton Castle in Herefordshire, well known as the leading authority of his time, and the founder of the Horticultural Society. It was to his skill that so large an addition was made to our list of fruits and vegetables, such as the pea that goes by his name, the Elton strawberry, and Downton pippin, called after his residences, and other new fruits. His daughter, however, seems to have followed the taste of her uncle, the well known Richard Payne Knight (whose collection of antiquities was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum), rather than that of her father.

Being an admirable artist, Mrs. Acton had, during her long life, made a valuable collection of drawings of mediæval architectural details, which it is to be hoped will not be dispersed. Some few were lithographed, such as the curious sedilia of St. Lawrence at Ludlow; her views of St. Donat's Castle, in Glamorgan, which, with an account of that building, from the pen of Mr. G. T. Clark, was sold for the benefit of the Cardiff Hospital. Her most important work was *The Castles and Mansions of Shropshire*, the profits of which were also devoted to a similar purpose in Shropshire. She was left a widow, and childless, some short time before 1836, losing her husband and only child, a daughter, about the same time. Since then she has resided at Acton Scott, looking after the wants of the poor and aged of the parish, the advowson of which was in her gift.

Edwin Guest, LL.D., F.R.S.—We, like several of our kindred Societies, have to lament the death of one of our most distinguished members. The late Master of Caius College, Cambridge, died Nov. 23, 1880, at his seat, Sandford Park, Oxfordshire, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. In him we have lost one of our highest authorities on some of the most abstruse points in British history, and a man universally respected by those who knew him for his kindly disposition and great learning, for he was one of those retiring men who are really known by few.

He graduated at Caius College, Cambridge, in 1824, and was the eleventh Wrangler of his year. He was soon elected a Fellow of his College, and was in 1828 called to the Bar. He did not long practise the legal profession, but turned his attention to literary and antiquarian pursuits. He published his only distinct work, entitled a *History of English Rhythms*, in 1838. At that time there

were few sources, except manuscript, whence to derive the matter so lucidly placed before the reader in this work, which continues to be the chief authority on the subject upon which it treats, notwithstanding that many of the MSS. which he had laboriously to search have since been given to scholars through the press. This book soon became very scarce; but its author could not be persuaded to issue a second edition. In 1852 he was elected Master of his College, a position which he retained until a few weeks before his death.

He occupied his leisure hours in the study of the early history of Britain; but unfortunately his extreme love of accuracy caused him to withhold from the press many of the results at which he had arrived. We have, therefore, only to enumerate a short list of essays which issued from his pen. They are contained in the long series of volumes of the *Archæological Journal*, and are, therefore, difficult of access to those who do not possess a set of that valuable *Journal*. They are so excellent that it is to be hoped that they will now be collected and issued as a volume, with all the latest corrections which he may have made in them. It is believed that he has left many manuscripts which, although unfinished, are in a state to admit of their publication. We trust that they will be placed in the hands of the one man best fitted to edit them, from his great and accurate knowledge of our early history. We know so little of the time between the departure of the Roman legions and consolidation of the so-called Heptarchy, that any scrap from Dr. Guest's pen is of great value, and ought to be made accessible to scholars. It has also long been reported that he had a book in preparation on these subjects. We hope that it will be found in a tolerably advanced condition, and admit of publication. The following is a list of his papers as far as we have been able to discover them. We have already mentioned the *English Rhythms*, published in 1838:

1. Early English Settlements in South Britain. 1851. Salisbury Volume of Archæological Institute.
2. On the Belgic Ditches and the Age of Stonehenge. 1851. *Archæological Journal*, viii.
3. On the Boundary Ditches of Cambridgeshire. 1854. *Ib.*, xi.
4. On the Four Roman Ways. 1857. *Ib.*, xiv.
5. On the Boundaries between the Welsh and English in Somerset. 1859. *Ib.*, xvi.
6. On the English Conquest of the Severn Valley. 1862. *Ib.*, xix.
7. On the Landing of Julius Cæsar. 1864. *Ib.*, xxi.
8. On the Campaign of Aulus Plautius. 1866. *Ib.*, xxiii.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

MONKTON OLD HALL.

SIR,—The October Number of the Journal has only just reached me. I notice that in the editorial detail of the recent Meeting at Pembroke it is stated (p. 333) that "considerable alterations have been lately made to render the building available as a reading or lecture-room. These alterations, however intended to be useful, have not added to the architectural interest of the building." And the Vice-President is represented as saying (p. 336) that "Monkton Hall was being altered, and not for the better as far as antiquaries are concerned."

Having taken a great deal of pains, and not spared expense, about this interesting old building, simply because it was to me so very interesting, and in such a lamentable condition that it was scarcely possible it could have survived another severe winter, I am disappointed to find the result thus viewed. My first business was to save the venerable old pile, which was considered as only a quarry of good building stone by those then interested. To find befitting use for it was a secondary consideration, though I am very pleased to think that not only is the fabric made safe for many years, but that it is likely again to be used for purposes as nearly like those for which it was originally designed as the change of circumstances and manners will permit.

It is quite certain that the eminent author of *Domestic Architecture*, experienced as he was, failed to make out many of the details, owing to the accumulation of filth and ruin; and our late Secretary, who has made the old Pembrokeshire houses one of his peculiar studies, was alike unfortunate. He thought he discerned in the pervading obscurity what did not exist; and he certainly did not see, and could not have seen, the chief beauties. Nor does either appear to have realised that the squalid chambers in the basement formed one grand, groined hall.

In some respects I have not had quite my own way,—in the matter of plastering, for instance, and other like things,—and the windows are not to my mind; but as they are inserted in respectable old openings of good workmanship, I thought it better not to interfere further, and to put in modern frames, which cannot deceive any one, rather than to ramble in conjecture, and produce possible deception. I can safely say that I have not altered anything ancient, except that I have built up the old stack solid within, as the only way of preserving its outward appearance; and I have moved the

external rubble steps leading to the upper hall, opening instead a more ancient doorway at the side, the step to which shewed signs of enormous traffic. I did this solely on archæological grounds. What existed would have been, perhaps, the most convenient, and certainly the cheapest. And I altered the floor-levels more than I liked, at the urgent request of others; the extreme slope either from one side to the other, or from the centre towards the sides, which I think interesting, and tending to easy washing, being thought undesirable now. Beyond this I am not aware of any alterations; and with an anxious wish to have it put on record what the old building really was, or was like, I should be much obliged by any one pointing them out.

If antiquaries prefer the condition of the building as it was before I touched it, to its present one, I am sorry for the antiquaries. I can safely say that now any one can see and realise its peculiarities; nothing is hid. Before, it was confusion. Large trees, a bramble copse, and falling, decayed slates, outside; within, darkness, filth, and vile smells. It took me many days to get to the floor-level of the lower hall, and open the internal steps, the existence of which was wholly unknown. They had been used by the last occupants as a chimney. I think there were sixteen of such chimneys; and the vault had fallen in three places, the openings of course daily increasing. Do the "alterations" refer to the removal of these defects?

Yours faithfully, J. R. Cobb.

Brecon. Dec. 22, 1880.

Sir,—In the interesting article on "Moated Mounds" (p. 200, July No., 1880) there is an error which may be pointed out. It is there said that the mounds upon which the "gemote, or assembly, was held, were called 'Moot-hills', or 'Toot' or 'Tut-hills'." I assert that Toot-hills have no connection with Moot-hills, but have quite a different meaning.

Some years ago I was engaged on a topographical work, and was puzzled with the name of Toothill,—places near several Welsh castles built by the English invaders. There is a Toothill near Conway, another near Caernarvon, and another near Rhudhlan, and it occurs in many other places. I had no dictionary then to give me the information; but I have now long learned the meaning of it. *Twt-hill* means a look-out hill, and is equivalent to the Welsh *golva* or *gwylva*. The word is now in common use in mining countries; and *tutwork* means exploring work.

R. Williams, M.A.

Culmington. Dec. 22, 1880.

LORD CAWDOR AND HIS HORSE.

Sir,—I may probably be mistaken in thinking that a certain event connected with the Cawdor family is not generally known;

but whether this is so or not, it may be as well to record it in our Journal, especially as it is probably connected with the French attempt at Fishguard, in crushing which the Lord Cawdor of the day took so prominent and effective a part. Some relics of that event are, I believe, still at Stackpool, in the form of the muskets taken from the French. Some of these invaders seem to have been placed within Porchester Castle; at any rate, "*Milord Cordower, Colonel de Regiment de Carmarthen*", one day paid a visit to the French prisoners, and appearing to have no attendant, he tied up his horse "*à une des barrières*". When he returned he could not find it, and after hunting for it some time, at last he was informed that the prisoners had eaten it up. Refusing to believe this unless he saw some remains of it, he was conducted to a place where were shewn to him the skin and entrails, and near them a miserable wretch just finishing the last piece of raw flesh. The saddle and bridle were probably secreted for future sale. If Pillet, a French officer detained in England for some time, tells the truth, even with a little colouring, the sufferings of the prisoners at Porchester must have been great. Every dog that found its way inside the walls was disposed of in the same manner; and in particular he mentions that the butcher who supplied the rations was attended by an enormous bulldog, which soon fell a victim. It is, however, right to say that the author, in his account of *England as seen in London and the Provinces*, has made some atrocious statements as to our manners and morals; but this story of Lord Cawdor's horse is not, apparently, mere fiction. I should be glad to be informed if any tradition, either at Stackpool Court or elsewhere in Wales, exists. M. Pillet's work was printed in 1815, before the battle of Waterloo.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

A Member.

Miscellaneous Notices.

It is proposed to publish, about next November, a volume containing the monumental inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford. Accurate copies will be given of all recorded or existing inscriptions, and the heraldry will be revised by the College of Heralds. The work will be supplied to subscribers at 10*s.* 6*d.*; to non-subscribers at 15*s.* Subscribers' names received by the Rev. F. Havergal, Upton Bishop, Ross.

The diaries and letters of Philip and Matthew Henry are about to be published by their descendant, the Rev. Matthew Henry Lee, Hanmer Vicarage, Whitchurch, Salop, who will be much obliged to any one who possesses MSS. if he will communicate with him on the subject. Philip Henry's diaries, ranging from 1656-96, are written with a crowquill, in Goldsmith's Almanacks, which measure 4 inches by 2, and are generally enclosed in a dark binding.

Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FOURTH SERIES.—VOL. XII, NO. XLVI.

APRIL 1881.

A

COMPARISON OF CELTIC WORDS FOUND IN OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE AND ENGLISH DIALECTS WITH MODERN FORMS.

In the papers lately published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* on "The Celtic Element of the English People", some lists of words were given to shew the existence of such an element in the English language. It is proposed now to compare this class of words with the corresponding modern forms which are in use among the Celtic speaking races in Wales and Ireland. Many of these words do not vary from their modern equivalents, but in general they present a more archaic form, as if, when they were blended with the prevailing Saxon speech, they had become crystallised, and had thus escaped the process of "phonetic decay" that affects all languages, more or less, during a long course of time. When the poet Chaucer wrote, in the fourteenth century, the word which in modern Welsh is *bragawd* appears as *braket:*

> "Hire mouth was swete as *braket* or the meth."
> *Cant. T. A.*, 3261.

This form is found as late as the eighteenth century:

> "Now at the coffee-houses they
> Do rob the hogs, selling the whey."

They also sold

> "Stepony, tea or aromatick
> Brunswick-mum, syder or *bracket*."
> *Poor Robin*, 1755.

In Lancashire, where the Celtic population apparently preserved their native speech to a late period, the form is *bragget* or *bragot*, approaching more nearly the modern Welsh. This form is used by Ben Jonson:

> "And we have served there, armed all in ale,
> With the brown bowl, and charged in *braggat* stale."
> *Masque of Gipsies*, vi, p. 78.

The form of the word in the *Gododin* is *bracaut*, to which the Irish *bracat* (malt liquor) corresponds.

Another Celtic word, *mok*, is found in a mediæval religious poem:

> "For (because) eueri *mok* most into myre
> Preye we to God ur soules enspire."
> *Phil. Trans.*, 1858, p. 132.

The Editor, Mr. Furnivall, is unable to explain the word. It is the W. *moch*, a generic word for pigs, as the Corn. and Arm. *moch*. The Ir. Gael. form is *muc*, a sow or pig. The Manx *muc* means a sow only. The reference is to the passage in 2 Pet. ii, 22, "The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." Hence it may be assumed that in the seventh or eighth century, when the Celtic tribes in Loegria were beginning to blend with their Saxon conquerors, the tenuis was used where the aspirate now appears; and that the word denoted a single animal, as the Ir. Gael. *muc*, without the use of a suffix.

In the county of Lancaster, which Lappenberg has declared to be the most Celtic county in England, when water, after flowing down in a stream, begins to fall in drops, it is said to *per*. This may be equated with the Arm. *bera*, to fall in drops, to distil; *berad*, a drop, a falling drop; W. *di-feru*, to drop, to drizzle (*destillare*, Dav.); derived by Pryse from *di* and *meru*, though he

has the verb *beru*, to drop, to ooze. It may be a question whether a primitive *b* has been changed by provection into *p* in this case, or the original anlaut (initial sound) has been retained. The latter opinion is, I think, the more probable,—(1), because I have never met with an instance of an undoubted change to *p* from a primitive *b* in any Lancashire word; and (2), the Sans. *prish*, to bedew; *prishat*, a drop of rain, a drop, are in favour of the assumption that *p* was the primary initial letter. Pictet has given some instances of Sans. *p* represented in the Celtic languages by *b*. To these may be added the English *pan* (a slang term for money) compared with the Irish *ban*, copper; *banna*, a halfpenny; *bunn*, a piece of money (the *a* sound becoming *u*, as in Sanskrit); and the Sans. *paṇa*, a copper coin.[1]

The preservation of the primary meaning of a word is shewn in our dialectic word *clan*. In the north-east of England it is commonly used, but not to denote a multitude of families united in a sept or tribe. It has retained its primitive meaning of family. A man is said to have "a girt (great) *clan* o' bairns." In Irish and Gaelic dictionaries we find "*clann*, *cland*, children, descendants, a tribe"; but the first is the original meaning (*cf.* W. *plant*, children). In the index to the *Book of Deir*, written in the ninth century, *clann* is glossed by Mr. W. Stokes as *proles*. (*Goidelica*, p. 116.)

In the Gloucestershire word *sallis* (hog's lard) there is a retention of an ancient word-form, or of an archaic grammatical form. The modern word in Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, is *saill* (fat, bacon, lard); and this represents a more ancient *salli*, the diphthong being formed by a well known Irish and Gaelic rule. But at the time when the Celtic population in this county was beginning to blend with the prevailing Teutonic race, not only was this older form preserved, but the word appears to retain an old case-form. We may compare it with the Sans. *agni*, which becomes *agnis* when it is

[1] In the Pali language, a dialect of the Sanskrit, *pano* means a sum of money; also wages, wealth.

the subject of an action or predicate, and with the Ir. *sûil* (eye), which represents a prehistoric *sûlis* (Windisch, *Rev. Celt.*, iii, 325). We learn from this word *sallis*, that the Celtic population in Gloucestershire was not Cymric, or that the word has passed away from the Welsh language without leaving any trace of a past existence there. It belongs to the great Indo-European, or Aryan, stock, being related to the Sans. *sāra*, butter or marrow.

In general, however, the Celtic words in the English language have become subject to Teutonic grammatical forms. Thus in Derbyshire, when a horse rears and curvets, this action is called *cawming* (W. *camu*, to bend, to curve). In the dialect of Leeds it is called *rawming* (W. *rhamu?*) The Germ. *räumen* means to remove, to put away, or to quit. Both these words have the broad sound of the *a* which is used in Ireland, but is, I believe, not common in Wales. (See Donovan's *Ir. Gram.*, p. 10.) It has sometimes the same sound in our English speech, generally before the liquids, as in *ball, tall, warm*, and other words. It is much more common in our dialectic speech, and appears to be a sign of the Celtic element in the English people.

The word *cam* appears in the Lancashire dialect, and some years ago was commonly used by all classes. It is pronounced as in Wales. But when it becomes a verb it is conjugated as one of the Teutonic weak or expanded class. Its meaning is to be or to make crooked, awry. It is said of one that had a habit of wearing the heels of his boots unevenly, that "he *cammed* (*camd*) his heels." Fick, in his *Verg. Wört.* (ii, 52), assumes a primary Aryan form, *kam* (to bend or curve), with which he connects the Gr. *κάμπτω*, and the Sans. *kamp*, to tremble, to move up and down; but he omits the Celtic *cam* or *camm*, which represents an older *camb*, as in *Cambodunum*.[1]

[1] The Sans. *kambu*, a shell, a bracelet, a neck, a vein, etc., has preserved more nearly the primary meaning, for all the objects which it denotes are of a winding or circling form.

We may infer, from many indications, that along the whole of the western line the blending of the two races was not completed until a comparatively late date, and that many Celtic communities lived apart from their Teutonic neighbours, preserving their native speech and some of their native customs long after the Saxon conquest. Such place-names as Welsh Bicknor in Herefordshire, Welsh Hampton in Shropshire, and Welsh Whitton in Lancashire, indicate that a Celtic population long preserved its separate nationality in these places. Such instances are not rare. From the preservation of a German dialect in the Sette Communi of Verona and the Tredici Communi of Vicenza; the existence of many Latin words and forms in the language of Wallachia; the long continuance of a Saxon tongue in the barony of Forth, co. Wexford, due to a settlement there of Saxons and Flemings in the twelfth century,—we have proofs of the fact that a separate race, retaining its own language, may continue for centuries unaffected by the surrounding races. Eventually the barrier-walls are broken down, and a fusion of these separate peoples is effected; but traces of the absorbed race have invariably been found in the language of the united people. When one race has become subject to another, the words of the subject race that may survive the fusion of the peoples will rather belong to the homely class than to the higher departments of law or religion. They will be found in the language of the streets; but not so frequently in the more exclusive walks of literature, or in the solemnities of a religious creed. In those parts of Ireland where the English language now prevails, many words are used in common speech that have been drawn from the old Celtic tongue, and a few appear in the pages of the poet Spenser and other writers. The same result followed when the two races were blended in England. A large number of Celtic words remains still in the common language, and some are found in its more refined or more exclusive part. This fact is now beginning to force itself into view.

In Professor Skeat's excellent *Etymological Dictionary*, now in course of publication, a considerable number of words may be found which are referred to a Celtic source, though hitherto accounted as part of the heritage of the Saxons or Angles who adopted them. We may hope that the old theory, often repeated, of the complete destruction or banishment of the Celtic races in England by their Saxon conquerors, and the assumption that no words of Celtic origin remain in our English speech, may be consigned to the region of exploded fancies; to that "windy sea of land" where, on the authority of Milton, are found

> "Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
> Build their fond hopes of ..... fame."
>
> *P. L.*, iii, 448.

The inquiry before us does not extend beyond the question whether the words adduced are or have been in use among the Celtic tribes in Wales and elsewhere. The question, however, of their native origin is one of some importance to every one who is connected with the Celtic race. "Every nation", says De Quincy, "has reason to feel interested in the pretensions of its own native language; in the original quality of that language, or characteristic *kind* of its powers, and in the particular *degree* of its expansions."[1] The pretensions of the Celtic languages will receive some support, in this respect, by our investigations; at least it will appear that they contributed a large class of words to the common English stock in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. Some of these words were certainly received from the Roman conquerors; but many words of this class came to the Teutonic tribes through a Celtic medium. If the claims of the Celtic languages have sometimes been pushed too far, there has been, for a long time, a reaction against them both in France and England, which has gone, I think, beyond the bounds of a sound philology. Some jealousy of race,

[1] *Essay on Language*, p. 78.

not always inexcusable, will probably continue to affect these inquiries. German scholars are generally disposed to rush to arms if any German word is assumed to be borrowed. I have read an indignant argument, the design of which was to prove that the word *dun* (Ir. *dun*, W. *din*), found in some German place-names, belonged to the Teutonic race; and Bacmeister stoutly maintains that the German *zinn* (tin) is the original source of the English word, and even of the Latin *stannum;* though he is somewhat puzzled by the fact, which he admits, that all the mines known to Europe at an early date were on Celtic ground.[1] It is not necessary, however, that our pride or jealousy of race should lead us to cherish illusions. Sooner or later truth will prevail; and if I am not mistaken, the result of a careful and unimpassioned inquiry will be to prove that the English language and the English race have been more affected by Celtic elements, as the late Mr. Kemble surmised, than our Anglo-Saxon scholars have been willing to allow. Our German neighbours have sometimes been confuted by their own researches. "The engineer has been hoist with his own petard." The laws of letter-change (*lautverschiebung*) established by Grimm prove that many German words have certainly been borrowed. All civilised nations have such words in their vocabularies: they are a necessity as knowledge increases. But it is a legitimate object or pursuit to determine, by scientific means, what part of a language is native to the soil, and what has been imported from other lands, or received from other races.

The words that have appeared in the lists which form a part of the papers on the Celtic element of the English people, and those which are referred by Prof. Skeat to a Celtic source, will not be used in this paper, with one or two exceptions. The words of the latter class have been in my collection for many years; but as a selection must be made, I prefer to occupy new ground.

[1] *Keltische Briefe*, p. 22.

The Welsh language will be generally used as the basis of comparison when the particular word has an equivalent in Welsh. The authority to which I shall refer, for the most part, is Pryse's edition of Dr. Pugh's Dictionary; for the Irish words, O'Reilly's Dictionary, and the Glossary lately put forth by Windisch. In the transliteration of Sanskrit words, the system of Prof. Whitney will be used.

CLASS I.

WORDS CORRESPONDING IN CONSONANTAL, AND CHIEFLY IN VOWEL, SOUNDS.

English.	Celtic.
Anan, what? What do you say?	O. W. *nan*, what? what now?
Nan, id. (Sussex), W.	

An amusing story is told of the late Dr. Clarke, the traveller. He was taking a stroll in the west of England, and went into a cottage to ask the nearest way to some place which he wished to see. He asked an old woman who was seated near the fire to direct him. Not understanding his questions, she only replied by saying "Nan." Thinking that she meant to call a daughter of that name, he went to the foot of the staircase, and called out lustily, "Nan!" The old woman, thinking that he was a madman, rushed out of the house; and the Doctor rushed after her, thinking that *she* was mad. The old lady took refuge in a neighbouring house, closing the door behind her, and the Doctor was obliged to find his way as he could.

Argy, a dam, an embankment (Salop, Hants)	W. *argae*, a dam, a lock in a river; *clausum*, *clausura* (Dav.)

A place near Kinnerley, a raised bank with a plantation of poplars and other trees, is called by the people of that neighbourhood the *Argy*. (Miss Jackson's *Word-Book*.) Hartshorne mentions another bank, near Melverley, "made to resist the overflowings of the Severn", which is also called the *Argy*. Many such Celtic names are used by our peasantry. In the neighbourhood of Leeds there is a large mound of stones which the

country people call *Pompocali*, which a Celtic scholar can easily interpret. The central or old part of the village of Elm, in Cambridgeshire, was always called by the labouring class the *Gualtry*. It was near the great embankment that once kept in the waters of the Wash, which extended long ago so far inland.

English.	Celtic.
Attle, rubbish, refuse, detritus. A miner's word (W.)	Corn. *attal*, W. *adhail*, refuse, waste; Gael. *athar*, dregs, refuse
Aven, promise, appearance. "The *aven* of a fine colt" (Sal.)	Arm. *aven*, figure; Corn. *avain*, image, form (Zeuss, 1110)
Baban, an infant	Ir., Gael., W., *baban*, a young child
Babbon, a babe, a doll (Levins)	Arm. *babik*, "petit enfant à la nourrice".

Baban is found in the *Ancren Riwle* (p. 234), which was written in the first part of the thirteenth century.

Bam, v., to mock jestingly, to delude; s., a false, mocking tale, a jibe	Arm. *bam-ein*, enchanter, endormir par des contes, tromper; Ir. Gael. *beum*, a stroke, a taunt; Corn. *bom*, a blow.

"There is some conspiracy, I suppose, to *bam*, to chouse me out of my money." (*The Cozeners*, iii, 2, Foote.) "To relieve the tedium he kept plying them with all manner of *bams*." (Prof. Wilson.) In Lincolnshire, a *bambary* tale is a story that cannot be relied on as true. *Bary* seems to be related to the Gael. *beurra*, pron. *bārra*, eloquent, witty; *beurran*, a witty, garrulous fellow. Ir. *beurla*, speech, language; *beurla feine*, the language of the old Irish laws.

Beale, a den, a cave; a *beale*, den, "spelunca" (Levins)	Ir. Gael. *beal* (pron. *bale*), a mouth, a hole, a den; *bealach*, a gap, a pass; Manx, *beeal*, a mouth, a pit; W. *bil*, mouth of a vessel.

The Ir. *béal* or *bél* is often used in place-names. (See Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, i, 237.)

Ben, the name given to the figure of a woman dressed up with ribands, etc., and set on the top of the last load of harvest, immediately in front; a kind of Ceres (*Norf. E.*)	Ir. Gael. *ben*, *bean*, a woman, a lady; Manx, *ben*, a female; Corn. *ben*; W. *ben-en*, a woman. A term of respect, probably connected with Sans. *vanita*, woman, wife; *van*, to honour, to desire.

Strabo says that the ancient Britons worshipped Ceres and Proserpine more than any other deities. (See Camden's *Brit.*, p. xix). There is here a relic of the old heathen worship. In Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties* there is an interesting account of this harvest custom as practised in Northumberland. "The image is crowned with wheat-ears, and dressed up in gay finery, a white frock and coloured ribbons being its conventional attire. The whole group circle round this harvest-queen, curtseying to her, and dancing and singing; and thus they proceed to the farmer's barn, where they set the image up on high as the presiding goddess of their revels, and proceed to do justice to the harvest-supper." (P. 66.) Other such customs still survive, or were common in the last century. Bailey tells us (vol. ii, ed. 1776) that the country people on Malvern Hills, when they wanted a wind to fan their corn, invoked Youl (Æolus ?) to send one. He says also that "the common people in some counties in England are accustomed, at the prime of the moon, to say, 'It is a fine moon. God bless her!'" And that it is a custom in Scotland (particularly in the Highlands) for the women to make a curtsey to the new moon." He adds, "some English women do still retain a touch of this gentilism, who, getting upon and sitting astride on a gate or stile the first night of a moon, say

> 'All hail to the moon! All hail to thee!
> I prithee, good moon, declare to me
> This night who my husband shall be.'"
>
> *Dict.*, *s. v.* "Youl" and "Moon".

English.	Celtic.
Bidowe, a short sword	W. *bidog*, a hanger, a short sword; "ensiculus, gladiolus, sica" (Dav.); *bid-an*, a small branch; a twig; Arm. *bid*, a point; Ir. *bideog*; Gael, *biodag* (*bidag*), a dagger, a dirk; Manx, *biddag*, a dagger

> "Ac now is Religioun a ridere, And a rennere aboute,
> A *bidowe* or a biselard He berith at his side."
>
> *Piers Ploughman.*

Roquefort has "*bidaux*, corps de mauvaise infanterie,

qui combattoit avec des lances"; but the Eng. *bidowe* was not a lance.

English.	Celtic.
Blith, yielding milk, profitable (Phillips)	W. *blith*, milk, giving milk; metaphorically, what is profitable; "lactans, lac præbens; et metaph., quicquid commodum alicui affert" (Dav.)
Bran, a name for the carrion crow, *corvus corone*	W., Arm., Corn., *bran*, a crow; Ir. Gael. *bran*, a raven, a rook; Ir., Gael., Manx, *bran*, black.

"*C. corone*, the carrion crow, gor crow, black crow, corby crow, hoody, *bran*." (*Eng. Enc.*, *s. v.* "Corvus".) The Welsh term is, I believe, generic, but in England it has become the name of a single species. *Bran*, with the meaning of black, is found in the hybrid word *bran-wyrt*, a blackberry. (Bosworth's *A. S. Dict.*)

Bur, *bire*, force, impetuosity, any force or impetus (N. Br.), a sudden hurry (Cumb.)	W. *bur*, violence, rage (marked by Pryse as obsolete); *bar*, indignation, wrath; Arm. *broez*, emportement, mouvement de colère qui passe vite; Ir. *bara*, anger

"Then the gome in the grene graythed hym swythe
Gederes vp hys grymme tole, Gawayn to smyte
With alle the *bur* in his body he ber hit on lofte."
Sir Gawayne, 2259-61.

"Then is better to abyde the *bur* umbe-stoundes (sometimes)
Then ay throw forth my thro (anger) thay me (men) thynk ylle."
Allit. Poems (E. E. T. S.), 7, 8.

"And with a great *bire* the flok was cast down into the see." (Wicliffe's *Trans.*, Mark v, 13.) Stratmann compares the Eng. *bur* with O. N. *byrr*, "ventus secundus", but this meaning does not suit the passages quoted.

Cambren, a crooked stick which butchers use to hang sheep or calves on when they dress them. (Blount, Phillips) *Cambrel*, id.	W., Ir., Gael., *cam*, crooked, and W. *pren*, *bren*, wood

"From British *cam*, crooked, and *pren*, a stick." (Blount.)

Carns, stones. (Coles, Bailey.) *Carnilate*, to build stone houses. (Harrison, *Desc. of Eng.*)	Ir., Gael., *carn*, a rock, a heap of stones; W. *carn*, a heap of stones, Ir. *carnail*, a mote of stones

English.	Celtic.
Cat, a small piece of wood used in the game of bandy, a small cutting of stick, a chump of claystone (Dorset, N.)	W. *cat*, a piece, a fragment, "frustulum, particula" (Dav.); *chware-cat*, the game of bandy; Sans. *khanda*, a piece, a fragment

"The *cat* is about six inches in length, and an inch and a half, or two inches, in diameter, and diminished from the middle to both ends, in the manner of a double cube." (*Sports and Pastimes*, 101, N.) *Cat* and trap (the play), "ludus buxi et baculi." (Coles, *Eng. Lat. Dict.*)

Cawl, to do anything awkwardly (*N. H.*), to make a mess of it	W. *cawlio*, to mix about, to turn about disorderly, to make a hodge-podge
Chynge, a discharge from the body; "reuma, chynge" (*E. Eng. Voc.*, i, 267)	Manx, *ching* (*ting*), a sore, an ulcer; adj., sick, diseased; Ir. Gael. *tinn*, sick; *tinneas*, a malady
Col, false, deceitful; in the hybrid words, *col-fox*, a cunning fox; *col-knife*, a treacherous knife; *col-prophet*, a false prophet	Ir. *col*, falsehood, treachery, deceit; "col, *i. e.*, feall", falsehood, deceit; (O. Ir. Gloss.) Gael., *col*, sin, a crime; W. Corn., *call*, cunning; Sans. *kali*, deceit, fraud.

"A *col-fox*, full of sleigh iniquité."
Chaucer, "The Nonnes Tale."

"Whereby I found I was the heartless hare,
And not the beast *col-prophets* did declare."
Mirr. for Mag., ii, 74.

Com, a clay marble (Lanc.)	W. *com*, a round, a curve; Ir. Gael. *com*, a round form, as a waist, the trunk of the body, an entrail
Coomb, the hollow space at the junction of the main branches with the trunk of a tree. (N. Hamp. B.)	W. *cwm*, O. W. *cwmb*, Arm. *komb*, a hollow, a valley
Crithe, a small push or swelling growing over the eyebrows (Kersey)	O. Ir. *creithi*, ulcera; *creachd*, an ulcer (Z. 172); W. *craith*, a scar
Cro, a bar, a lever (N. H.)	Ir. Gael. *cro*, *crodh*, an iron bar; Manx, *craue*, a lever to lift up stones.

"Pince, a *croe*, great barre or lever of iron." (Cotgrave.)

Crobs, *crob-lambs*, the worst of the flock (Cumb. F.)	W. *crob*, what is shrunk into a round heap; *crybwch*, what is shrunk or crinkled up; Ir. Gael. *crub*, to crouch, to cringe; Manx, *crubbagh*, shrunk, shrivelled
Cull, to pull, to enforce (Coles), to push or strike; s., a blow	Ir. Gael. *cul*, to push, to shove, to thrust; Ir. *cuilse*, a beating; Sans. *kal*, to go, to advance; (causal form), to throw

The "*cul* of the eax." (*Ancren Riwle*, 128.)

> "Ofte me (men) hine smæt, mid smærte gerden,
> Ofte me hinde *culde*."
>
> Layamon's *Brut*, ii, 429.

The editor, Sir F. Madden, translates the word *struck* (?) doubtfully.

English.	Celtic.
Dad, a piece (*N. H.*); Friesic, *dodd*, a lump	Ir. *dad*, somewhat, a small piece; Gael. *dud*, a small lump
Dag, a small, projecting stump of a tree (Dorset, H.), a sharp, sudden pain (Beds., Leeds)	Arm. *dag*, a dagger, a stiletto; *dagi*, to strike with a sharp-pointed instrument (Fr. *dague*); "*dac*, pugio ou c'est badalaire", a short sword (*Catholicon*, Le Men); O. W. *taig* (*tagi*), a nail, a peg; Ir. Gael. *tac*, a nail, a peg
Dallar, to dress in a great variety of colours (Linc., H.)	Ir. *dallr*, to gleam, to dazzle; Gael. *deallair*, to shine, to gleam; Ir. Gael. *dealradh*, brightness, splendour; Manx, *dallagh*, dazzling
Deary, small, puny. "A deary bairn" (Whitby) *Deary*, small, diminutive. "A deary bit" (Linc. Br.)	Ir. Gael. *dearoil*, *direoil*, poor, little, mean; Ir. *dèr*, small
Dill, to complete, to finish (Cumb. H.)	W. *dil*, work; *dilin*, worked, wrought; *dilio*, to work; Arm. *dilo*, activity
Dog, a part	W. *dog*, *dogn*, a share, a due quantity, a piece; "demensum, quantitas debita" (Dav.)

"When a part only of the moon can be seen, it is called a *dog*." (Furness, *Gl.*) This is also a boy's term. "A party of two or three playing at marbles, and putting two, or three, or more, in the ring, he who knocks out the number he put in is said to have 'got his *doogs*'." (Moor, *Suff. Gl.*) The word *donks* is also used with the same meaning.

Dos, a master (N. H.); sometimes pron. *joss*	Ir. *dos*, a nobleman, a hero; Ir. Gael. *dos*, a tuft; O. Ir. *doss*, name of a certain grade of poets (M'Cormack's *Gl.*, p. 15); Manx, *tosh*, principal, chief

The word *doss* is used in Suffolk for a tuft of grass. Whithals, in his Dictionary (1553), has *dosnel* (Ir. Gael. *dosan*, a tuft), meaning tufted or plumed. "The *dosnel* dawcock comes dropping in among the doctors."

English.	Celtic.
Drill, to tickle down (Nares), to drain, to percolate (Webs.); a small draught of liquor (H.)	Ir. Gael. *dril*, a drop; *drill*, to drop; Ir. Gael. *driog*; Manx, *drig*, a drop, a tear

"*Drylle*, or lytylle drafte of drynke; "haustillus". (*Prom. Parv.*)

"With that, swift watery drops *drill* from his eye."
Heywood (Nares).

Duff, a dark coloured clay (Kent, H.); coal-dust (N., Wr.)	Ir. Gael. *dubh*, dark, black; W. *du* black
Eever, the ray-grass (Dev., H.); *ever*, rye-grass, or darnel (Dev., H.); *every*, a species of grass (W., H.); rye-grass, "lolium perenne" (Dors.)	W. *efr*, Corn. *efer*, darnel, the ray or rye-grass
Elk, a species of bird, the wild swan or hooper, "cygnus ferus" (Webs.); Germ. *alk*, the auk or scout	W. *alcys*, wild swans, "cygnus sylvestris" (Dav.); Ir. Gael. *eala*, O. Ir. *ela*, a swan
Falc, a barren place (?)	Ir. Gael. *falc*, sterility, barrenness from drought; adj., barren, dry; Manx, *volgey*, to roast, to parch

"i spend an marrit is mi main, as *falc* i falow an felde."
E. Eng. Poem, Phil. Soc., 1859.

Mr. Furnivall, the editor, supposes a plant to be meant, but more probably a dry, barren place in a field.

Fell, cautious, discreet, clever, crafty (N. H.); A. S., *fell*, cruel, severe	W. *ffel*, Corn. *fel*, wily, subtle, cunning; Ir. *fileoir*, a crafty man

"And loke thou be wyse and *felle*,
And therto also that thow gouerne the (thee) welle."
Babees Book, p. 13.

Fell. "A workman will say that if he cannot complete his work he will not catch a *fell* this week." He takes a *fell* when he has completed a job. (Nhamp. B.)	O. Ir. *fél*, a festival, a holiday (*Ir. Gloss.*, p. 70); Ir. Gael. *feil* (id.); Manx, *feeail*, a feast, a vigil; W. *gwyl*, a holiday, a festival
Fise, a witch or wizard	Ir. *fise*, a seer, a sorcerer; Ir. Gael. *fios*, knowledge; Manx, *fys*, knowledge; *fyssee*, a sorcerer

"But be that senstere (sempstress) ded, Mary that *fise*,
We shall brenne here body, and the aschis hide."
Cov. Myst., p. 385.

Frith,—"a plain between woods" (Kersey, Blount); unused pasture-land (Lanc.), a field taken from a wood (Craven)	W. *ffrith*, a forest, a plantation, woodland; Ir. *frith*, a wild, mountainous place; Gael. *frith*, a forest

"Out of forest and *frithes* and all faire wodes."
Will. and the Werw., p. 80.

"All that euyr his lond with-held
Frithe or forest, towne or filde,
With tresur owte bogte he."
Sir Amadace, p. 56.

"ȝonon anlag mearce...æt ȝære baran *fyrhȝe*" (thence along the boundary to the bare or open frith).—Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, iii, 130. "This is the British *Frith*."—Kemble.

English.	Celtic.
Gain, a bevelled shoulder of a binding joist (Webs.); the levelling shoulder of the joist, or other timber (Bailey)	W. *gàn*, a mortise; Arm. *genn*, coin, "pièce de bois ou de fer taillée en angle aigu"; W. *gaing*, Ir. Gael. *geinn*, a wedge
Gare, a rough kind of wool that grows about the shanks of sheep (Bailey)	Ir. Gael. *gèr*, *gear*; W. *garw*, rough, coarse; Manx, *garroo*, rough
Garm, a loud noise, an outcry	W., Arm., Corn., *garm*, a cry, a shout, an outcry; Ir. Gael. *gairm*, id.

"Such a gomerly (sad) *garm* of gelling ther rysed
Therof clatered the cloudes that kryst mygt haf rawthe."
Allit. Poems, p. 67.

There is a related word, *gaure*, to cry, to shout (H.); sometimes in the form *garr*, to cry, to chirp; O. H. G., *kerren*, to chatter	W. *gawr*, a cry; *gawri*, to shout; Ir. *gair*, to call, shout, bawl; Sans. *gri*, to sing, to cry out
Gingran, the stinking toad-flax	W. *gingroen*, the stinking toad-flax ("antirrhinum linaria", P.). Davies (*Welsh Bot.*) says that the W. *gingroen* is the stinking morel ("phallus impudicus"), and that the toad-flax is called *gingroen fechan*

"Reason is an excellent limbeck, and will extract rare quintessences; but if you put in nothing but mushrooms, or egg-shells, or the juice of coloquintada, or the filthy *gingran*, you must expect productions accordingly, useless or unpleasant, dangerous or damnable." (Bp. Jer. Taylor, *Duct. Dub.*, i, ii, 32.)

Glave, smooth, polite (N. Br.) *Glaver*, to flatter *Glavver*, to talk endearingly (Whitby, E. D. S.); A. S., *gliwere*, a flatterer	W. *glaf*, smooth, glistening; *glafru*, to flatter; Ir. Gael. *glafar*, chatter

"That takes not her lyf in vayne,
Ne *glaueres* her neghbor wyth no gyle."
Allit. Poems, p. 21.

"'Sir,' sais 'Syr Gawayne, 'so me God helpe,
Sich *glaverande* gomes greves me bot lytille.'"
Morte Art., p. 212.

In the Irish use:

"Thenne suche a *glauerande* glam (Ir. *glam*) of gedered rachches Ros, that the rocheres rungen aboute." (Sir Gawayne, p. 46.)

English.	Celtic.
Glen, a secluded valley; *glyn*, id.	W. *glyn*, Corn. *glen*. Ir. *gleann*, a valley

"And wooes the widow's daughter of the *glen*." (Spenser.)

Grig, the herb called heath' (Salop, J., Chesh.)	W. *grug* (pron. *grig*), Corn. *grig*, heath
Guary, *garye*, a play, a dramatic entertainment	Corn. *gwary*, W. *chware*, sport, pastime, a play, Arm. *choari*, game, amusement

"This ys on of Brytayne layes
That was used by olde dayes.
Men callys playn the *garye*."
Emaré, 1032, H.

Guillam, the name of a bird (Ash, Bailey), the guillemot, *Uria Troile*	W. *gwilym*, a bird; "avis quædam" (Dav.)

"This species is the *gwilym* and *chwilog* (the latter term applicable to the state in which Pennant calls it the lesser guillemot) of the Welsh, and is called *willock* in the south of England, *skout* in Yorkshire, and *kiddaw* in Cornwall." (*Eng. Enc.*, N. S., iv, 1122.) The name is derived from "the sharp and rapid flight" of the bird. (*Eng. Enc.*) W. *gwill*, swift (Rich.); *gwilog*, full of starts.

From this point our selection must be confined within still narrower limits, from the want of space for a full exhibition of this class of words.

Harry, a jeering, interjectional imperative when a labourer or navigator is overladen and cannot wheel his barrow along. His fellow workmen then cry "Harry! harry!" (Nhamp., E.) O. H. G. *harên*, Prov. Sw. *harja*, to give a loud outcry	W. *haro*, an interjection expressing contempt or a slight; Arm. *harao*, cri tumultueux pour se moquer de quelqu'un; Fr. *harau*, *haro*, "cri, clamour pour implorer du secours, ou reclamer la justice." (Roquefort.)

The French corresponding word is a cry made by a distressed person, not against him.

Heck, to hop (W. P.)	W. *hec-ian*, to hop; *hegl*, a leg
Hocks, the mallow; *hock-herb*, id. (Ash)	W. *hocys*, the mallow; *hocys bendigaid*, the hollyhock.

"Rose d'outre mer, the garden mallow, called *hocks* and hollyhocks." (Cotgrave.) *Hok*, mallow. (*E. Eng. Voc.*, i, 265.) Many other country names of plants are from a Celtic source. I subjoin a few instances. *Fluellin*, the herb speedwell; W. *llysiau Llewelyn*. "Speedwell, otherwise called *Fluellin*." (Phillips.) "*Fluelline*, veronica." (Withal's *Dict.*, ed. 1602.) *Fion*, fox-glove; W. *ffion*. "*Fion*, camglata, foxesglove." (*E. Eng. Voc.*, i, 140.) *Lurkey-dish*, a country name for the pennyroyal; W. *llyrcadys*, the pennyroyal. (Davies, *W. Bot.*) *Matfelon*, the knapweed; W. *madfelen*; with many others.

Ivin, ivy (N. H., Clevel.), a Celtic termination	Corn. *hivin*, W. *ywen*, Manx, *hibin*, *hivin*, ivy
Kaff, a gardener's hoe (N. H.)	W. *caff*, a rake with curved prongs; W. *caib*, Ir. Gael. *caibe*, a mattock, a hoe
Kain, rent paid in kind (Webs., Nhumb.)	Ir. Gael. *cain*, rent, tribute, fine; *cana*, *canach*, tribute, amercement (Ir. Glosses, p. 47; Zeuss, 592)

A farm in the parish of Hedsor, co. Bucks., was formerly held by the service of bringing in the first dish at the lord's table, on St. Stephen's Day, and presenting him with two hens, a cock, a gallon of ale, and two manchets of white bread. (Blount's *Ten.*, 153.) "*Cain*, *kain*, a duty paid by a tenant to his landlord in kind, as *cane* cheese; *cane* fowls, etc." (Jamieson, *Sc. Dict.*)

Keffle, *kefyl*, a horse; generally an inferior, worn out horse (Som., Sal., etc.); O. N. *kapall*, a mare	W. *ceffyl*, Corn. *kevil*, a horse; Ir. Gael. *capall*, *capull*

"Sir Richard, having no more to say,
Mounted his *keffle* and rode away."
Rich. of Dalton Dale. (H.)

The Irish form is found in Chaucer and Piers Ploughman. The *Promp. Parvulorum* has "*capul* or *caple*, a horse" (p. 61, Way's ed.); "*caballus*, a horse; yet in some parts of England they do call a horse a *cable*" (Eylot's *Dict.*)

Lam, to run. "Ther wur a peeler after him. By Gow! didn't he *lam*!" (Leeds)	W. *llamu*, Corn. *lamme*, Arm. *lammet*, to leap, to bound
Lech, *leck*, a hard subsoil of gravel and clay (Cumb.)	W. *llech*, a hard, flat surface; slate, slate-rock

English.	Celtic.
Luche, to throw, to fling; *lutch*, to pulsate strongly, as an angry tumour (Lanc.)	W. *lluchio*, to throw, to fling, to dart

"Into that lodlych loze they *luche* hym (Jonah) synne,
He watz no tytter (sooner) out-tulde that tempest ne sessed."
Allit. Poems, p. 98.

Mawn, peat (Heref.)	W. *mawn*, id.
Meacon, sedge, carex (Levins); *makin*, the yellow flag (Lanc.); *meakin*, flags or bulrushes (Cumb.); *mackenboy*, a sort of spurge with a knotty root (Bailey)	Ir. Gael. *meacan*, a plant with a tuberous root; *meacan-buidhe* (pron. *macanboy*), the yellow macan or carrot; *m. l. antsleibhe* (of the mountain), the knot-rooted spurge

Mackenboy seems an imported word, though not so marked, but the others are native.

Merchet, a fine anciently paid by inferior tenants to the lord of the manor, for liberty to dispose of their daughters in marriage (B.)[1]	W. *merch*, a daughter, a woman; Arm. *merch*, fille
Nin, a child's word for drink	Ir. Gael. *nin*, a wave; *nin-os*, a cloud; O. Ir. *nin-us*, water of a foss, or a wave (Cormack's *Gl.*, p. 31); O. W. *non*, a stream; Sans. *ninv*, to wet, to moisten

The word that children call their drink by, as our children say *ninne* or *bibbe*. (Florio, p. 64, H.)

Nuchid, ill nourished (Sal. *Sat. Rev.*, Oct. 11, 1879.)	W. *nychu*, to pine, to fade away
Othar, to be decrepit, to work feebly (Holderness, E. D. S.)	Ir. *othar*, sick, weak; Ir. Gael. *odhar*, pale, wan
Ounin, a weak, spoiled boy (N. H.)	Ir. Gael. *ouna*, silly (*ounin*, a silly one); Corn. *ownec*, a coward
Oye, a grandchild (N. Br.)	Manx, *oe*, Ir. *ua*, Ir. Gael. *ogha* (pron. *oha*), a grandchild
Polly-ully, a game in which a flat piece of earthenware, or the like, is jerked with a hop through the compartments of an oblong division of the ground (Clevel. Whitby)	Gael. *pulag*, a round stone; W. *pal*, a flat body (?), a spade; Arm. *pàl*, "pierre plate et ronde qui sert à jouer"; Ir. Gael. *ula*, *uladh*, a jerk

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[1] "Mulcta quædam apud Britannos quæ olim domino solvebatur pro virginum castitate". (Bracton, quoted by Davies *s. v. Amobr.*) "British certainly is *Mercheta* of the Scottish feuds (and of English, see Blount's *Tenures*), and is apparently nothing more than the *merched* of Howel Dha, the daughterhood, or fine for the marriage of a daughter." (Whitaker, *Hist. of Manchester*, ii, b. i, c. 8). In the Welsh laws the fine is called *amobyr*. The Fr. *marchet* denoted the same commutation-fee (Roquefort, *s. v.*)

English.	Celtic.
Pant, a hollow (W., Lanc., Cumb.), a cistern, a reservoir (N. H.)	W. *pant*, a hollow
Partan, a crab (Nhumb.)	Ir. Gael. *partan*, a crab (*Ir. Gl.*, p. 70)
Peel, a fort, a stronghold; *peel-house*, a stockade, a small fortress (Cumb.)[1]	W. *pill*, a fort (prim. a stock of a tree); Arm. *pill*, "tronçon de bois"; Manx, *peeley*, a tower or fortress

"The romance, it says Richarde did make a *pele*
On kastell-wise, allwaies wrought of tre (tree) ful wele."
Rob. de Brunne's *Chron.*, p. 157.

"There met I crying many one,
A larges! larges! hold up well!
God save the lady of this *pell!*
Our owne gentill Ladie Fame."
Chaucer, *House of Fame*, iii, 220.

Poothy, close and hot, applied to weather (Nhamp.)	W. *poeth*, hot, burning, fiery
Poothery, close, muggy, sultry (Leic., Warw. E. D. S.)	
Rann, a division of a net (Suss.)	W. *rhan*, Arm. *rann*, Ir. Gael. *rann*, a part, a division
Raths, ancient mounds or earthworks (Whitby, E. D. S.)	Ir. Gael. *rath*, W. *rhath*, a hill, a mound
Rills, passages, as *foot-rills* in coal-works open to the air (Staff.)	W. *rhill*, a furrow, a trench
Rodney, an idle fellow who wanders about (Staff.)	W. *rhodiad*, a stroller; *rhodiena*, to stroll about; *rhodienai*, a gadding gossip
Ross, a morass (Heref.); *rosland*, heathy or moorish land (Webster)	W. *rhos*, a moor; Arm. *ros*, "tertre couvert de fougère ou de bruyère"; Ir. Gael. *ros*, a plain
Sarn, a pavement, stepping-stones (Webster, Ash)	W. *sarn*, a pavement, causeway, stepping-stones
Seen, a cow's teat or pap (B.), (Kent, H.)	Ir. Gael. *sine*, a teat, a nipple; *sin*, round; Manx, *shinney*, id.
Skain, *skeen*, a sword; *skane*, to cut shellfish out of the shell (Whitby)	Ir. Gael. *sgian*, a knife (*Ir. Gl.*, 74); Manx, *skynn*, a knife; W. *ysgien* (*skien*), a cutter, knife, scimitar

Skainsmate, a comrade

"The Saxons of her sorts the very noblest were,
And of those crooked *skains* they used in war to bear,
Which in their thundering tongue the Germans hand-seax name,
They Saxons first were called." *Polyolbion*, iv, 737.

"His arme is strong,
In which he shakes a *skeine* bright, broad, and long."
Heywood, *Brit. Troy*, iii, 50.

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[1] Mr. Brocket says, *s. v.* "Peel", that they were defences "of earth mixed with timber, strengthened by piles or palisades."

"Scurvy knave! I am none of his flirt-gills. I am none of his *skains-mates.*" (*Rom. and Jul.*, ii, 4.)

English.	Celtic.
Speyre, the flap at the front of a woman's under-clothing, the pocket-hole of a gown or petticoat	Ir. Gael. *spaidhir* (pron. *speyr*), the pocket-hole of a petticoat, flap of breeches

Speyre of a garment, "cluniculum,[1] manubium" (*Promp. Parv.*) *Spare*, "mancupium" (*E. Eng. Voc.*, i, 238.)

"Telling this pyteous tale,
How my byrd so fayre,
That was wont to repayre,
And go in at my *spayre*,
And crep in at my gor
Of my goune before."
Philip Sparrow (Skelton).

Stoor, dust, dust in motion (N. Br.); *stour*, dust (Craven, Dev.)	Ir. Gael. *stur*, Manx, *stoor*, dust
Taffle, to spread hay, to beat down wheat or grass (Dors.); to throw into disorder (Cumb.)	W. *tafl*, a cast, a throw; *taflu*, to throw, cast, project
Tigh, *teage*, a close, an enclosure (in old records; Bailey); A. S. *tige*, a tie, a band, a bag	Ir. Gael. *tigh*, *teagh*, a house; Manx, *tigh*, *thie*; W. *ty*, id.
Titty, a cat (N. H.); *tit*, a cat (Nhamp.), used for calling a cat (Leeds)	W. *titw*, puss, a fond name for a cat
Towse. "Can this be a form of dough?" (Marsh)	W. *toes*, dough, paste of bread; Arm. *toaz*, *toez*, paste, "farine detrempie et pétrie"; Ir. *taes*, dough (*Ir. Gl.*, p. 60; *Goidelica*, p. 29)

"These iiij soteltees devised in *towse*,
Wher they ben shewed in an howse,
Hit dothe gret plesaunce."
Babees Boke, p. 169.

Ugeeh'n, twenty (Yorks. Dales, E. D. S.)	W. *ugain*, twenty; Corn. *ugens*, *ugent*, id.; O. W. *ucent*; "also urkeltisch *vikent*" (Fick); Lat. *viginti*, Sans. *vinçati*
Waith, the figure or apparition of a person about to die, or recently dead (N.)	Corn. *veth*, W. *gwedd*, a figure, a form, or shape
Whap, a blow, to strike smartly (H.); *whappet*, a blow on the ear (Dev.)	W. *chwap*, a blow; *chwapio*, to strike smartly
Whig, buttermilk (Lanc.), a drink prepared from fermented whey (Webs.)	W. *chwig*, buttermilk; adj., sour, fermented

[1] "*Cluniculum*, le pertuis (opening) qui es vestemens des femmes ioust le coste." (*Cathol. Abbrev.*, 1477.)

"*Whigged.* This term now describes some defect in a culinary preparation of milk." (Hunter, Hallam, *Gl.*) In Lancashire milk is said to be *whigged* when it has become sour.

"If you go to Nun Keling, you shall find your belly filling
Of *whig* or of whay;
But go to Swine, and come betime,
Or else you go empty away.
But the Abbot of Meaus doth keep a good house
By night and by day."

Yorks. Rhyme (Hunter).

English.	Celtic.
Wlon, wool or nap	W. *gulan*, wool; sometimes *wlan*, as *cnu o wlan*, a fleece of wool

"When somme of them walketh with clouted shon (shoes)
And clothes ful feble, wel neigh forwerd (worn out),
And the *wlon* offe."

Piers Pl. Creed, l. 1462.

Our following list will be of words that vary in vowel or consonantal sounds from the Celtic forms which are now in use.

J. Davies.

OF THE POLITICAL VALUE OF CASTLES UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF THE CONQUEROR.

It is rather remarkable that castles should not occupy, even incidentally, a more prominent place in the *Domesday Survey*, as they formed a very important feature in the country; were closely, for the most part, attached to landed property, and were of great political importance. No great baron was without a castle upon each of his principal estates, nor was any bishop secure of his personal safety unless so provided. At the death of the Conqueror it was the possession of Winchester Castle that gave to William Rufus the royal treasure, and enabled his adherents to acquire the castles of Dover and Hastings, and thus, at the commencement of his reign, to

secure a safe communication with Normandy. The power of his party depended largely upon their fortresses. Archbishop Lanfranc held Saltwood, which the earthworks shew even then to have been strong; William de Warren held Lewes and Ryegate, and the strong hill of Coningsburgh in Yorkshire; Chester belonged to Earl Hugh, who was supported by his fifteen barons, each of whom had his castle; and in North Wales the Earl held Diganwy, which, covered in front by the Conwy water, closed the seaward pass from that aggressive district. With the Earl, and on the side of Rufus, were Robert de Tilliol, who held Flint and Rhuddlan, and Scaleby and other castles on the Scottish border; while Bishop Wolstan, representing the English feeling, held his episcopal castle of Worcester against Urso d'Abitot and a swarm of Marcher barons who crossed the Severn to assail him.

Nevertheless, the lords of the castles were mostly on the side of Duke Robert. Such were Alan the Black and Ribald his brother, the lords of Richmond and Middleham; Stephen of Holderness, strong in his sea-girt rock of Scarborough; the Mowbrays, Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutance, Justiciary to the Conqueror, and a great soldier; and Robert Mowbray, his brother's son, who held the impregnable rock of Bamborough and the great castle of Axholm in the fens of Lincolnshire; both strong, though in a different kind of strength. With them was the powerful Earl Roger of Shrewsbury with his border following; and at a later period Robert de Belesme, his successor, builder of Bridgenorth and Carreghova, and superior lord of many border castles. In the west, Duke Robert was supported by Bernard Newmarch, who held the castles of Brecknock and Builth, and a large and fortified tract of Monmouthshire; with whom were William of Bretuil, son of William Fitz-Osborn, and lord of Hereford; Roger de Lacy of Ewias; and William Earl of Eu, the owner of the strong rock of Hastings, and who at that time held the castle and walled city of Gloucester. Besides these great

leaders were, on the same side, Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore; Walter Giffard, whose castle on one bank of the Buckinghamshire Ouse, combined with a similar moated mound on the other, commanded that town and its river; Ralph Guader, who held Norwich; and Hugh Bigod, his successor there, lord of Framlingham, after Norwich the strongest place, both in earthworks and masonry, in East Anglia. Between Bristol and Bath the Mowbrays ravaged the country up to the tower of Berkeleyness, the present castle being then but an earthwork; and with them were Hugh de Grainmaisnel, who held Hinckley and Leicester castles; and William de Carileph, at first one of William's prime councillors; but who afterwards changed sides, and was enabled to do so with safety from his possession of the keep of Durham. Bishop Odo, who held Rochester Castle (even then a place of great strength), and with it the passage of the Medway, placed there Eustace of Boulogne; and himself, with his brother Earl Robert and five hundred knights, held the Roman Pevensey, strengthened by some English additions in earth.

Rufus, however, with far more energy than his brother Robert, had also the popular feeling on his side, which enabled him to make head even against this powerful combination. He laid siege to Pevensey, and took it after a seven weeks' siege. He then assailed and took Rochester, and finally Tonbridge, held by Gilbert Fitz-Richard, the consequence of which was the banishment of Bishop Odo. Robert Mowbray was beaten back from before the walls of Ilchester Castle, now utterly destroyed; and Bishop William was forced to surrender Durham. Carlisle, wasted by the Danes in 877, received from Rufus in 1091-92 a castle and a keep, now standing; and Newcastle, similarly provided in 1080, with Cumberland became incorporated into England. In 1098 Malcolm of Scotland, the husband of St. Margaret, was slain before Alnwick, then better known as Murielden; and Mowbray was driven from Tynewald Castle back upon Bamborough, which seems to have been

finally taken by means of a Malvoisin, which in this instance was evidently an entrenched camp thrown up to the west of the Castle, and employed probably as the headquarters of a blockade. In this reign also the conquest of South Wales was completed, and the foundations laid of a chain of castles from Gloucester and Hereford to Pembroke, the main links of which were Chepstow and Abergavenny, Caerleon and Cardiff, Builth and Brecknock, Caerkennen, Caermarthen, Cardigan, Tenby, and Carew. How far these Welsh castles were at once constructed of masonry is uncertain. Besides Chepstow, two only, or at most three, and those subordinate, Ogmore, Penlline, and Newcastle, exhibit decided Norman features; but however this may be, neither Fitz-Hamon, Newmarch, nor Arnulph of Montgomery, were likely, in the face of foes so formidable, to be satisfied with defences in any way inferior to the strongest of that day.

The reign of Henry I was prolific in castles. It is probable that to him is due the greater number of our extant rectangular keeps, by the construction of which he carried to completion the plans sketched out by his father, and which his brother had been too busy, and too much pressed, to take in hand. In this reign, especially between 1114 and 1121, most of the Welsh castles were completed. Bristol and Cardiff Castles were the work of Robert Earl of Gloucester. Bishop Roger of Salisbury built Sherborne, Salisbury, the Devizes, and Malmesbury; and his brother, Alexander of Lincoln, Sleaford and Newark. "Castella erant crebra per totam Angliam." Most of these were great and strong, very different from the hasty and unlicensed structures of the succeeding reign.

Henry, like Rufus, commenced his reign with the taking of Winchester with its treasures. Flambard, who had been entrusted with the great episcopal castles of Durham and Norham, was imprisoned in the keep of London. The outlawry of Robert Malet and Robert de Lacy in 1101 gave Henry their castles in Yorkshire

and Suffolk; and in 1102 Ivo de Graintmaisnel was driven from his stronghold at Hinkley, and forced to flee the country. Also the King obtained, by forfeiture, the castle of William de Warenne, though this was afterwards restored. Henry in 1103 laid his hands upon Arnulph de Montgomery's castle of Pembroke, and on those of Robert of Poitou, his brother, between the Ribble and the Mersey. The death of William Earl of Moretaine brought in the almost impregnable hill-castle of Montacute, with Trematon, Launceston, Tintagel, Boscastle, and Restormel, and other Cornish fortresses. The fall of Robert de Belesme gave the crown the castles of Arundel,—a lesser Windsor in its plan, and scarcely inferior in its position; of Shrewsbury, the mound of which still towers over the Severn, and dwarfs even the extensive and incongruous railway-station at its foot; of Bridgenorth, where a fragment of the keep shews what it must once have been; and of Carreghova, of which the very traces are well nigh effaced. Belesme retired to Normandy, where he is said to have been lord of thirty-four castles; but the fragments of his power only betrayed him into further rebellion, so that he ended his life a prisoner and an exile on the castled mound of Wareham.

There still remained, indeed, in private hands a considerable number of castles, the owners of which found it convenient to give way, and thus to retain a portion of their influence. Such were Bourne in Lincolnshire; Malton, held by Fitz-John, in Yorkshire; Beaudesert in Warwickshire, the episcopal castles of Newark and Sleaford, and that of Oakham. There were also Warblington in Hampshire; and in Cumberland, Egremont and Cockermouth.

The rebellion of 1118 gave to Henry the castles of Hugh de Gournay in the west, of Stephen of Albemarle at Scarborough, of Eustace of Bretuil, of Richard de l'Aigle, and of Henry Earl of Eu; together with the Mowbray castles of Thirsk, Malzeard, and Burton in Lonsdale. Nearly the whole of the strongholds thus

acquired were retained by Henry in his own hands, and Suger states that in Normandy the principal castles were by him either held or destroyed: "Fere omnes turres et quæcunque fortissima castra Normanniæ...aut eversum iri fecit...aut si dirutæ essent propriæ voluntati subjugavit." In either country he laid hands on the castles; but where the delinquents held in both, it was upon those in England that the forfeiture was most rigidly enforced. Among the exceptions were William de Roumare, who was allowed to hold Lincoln; and similar protection was shewn to Ralph de Conches, William de Tancarville, William de Warrene, Walter Giffard, and William d'Albini. Among their castles were Ryegate, Lewes, Coningsburgh, and Castle Rising, Buckingham and Arundel.

It has been said that Henry did not himself construct any new castles. This is probable enough, as all the sites of importance had been occupied by his father; but it is not improbable, judging from the internal evidence afforded by their remains, that he completed such of his father's castles as were left unfinished. Of baronial castles, the grand fortress of Kenilworth, by far the most important strong place in the midland counties, was constructed in this reign, though very probably upon an English site, by the founder of the house of Clinton. In this reign also were probably constructed the masonry of Northampton Castle, by Simon de St. Liz, of Old Sarum and Odiham by Bishop Roger. The keep of St. Briavel's, now destroyed, was reconstructed, or built of masonry; and Ralph Flambard laid the foundations, and seems to have completed, the keep of Norham.

Stephen.

The issue of the contest between Matilda and Stephen turned very much upon the castles over which each had control. It was again by the seizure of Winchester Castle and its treasure that Stephen was able to celebrate his coronation in the adjacent cathedral. It was

under the walls of Reading Castle, strongly placed between the Kennet and the Thames, that he trusted himself to meet Matilda's adherents, and with them to lay the corpse of her father before the altar of the great Abbey that he had founded, and the ruins of which have long survived those of its secular neighbour. From Oxford, strong in its walled city and partially water-girdled keep, Stephen issued his first charter, so full of promises to his new subjects; and from thence he went to Durham, one of the strongest castles of the north, to meet David of Scotland, who had wasted the border from Carlisle to Newcastle, and taken Alnwick and Norham, though foiled before Wark and Bamborough. One of David's principal concessions was the Castle of Newcastle. On the other hand he obtained the confirmation to him of that of Carlisle, long the gate of Scotland. The two, posted one at each end of the lines of Severus and Hadrian, are still tolerably perfect, as is the impregnable Bamborough, the Norman keep of which, in Stephen's time, was new.

From Oxford, still his central stronghold, on his return to the south Stephen conceded his second charter, less distinct in its promises as the danger of his position seemed less pressing. On the report of his death in 1136, it was trust in their strong castles of Exeter, Plympton, Okehampton, Norwich, Framlingham, and Bungay, that encouraged Baldwin de Redvers and Hugh Bigod to rise in arms. Bath had then a castle, and was a walled town. Stephen laid siege to and took the Castle, and thence, with two hundred horse, rode to Exeter, where Rougemont, its citadel, was strong and well garrisoned. The siege was a remarkable one, and the warlike machines employed both within and without were of a formidable character. The citizens were with Stephen, so the attack was on the city front. The bridge, still standing, from the city was one point of attack. A "malvoisin" was constructed, whence stones were poured in upon the garrison; the walls were ruined, and the towers much injured. Finally the well

ran dry, and the garrison surrendered upon terms. Plympton also capitulated, and Norwich was taken.

On Stephen's arrival from Normandy, in 1137, he secured the castles of Bourne, Wareham, and Corfe, the two latter held by Fitz-Alured and Redvers. A second rising, in 1138, timed with an invasion by the Scots, turned in some degree upon the strength of the castle of Bedford, then including a pair of moated mounds on the opposite banks of the Ouse, of which one is entirely removed, and the other remains deprived of its masonry, and shorn of its fair dimensions. This castle was held by the sons of Milo de Beauchamp, its owner, and only surrendered after a long and severe siege conducted by Stephen in person, and which terminated in a blockade. The defence was very able, and the surrender upon fair terms.

Meantime David, linking the interests of Matilda with his own claims to the great earldom of Huntingdon, twice crossed the border in the spring of 1128, retiring as Stephen approached, but a third time returning in August. He took Norham, and much injured its superb keep, built by Bishop Flambard in 1121, a noble ruin which still frowns over the Tweed, and is rich in historical recollections. Bamborough, Alnwick, and Malton, were held for Stephen by Eustace Fitz-John. Parts of the wall and inner gate of Alnwick are of about this date; but Malton has disappeared, though the previous Roman camp may still be traced. David's progress was also checked by Clitheroe, a very strong castle, of which the Norman keep, one of the very smallest extant, crowns the top of an almost impregnable rock.

At this period Stephen's position was most critical. Against him, on the Welsh Marches, Talbot held Goderich and Hereford, while Ludlow and Dudley, Shrewsbury and Whittington, were in the hands of Paganel, Fitz-Alan, and William Peverel. Further south, the barons of Somerset were encouraged against him by William de Mohun from his hold at Dunster, strong

naturally and by art; and by Fitz-John at Harptree, a castle in the defiles of the Mendips; while Maminot both held and strongly augmented Dover. Stephen, however, was active and he was brave. Leaving Archbishop Thurstan to muster and encourage his northern supporters, he himself marched south, strengthened the garrison of Bath, and threatened Bristol. Thence he entered Somerset, and took by siege the Lovel seat of Castle Cary, of which the earthworks cover a hillside; secured Harptree by surprise, and thence doubled back upon Hereford, which won, he next recovered the old British and English fortress of Pengwern or Shrewsbury. Bristol alone held out, strong in its newly built keep, and in the presence of Robert Earl of Gloucester, its builder.

The "battle of the Standard", A.D. 1138, was fought in the open field, under the leadership of D'Aumale; but it was also named from North Allerton, where, intersected by the railway, are still seen formidable earthworks far older than Bishop Puiset's castle which surmounted them, and was afterwards entirely razed by Henry II. The victory of North Allerton was enhanced by the capture of Dover by Stephen's Queen. The castle of Carlisle still remained in the possession of King David, and from thence he renewed the war, and in the following year obtained for his son Henry the earldom of Northumberland; with the exception, however, of the castles of Newcastle and Bamborough.

When, in 1139, Stephen's change of policy lost him the support of the clergy, led by his ambitious brother the Bishop of Winchester, his first blow was struck at the episcopal castles. Of these, the Devizes, Sherborne, and Malmesbury, belonged to Bishop Roger of Sarum. Malmesbury, an episcopal encroachment upon the adjacent Abbey, was wholly the Bishop's work, and is now utterly destroyed. Sherborne, a very ancient episcopal seat, still retains its early earthworks, and a keep and gatehouse, the work of Bishop Roger; and although of the Devizes there remain but a few fragments of its

circular keep, the earthworks, the grandest in England, shew that it may well have deserved its great reputation. These Stephen seized upon, and he also took Newark upon Trent, still admired for its lofty and extended front, and for its magnificent Norman entrance. With Newark fell Sleaford, both built by Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, nephew of Bishop Roger, and also a great builder of castles. Sleaford is utterly demolished, and being entirely post-conquestal, had scarcely any earthworks to preserve its memory.

Among the events of this important year were the taking of Nottingham and Marlborough Castles by Stephen; his attack on Ludlow; the appearance on the scene of his rival, the Empress Matilda; and his siege of Arundel, in which castle she took refuge with D'Albini and Queen Adeliza his wife. Nottingham is gone. Of Marlborough only a fine mound remains, upon which stood its circular keep. Much of Ludlow, especially its rectangular keep, played a part in Stephen's siege, as did a part of the existing exterior wall, whence the grappling-hook was thrown by which the King was hooked, and was being dragged up to its battlements, when he was rescued by the Scottish Prince Henry. Arundel preserves its earthworks pretty much as they must have appeared in the reign of the Confessor; and with its shell-keep on its mound, and the original gatehouse at its foot, gives to the modern visitor a fair notion of the appearance of the defences before which Stephen pitched his camp. It was also in 1139 that De Redvers, returning to England, landed under the Conqueror's castle of Wareham, on the margin of the Poole water. From Wareham he proceeded to Corfe, a seat of the kings of Mercia, where he was besieged by Stephen.

It was during this period of the war between Stephen, Matilda, and the Church party, that were constructed the multitude of unlicensed castles ("castra adulterina") employed not merely for the security of the builders, but to enable them to prey upon their neighbours with

impunity. Nothing could well be worse than the circumstances under which these castles were built, and the purposes for which they were employed. "Stephen", says John of Tynemouth, quoted by Dugdale, "concessit ut quilibet procerum suorum munitionem, seu castrum, in proprio fundo facere posset." William of Jumieges and Malmesbury compare the times to those of Normandy during the minority of Duke William; and other writers declare the state of England to have resembled that of Jerusalem during the Roman siege. There was no rule and no responsibility. The unhappy peasants were forced to labour in the construction of the strongholds of tyranny. It would seem that these castles were built with great rapidity, and with but little expenditure of labour upon earthworks, for in the next reign they were destroyed without difficulty, and scarcely any of their sites are now to be recognised. They were the work of the lesser barons, probably with the connivance of their chief lords, or even of Stephen and Matilda, who were little scrupulous as to the terms on which they accepted assistance. This multiplication of castles without the licence of the sovereign was no novelty, and was forbidden by the celebrated "Edictum Pistense" of Charles the Bald in 864, by which it was expressly ordered that all "castella et firmitates, et haias, sine nostro verbo fecerunt", should be at once dismantled ("disfectas"), because they are an injury to the district ("vicini et circummanentes exinde multas depredationes et impedimenta sustinent").

Another irregularity was the admission to the title of earl of several persons unfitted to receive so great an honour, and whose only claim to distinction was that they were leaders of mercenaries. Moreover, Stephen was not in a condition to endow them with the third penny of the revenues of a county, the usual appanage of an earl. Many of the earls created by Stephen stood, however, in a very different position. Such were Geoffrey de Mandeville, Lord of Plessy and Walden, who accepted the Earldom of Essex from both parties;

Alberic de Vere, who built the noble keep of Hedingham, and was the first of the long line of the Earls of Oxford; Hugh Bigod, who held the Earldom of Norfolk; Richard de Clare, that of Hertford; D'Aumale, of Yorkshire; Gilbert de Clare, of Pembroke; Robert de Ferrers, of Derby; Hugh de Beauchamp, of Bedford; and probably William de Ypres, of Kent. He seems to have created, in all, nine; and the Empress six,—Cambridge, Cornwall, Essex, Hereford, Salisbury, and Somerset.

From Arundel, Matilda, it is said by Stephen's courtesy, moved to Bristol, where her brother, Robert Earl of Gloucester, held his castle on the marshy confluence of the Frome with the Avon. Robert also at that time held the royal Castle of Gloucester, long since destroyed, and a prison built on its site; and he was probably builder also of the shell-keep still standing upon the mound of Cardiff. At that time Matilda's friends held Dover, with the square keep of Canterbury, placed just within the enceinte of the far older city ditch, and almost within bowshot of the more venerable mound of Dane John. Mention is also made of the Castles of Trowbridge and Cerne as recently erected. The latter was taken by Stephen by storm, before the attack on Malmesbury. Trowbridge held out with success.

The great event of 1141 was the siege, or rather the battle, of Lincoln. The Castle had been surprised, and was held by Ranulph Earl of Chester and his half-brother William de Roumare. As Stephen approached, Earl Ranulph left the place secretly to procure assistance from the Earl of Gloucester. This was afforded, and the two Earls, with 10,000 men, some of them Earl Robert's Welsh followers, crossed the Trent, and found Stephen drawn up to receive them. The result of the battle was the capture of Stephen, and the confirmation of Earl Ranulph in Lincoln Castle. On this Matilda went to her royal Castle at Winchester, a part of the defences of the old Venta Belgarum, and characterised

by a large mound, now removed. Here Bishop Henry, safe in his rectangular keep of Wolvesey, still standing near the Cathedral, in the opposite angle of the city, treated with her almost as equal with equal, but acknowledged her as Lady of England. Their accord, however, was neither cordial nor of long duration. Upon the Queen's return, in some discredit, from London, an open quarrel broke out. She attacked Wolvesey, and the Bishop retaliated upon the royal Castle with better success.

Under the escort of Brian Fitz-Count and Milo, to whom Matilda had given the Earldom of Hereford and the "Castle and Mote" of that ancient city, she fled from Winchester, Earl Robert guarding her rear. They were pursued. Matilda reached Ludgershall Castle in safety, and then went to the Devizes; but Earl Robert was taken on the way by William of Ypres, and imprisoned in Rochester Castle. Stephen was then a prisoner in Bristol Castle; and in November 1141 the Earl and King were exchanged. A month later, at the Synod of Westminster, the pains of excommunication were denounced against all who built new castles, or offered violence to the poor,—a significant conjunction.

Stephen's illness and Earl Robert's absence in Normandy checked for a short time active hostilities, and meantime Stephen held the Tower of London, and Matilda the Castle of Oxford. Late in 1142 Stephen attacked and took Oxford, and blockaded the castle until the winter set in, and the stock of provisions fell short. The Thames was frozen, and the ground covered with snow, by the aid of which Matilda, robed in white, escaped across the river, and fled to Fitz-Count at Wallingford. The castle was then surrendered. Its grand mound is yet untouched; and below it, upon the river, is a large square tower of the eleventh century. Part of the city wall also remains.

Before Reading, Stephen had taken several strong but less important fortresses, such as Bow and Arrow castle on the Cliff of Portland, which still remains, and

Carisbroke, the strength of the Isle of Wight. He took also Lulworth, in Purbeck, represented by a far later residence. Cirencester, which he burned, seems never to have been restored; and Farringdon, built in haste by the Earl of Gloucester, was also swept away. Stephen's strength, however, lay in London and the east; and that of Matilda about Gloucester and Bristol, and in the west. Stephen also held Pevensey. The great midland barons stood aloof, biding their time. Thus Roger de Bellomont and his brother Waleran, of Meulan, held Leicester with its Roman walls and English earthworks, protected by the meads of the Soar; along the edge of which, and at the foot of the mound, is still seen the Norman Hall, and hard by the stately church of St. Mary de Castro, also in large part Norman. They also held Mount Sorrell, at that time a strong castle built upon a rock of syenite; but now quarried away, both rock and castle, to macadamise the highways of the metropolis. Saher de Quincy was strong about Hinkley, where the early mound, stripped of its masonry (if, indeed, it ever received any), still guards the eastern entrance to the town. The Earl of Chester held Lincoln as his own; and the hill of Belvoir, the cynosure of the Midland, was guarded by the grand shell-keep of Trusbut and De Ros, burned down and rebuilt after a tasteless fashion in our own days.

In 1146 death deprived Matilda of the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford. She retired to Normandy; but her place was taken by the young Plantagenet, her son. In this year also Stephen availed himself of the presence of the Earls of Chester and Essex at his court to seize their persons, and to force them to render up, the one the Castles of Lincoln and Northampton; the other that of Plessy, of which the moated mound and contained church are still seen; and Stansted Montfitchet, now almost a railway station, and which vied with the old castle of the Bishop of London at Stortford. Walden, also thus gained, is still famous for its earthworks and for the fragment of its Norman keep, composed,

like Bramber and Arques, of flint rubble deprived of its ashlar casing.

Earl Geoffrey having thus purchased his liberty, employed it in burning the Castle of Cambridge, the mound of which, sadly reduced in size, still overlooks the river. While in pursuit of the Earl, Stephen is said to have built certain new and probably temporary castles. More probably he refortified with timber some of the moated mounds, such as Clare, Eye, and Bures, and of which there are many in Essex and Suffolk. Works in masonry he certainly had neither time nor means then to construct. Soon afterwards the Bishop of Winchester ceased to be papal legate, and found it convenient to support his brother's party, and persuaded him to refuse permission to Archbishop Theobald to attend the new Pope at Rheims. Theobald, however, defied the King, and on his return took shelter within the unusually lofty walls and strong earthworks of Framlingham, a Bigod castle in Suffolk. About this time mention is made of castles at Cricklade in Wilts, at Tetbury and at Winchcombe in Gloucestershire. There was also a castle at Coventry, and at Downton in Wiltshire, still celebrated for its moot-hill.

In 1149 York opened its gates to young Henry of Anjou, who assembled a considerable force, with which he met the royal army at Malmesbury, though without an actual collision. Of 1151 is on record a curious convention in which the Earls of Leicester and Chester were concerned, under which no new castles were to be built between Hinkley and Coventry, Coventry and Donnington, Donnington and Leicester; nor at Gateham, nor Kinoulton, nor between Kinoulton and Belvoir, Belvoir and Oakham, and Oakham and Rockingham. In 1152 occurred the celebrated siege of Wallingford, held for Matilda by Brian Fitz-Count. Enough of Wallingford remains to shew how strong it must formerly have been; and the temporal was fully equalled by the spiritual power, for the town, always small, contained as many churches as apostolic Asia. Stephen,

unable to approach the Castle from its landward side, threw up a work still to be traced at Crowmarsh, on the left bank of the river, and there posted his engines. Young Henry, holding Malmesbury, Warwick, and about thirty other not very distant castles, marched to the relief of Wallingford, and invested the lines of Crowmarsh, besieging the besiegers. Stephen advanced to their aid from London, and Henry seems to have moved into the town, holding the passage of the river at the bridge by a special work. Wallingford was thus saved, and Henry, early in 1153, laid siege to Stamford, where, as at York, Hertford, and Buckingham, two mounds (of which one now remains), commanded the river, and stormed Nottingham, where were similar works upon the Trent. Stephen, falling back into the eastern counties, took Ipswich, a castle of which even the site is lost.

The death of Eustace, Stephen's son, in August 1153, paved the way to an arrangement between the rivals. Stephen was to remain King, and Henry became his acknowledged successor. William, Stephen's surviving son, was to retain the Warren castles and estates, which included Ryegate, of which traces remain; Lewes, with its double mound and strong natural position; and Coningsburgh, an English site of excessive strength, though not then as yet celebrated for its noble tower. He also had the castles of Wirmegay and Bungay, Norwich, and the castle and honour of Pevensey. It was also agreed that the garrisons of the royal castles generally should swear allegiance to Henry and to Stephen; and the castellans of Lincoln, London, Oxford, Southampton, and Windsor, gave hostages that on Stephen's death they would give them over to Henry. It was also agreed at a conference at Dunstable in 1154, that all castles built since the death of Henry I should be destroyed; a clause which may be taken to shew that no absolutely new castles of very great importance had been built by Matilda or Stephen; also that all mercenary troops were to be sent back to their own

countries. The office of sheriff, as representing the crown in the counties, was to be strengthened.

Stephen died in October 1154, and his rival ascended the throne as Henry II without opposition.

G. T. C.

THE SYSTEM OF PLACE-NAMES IN WALES COMPARED WITH THAT OF ENGLAND.

THE nomenclature of places in any country forms a very interesting subject of inquiry in a variety of aspects. From being a topic fit only for fanciful interpretations and ingenious guesses, it has of late years acquired importance as a valuable adjunct to the historian and the philologer. When the historian has traced his narrative as far back as the faintest records will carry him, the names of places step in to supplement his labours, and offer a light, frequently clear and distinct, on the prehistoric condition of the country, and on the races by whom it was inhabited. I might cite the peninsula of Spain and Portugal as an eminent instance of this. It is a country which has been peopled by successive races from a time long before the dawn of history, and each race has left the print of its footmarks on the names of localities they occupied. Tracing its history backwards, for many ages the descendants of the Goths and the Moors contended for the mastery. Previous to this the Romans held sway for a long period. The Carthaginians before them were the lords paramount; and further, history cannot penetrate. But language applied to place-names proves unmistakably that before all these there was a Celtic race which peopled the country, and that the Phœnicians, the great merchants and navigators of antiquity, had there established and successfully carried on a large part of the commerce of the world. What is true of Spain

equally applies, in a greater or less degree, to other countries.

The subject of place-names has been ably treated by several writers of recent date, amongst whom may be noticed Messrs. Isaac Taylor, Edmunds, Ferguson, and Joyce. The general principles are fully understood; their application to particular instances will amply repay the slight amount of labour and research required. My object in the following paper is to compare the system of place-names in Wales with that adopted in England. We shall see that, with some amount of resemblance, there is much diversity, and that this diversity throws considerable light on the condition of the respective peoples at the time the names were imposed. Of course we all know that the greater part of the place-names in England are Teutonic, of the Low German or Saxon stock; and that the nomenclature in Wales is Celtic, of the Cambrian stock; but the principle on which these names were applied is not so obvious.

If we examine carefully the map of England we find the greater part of the names of the counties, towns, villages, and hamlets, formed out of the English tongue, and having a distinct and intelligible meaning; if not in current modern speech, at least in that spoken by the ancestors of the present inhabitants. In some districts a large portion of the names are patronymics, such as Billing, Harling, Tooting, etc. There are then the descriptions of habitations, the *tons*, *wicks*, *hams*, *steads*, *cots*, *stowes*; the relative positions, such as *high*, *low*, *east*, *west*, etc. Natural features, though not so common, are tolerably abundant,—*ford*, *brook*, *well*, *den*, *dale*, *holt*, *wood*, etc. This general description suffices to shew that these names were given by a people cognate with the present inhabitants, who at some time in the far past were in sufficient strength to colonise the country, and call it by their own name.

If we look a little closer we discover other phenomena. We find in various places, and especially round

the coast, intrusive patches of names allied to, but not identical with, the Saxon nomenclature, such as *by*, *thorpe*, *toft*, *hoe*, *thwaite*, etc. These overlie the Saxon names, and shew that subsequent to the Saxon settlement another race, proved by their language to be Danes or Northmen, dispossessed in these localities the previous holders, and gave their own names to the lands.

Proceeding further we find other names, of a different tongue, underlying the general Anglo-Saxon stratification, and evidently of older date. A large number of towns and villages in various parts of the kingdom have their names terminating in *chester*, frequently modified into *caster*, *caistor*, *ceter*, such as Dorchester, Manchester, Lancaster, Exeter, Wroxeter, etc. We can trace these, through the Saxon *ceaster*, to Latin *castra*, the term for a fortress. There are other names, such as *Colne*, Lat. *Colonia*; *Pontefract*, Lat. *Pons fractus* (broken bridge), which point in the same direction. Many names of Anglo-Saxon origin also refer to Roman remains existing at the time of the Saxon settlements. Ermin Street, Watling Street, and others, indicate the Roman paved roads (Lat. *strata*) which crossed the country in various directions. Stretton, Stratford, Chester-le-Street, and others, mark stations along these roads. In these names we have indelible proof of the existence in England, for a long period, of the strong, powerful, and to a great extent beneficial, supremacy of Rome.

But we have indications of higher antiquity still. There are various names which are merely Latinised forms of appellations in a previous language before the Roman conquest. *London* can be traced back to Roman *Londinium*, which is simply the Cymric *Llyn-din* (the fort on the pool) with a Latin termination. York, Exeter, Wroxeter, Brancaster, and other towns, take their names from similar combinations.

Proceeding on the same line, we further find that many of the natural features of the country are called

by names of purely Cymric origin. The Esk, the Axe, the Avon, the Dee, the Don, the Douglas, the Yarrow, etc., retain the names conferred long before the Saxon or even the Roman invasion. The mountains of the north of England, Helvellyn, Blencathra, Pen y Gant, Wernside, etc., also retain their Cymric appellations. From this we gather that, previous to the arrival of the Saxons or of the Romans, there are clear evidences, apart from written history, that the country was peopled by a Celtic race who have left behind few traces but the names, apparently indelible, which they gave to the great features of nature. It is far from improbable that, concealed by their Saxon suffixes, there may still exist in the names of places in England many relics of Cymric nomenclature hitherto undiscovered or unnoticed. This is a subject well worthy of further inquiry.

We have thus existing in England, independent of all written records, clear indications of the successive waves of population which overspread the country, and left their indelible marks behind. We have a *tableau* of history before our eyes, inscribed on the face of the country itself in characters which cannot be mistaken.

If we now turn to the Principality of Wales we shall find a very different state of things. Whether the Cymry are the *αὐτόχθονες* (the aboriginal inhabitants), I will not take upon myself to affirm. There is a theory that they were preceded by a Gaelic race who were gradually driven westward, and either exterminated or forced to cross the Channel to Ireland. Professor Rhys, in his excellent work on Welsh Philology, alludes to this theory, but holds it to be untenable. It may be so; but there are traditions which point in that direction, and which it is difficult to account for in any other way. The circular bases of huts sunk in the ground, which are found in such numbers on many points of the coast of North Wales, bear the traditional name of *cyttiau gwyddelod*, usually interpreted "the huts of the Irishmen." It may not have anything to do with Irishmen properly so called, *gwyddel* being pro-

bably a derivative from *gwydd*, trees. It is, therefore, the synonym for the English "savage", mediæval *selvage*, from *silva*, a wood. This certainly seems to imply that there had been a race of men, in a lower state of civilisation, preceding the Cymry, who conquered, and probably exterminated them; and that we have in these *cyttiau* the remains of their last strongholds. Be this as it may, these mythical aborigines have left, so far as we know, no impress on the nomenclature. Whether any of the cromlechs, maenhirs, stone circles, and camps, are of a period preceding the advent of the Cymry is a question not now coming within my purview.

The vast majority of the place-names in Wales are, then, pure Cymric; and so far as we can perceive they have not been intruded into any previous name-system. They are formed in a manner entirely different from the English, and give no indications of a conquering race. The prominent physical features of the land, the mountains, and rivers, would be the first named. For the former we find a variety of appellations, arising from their respective magnitude, form, colour, relative position, natural productions, and other circumstances—Mynydd, Breidden, Moel, Glyder, Ban, Bryn, Craig, Aran. The highest mountain takes its name from its highest peak, Craig Eryri (the Eagle's Rock). Other craigs are named from their peculiarities,—Craig Goch (the Red Rock), Craig Durg (the conspicuous Rock), Craig y Fodwyn (the long, sharp Rock), etc. The two next are named from the cairns or tumuli on their summits,—Carnedd Llywelyn and Carnedd Dafydd.

Next in order come the Glyders. *Glwyd*, or *gloyw*, signifies bright or clear, akin to the English "glow". The Glyders, then, are the conspicuous summits of the bright mountains, which exactly answer to their character. *Faen* or *Fain* signifies a sharp, pointed cone, illustrated in the well known *Tre Faen*, the triple peaks which predominate over Nant Francon. *Moel* or *Foel* (a bare, rounded summit) is very common, as Moel

Eithin (the Furze Mountain), Moel Hebog (the Hawk Mountain), Moel Famma (the Mother Mountain), Foel Goch (the Red Mountain), Foel Lwyd (the Dark Mountain. *Mynydd*, from *mwn* (to ascend), means an eminence pure and simple—Mynydd Mawr (the great Hill), Mynydd Rhiw (the Mountain Slope). The Breiddens are the cloud-dispersers. *Cefn* (a ridge) is in very common use. Cefn Coch (red ridge), Cefn Llechan (flat ridge), Cefn Maen Nanmor (the ridge of the Nanmor stone). *Bryn*, a hill of less eminence, is found in great profusion. Bryn Dinas (the castle hill), Bryn Gossol (the hill of the watch tower), Bryn Tirion (the pleasant hill). *Pen*, which is so frequently found in place-names, does not originally signify an eminence. It primarily applies to the extremity or termination of anything; but like *ben* in Gaelic it is frequently attached to mountain summits. In the primary meaning we find it in Pen y Bont (the bridge end), Pen y Fordd (the end of the road), Pen y Waun (the end of the meadow or plain). In connection with summits we have it in Pen y Gaer, Pen y Dinas, Pen y Castell, fortified eminences; Pen Maen Mawr and Pen Maen Bach, the great and little termination of the rocks.

These are the principal mountain names, though there are other epithets occasionally used, such as Tal y Fan (the end of the eminence), Cader or Gader (a seat or chair, as Cader Idris), Pen y Gader. *Aran* is not very common, but is found in several places applied to a high mountain. It is common also to the Gaelic, and is found in Scotland and Ireland.

The passes and valleys have distinctive names. *Bwlch* from *bwl*, equivalent to Eng. *bowl*, is very frequently met with in the sense of a hollow or defile. *Nant* has a very wide range in the sense of a valley usually fertile, and gives the name to a great number of places: Nant Francon (the beavers' vale), Nant Llwynog (the foxes' valley), Nant Gwrach (the vale of the hag), Sychnant (the dry valley), Nant Gwynant (the fair vale). *Glan* (Eng. *glen*) is applied to the banks of a

river flowing through a valley, as Glan Afon, Glan Usk. *Cwm* (Eng. *combe*) is the name for the large hollows scooped out of the mountain sides, as Cwm Coch (red combe), Cwm Bychan (little combe). This word is very common in place-names in Devonshire and Cornwall, derived from the ancient Cornish language. Dwygyfylchi, a charming little vale near Penmaenmawr, signifies the meeting of the two clefts or passes.

The nomenclature of the mountainous districts which I have just described is almost entirely wanting in England, owing to the different conformation of the surface. What little there is has been principally derived from the Cymric. The greater features of nature supply a large fund of place-names in Wales. *Dol*, a river-meadow, is frequent, as Dolwyddelan, the Gwyddelan's meadow; Dolgelley, the hazel meadow. *Gwern* or *wern*, an irrigated meadow; Wern-y-go-uchaf, the upper Smith's meadow; Wern-y-go-isaf, the lower one; Gwern-y-go-cogwrn, the Smith's crab-tree meadow.

The river-names in Wales are extremely interesting from the links they supply to connect the place-names over the greater part of Europe. Many of these names are found not only in England, but in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, where their signification has been entirely lost. It is only in those countries where the Celtic dialects are spoken that their true origin can be traced. *Avon*, as the name of a river, has a very wide range. In Wales, England, Scotland, and Ireland, it is found attached to numerous streams. In France we find it, though somewhat corrupted, in the *Auon*, the *Cal-Avon*, and others. In Portugal there is the *Avid*, and in Spain the *Avono*; in Italy, the *Aven-za*, the *S-avone*, the *Aufen-te*. It is held that Latin *amn-is* is a corruption or contraction of *Avon*; and that all these are connected with Sanskrit *ab* or *ap* by the usual interchange of *b* and *v*. The same will apply to most of the other river-names, on which time and space will not allow me now to dilate. *Wy* is found in a variety of combinations, sometimes in its simple form, as in the

rivers Wye, Conwy (the spreading water), *Llugwy* (the sparkling water), *Dyfrdwy*, or Dee (the dark water). *Wysg* is another river-name very widely diffused in its various forms of Usk, Esk, Exe, Axe, etc. Perhaps it has been brought into the most prominence by its modern derivative, *whiskey*, which is simply the original *Wysg* with the epithet *bagh* or *bach*, which is a term of endearment indicative of its exciting properties. *Dwr* is another river-name widely spread, of which Dr. Pritchard gives forty-four ancient river-names in Europe containing this root, amongst which are the Derwent, the Douro, the Adour, the Dart, the Durance, the Durbach, etc. In fact, all the river-names of Wales will be found in some part of Europe, indicating clearly the solidarity of language over a wide extent. The Celtic languages have retreated from their ancient *habitat;* but like the ancient glaciers of the Welsh valleys, they have left behind, strewed over the surface, indelible indications of their former existence.

Coed, a wood, is of frequent occurrence, as Bettws y Coed (the station in the wood), Tyn y Coed (the house in the wood), Coed Talon (the wood on the hillock), Bangor-is-Coed (the lofty choir below the wood). The number of place-names containing this word indicates the great prevalence of timber in ancient times.

Rhos, a marsh, is found in many names,—Eglwys Rhos (the church in the marsh); as also *Morfa*, a salt marsh. Morfa Rhianedd signifies the lady's marsh by the sea.

Llyn, a lake, is, of course, widely diffused; as also *Pwll*, a pool; *Pistyll*, a spout; and *Rhaiadr*, a waterfall.

The operations of human industry furnish a large nomenclature, though there is by no means the variety in this respect which prevails in the English names. *Garth*, an enclosure, to which Eng. "gard-en" is allied, is common. *Ty*, a house, is exceedingly numerous, qualified by various adjectives,—Ty-newydd (new house), Ty-bach (little house), Hafot Ty (dairy or farmhouse),

etc. *Bôd*, a dwelling, as Bod-hyfryd. *Tre*, a hamlet, common in Wales, but much more so in Cornwall,—Hendre (the old hamlet), Hafod-tre (the rural hamlet).

The name *Powys*, applied to the district about Welshpool, implies a settlement after a period of disturbance. *Po-gwys* combines the two ideas of habitation and restraint.

There is one word so prominent in Welsh place-names as to take precedence of all the rest. I mean the prefix *llan*, which opens up a very wide inquiry; much wider than I can now go into. The word originally signified an enclosed area, probably a clearing; and it is still found in compound words with much the same meaning, as *cor-lan* (a sheepfold), *corf-lan* (a burial-ground), etc.; but as a prefix it is exclusively used in connection with a Christian place of worship, in the same manner as *cil* or *kil* in Gaelic. In the *Clergy List* there are four hundred and fifty one places quoted with the prefix *Llan*, each having a church.[1] It is found in Cornwall and the part of England formerly called Western Wales, at least from twenty to thirty times; sparsely in other parts of England; in the ancient kingdom of Strathclwyd in Scotland; and very frequently in Brittany. The question is, how came it to be applied exclusively to Christian worship? There are some who maintain that the *llans* were originally areas set apart for heathen rites, and afterwards converted into churches; but we have no evidence to this effect. It is somewhat singular that, whilst in England many of the place-names contain reminiscences of the Saxon worship of Woden, Thor, and Sætor, there is nothing whatever in the Cymric names to call up associations with pre-Christian times. Whatever may be the cause, the *llans* are now exclusively connected with the names of Welsh saints, of whom Professor Rice Rees enumerates no fewer than four hundred and seventy-nine.[2] The same ecclesiastical propensity existed in

[1] Mr. Taylor, in *Words and Places*, says the word "occurs *ninety-seven times* in the village names of Wales."

[2] *Essay on the Welsh Saints.*

Cornwall, where, either with the prefix of *Llan*, or *Saint*, the ancient church worthies are commemorated. In England these are comparatively few, and I believe nearly all are of mediæval origin. The Saxon saints gave their names to numerous churches; but the places were not called by their names.

It has been sometimes asserted that the names of places in mountainous countries are more poetical and imaginative than those of the plains. After some examination of the subject I cannot coincide in this view. The Cymric names are quite as matter of fact as the English ones, and display even a less exercise of the imagination. There is one name connected with a pretty legend which it would be a pity to destroy, and which connects, by a long course of tradition, the Cymric people with the old Aryans of India. I mean, of course, "Beddgelert", the grave of Llewelyn's faithful hound. It has been maintained[1] that Beddgelert commemorates the grave of a Welsh saint of the fifth century, Celert, to whom the church of Llangeler is dedicated. It may be so; though why this particular saint, out of the four hundred and seventy-nine, should be so honoured does not appear. However this may be, the coincidence of this traditionary legend with one similar, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Sanskrit Hitopades'a is very remarkable.

The place-names to which our attention has hitherto been directed are unmixed Celtic and Cymric; and did they rest alone, we might infer that no other race had ever obtained a permanent footing in the Principality. But it is not so. The great masters of the ancient world, who brought with them not only conquest and dominion, but also the arts of civilised life, held sway here for at least four hundred years, and have left behind them conspicuous and permanent memorials reflected in the names of the places they occupied, and of the works they executed. Conovium (now Caer Rhun) dominated the Vale of Conway; Segontium, Caer Seiont (now Caernarvon) protected the Menai Strait;

[1] Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 359.

Deva (now Chester) and Bovium (Bangor-is-Coed) overlooked the Dee; and we still find recorded their various strongholds in such names as Caerleon (Castra Legionis), Caerwys, Caergwrle, Caersws, etc. The roads connecting these various stations are in many cases still the high roads of the country. Sarn Helen, which was the highway from Conovium to Muridunum (now Caermarthen), may still be traced through the defiles of Dolwyddelan and Festiniog.

The fortifications which abound on the hill-tops in every part of the Principality, are called by different names indicating their builders. For the most part, the *caers* are of Roman origin, but by no means exclusively so. Tre 'r Ceiri, one of the finest British remains, may possibly have been occupied by the Romans; but it is decidedly of pre-Roman origin. The *castells* are mostly mediæval, and the *dins* and *dinases* hill-forts of the Cymric period.

There is another element of nomenclature yet to be mentioned. The Danish and Norse sea-rovers, who harried and plundered the coasts of Europe for several centuries, did not neglect Wales. The country, however, was poor, and offered few inducements to permanent settlement: hence in North Wales the Danish nomenclature is confined to the coast, where many prominent points bear Danish names. The Point of Air, the Great and Little Orme's Heads, Priest's Holme, or Puffin Island, the Skerries, Holyhead, the North and South Stacks, Bardsey, Anglesey, with many others, indicate the points taken possession of, or frequented by, the sea-rovers, who have thus left their traces on scattered and isolated positions.

I must now bring these remarks to a close. I trust enough has been said to shew the interest which attaches to the study of place-names, and the light it is capable of throwing on the history of a country far beyond any written records. There is still a wide field open to investigation in this direction; and if these few words should have the effect of stimulating any to

pursue further this course of inquiry, I shall be amply repaid.

Before I conclude I wish to add a few words on the boundary between Wales and England considered philologically. It might have been supposed that, in the case of an intruding race gradually gaining ground, and thrusting back or absorbing the aboriginal inhabitants step by step, there would be a manifest intermingling of the nomenclature of both races, and that the Saxon and Cymric names would insensibly be fused together. Such has been the case in North America, where we find the old Indian names very numerous, mixed with the English appellations. Such, however, is not the case in Wales and England. The English names in Wales, and the Welsh names in England, are comparatively few in number, and limited in extent. This is not unlikely owing to the existence, in the middle ages, of what were called the Welsh Marches,—a sort of debatable, or no man's land, which was occasionally the battle-ground of the rival races, and which served to separate their conflicting interests.

Commencing from the south, we know that Monmouthshire was, until a period not very remote, a part of the Principality; and we should, therefore, naturally expect that the vast majority of the place-names would be Cymric, which is actually the case. West of the river Wye there are very few English names. There are Whiteley, White Brook, Shire-Newton, Mounton, Grosmont (which is French), and a few others mostly modern. In Gloucestershire, between the Severn and the Wye, there occur a few Welsh names, such as Lancant, St. Briavel's, Newent. In Herefordshire, east of the Black Mountain, a few occur,—Llanveino, Landwr, Ty Coch, etc. In Breconshire there is scarcely an English place-name west of the Afon Honddu and the upper reaches of the Wye. In Radnorshire, Knighton is almost the only English name, and this is barely within the border. In Montgomeryshire the natural eastern boundary would be the Severn; but between

the river and Offa's Dyke we find a strip of border-land where the Saxon and Cymric names are intermixed. Buttington, Leighton, Forden, Newtown, are side by side with Llanmerewig, Llandyssil, Trewern, Llandrinio. Montgomery is, of course, French. In Shropshire, north of the Vyrnwy, there is hardly a Welsh name east of Offa's Dyke; and to the west of that ancient boundary scarcely an English one. The nomenclature of Denbighshire is intensely Cymric; but in the east portion there are a few Saxon names, such as Wrexham, Gresford, Bersham. These naturally connect themselves with the Danish and Saxon settlements in the adjoining county of Flint.

J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.

THE MARCHES OF WALES.

[*From Historical Collections in the Handwriting of Oliver Acton,*[1] *towards the end of the 17th Century, among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, and other Authorities.*]

BY SIR G. F. DUCKETT, BART.

"CONCERNING THE MARCHES OF WALES", WITH A LIST OF THE LORDS PRESIDENT.

IN the antient and latter Dutch, or rather in the Language of those nac'ons which over rann the greatest part of Christendome, under the names of Vandalls, Goths, and such like, the word Marck (or Marcken) [pl.] did denote a Limit, Bound, or Frontier, and more especially such a one as did distinguish two Nac'ons, or Empires, according to the definic'on of it in Minsheu, "eodem verbo," where he calls it "Limes in agris [sive territoriis], fines regionum, et margines imperii distinguens;" and according to this signification it is frequently used in the Laws of the Lumbards, and severall other nac'ons as such, as in antient historians, as may be seen in Mr. Selden's (Tit. of Hon', part 2, c. i,

[1] So entered in Macray's incomparable Catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS. From the same it would appear that Oliver Acton was the Steward of Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell Hospitals. His appointment by the City of London, under the designation of "Oliver Acton of London, gentleman", as Attorney and Receiver for those City Hospitals, is dated 26th Nov. 1728.

sec. 47). But amongst the Saxons it signified the extent of a Jurisdiction or Teritorie,—"districtus unius villicacionis aut ditionis," says ——;[1] from whence afterwards in the Empire, it came to be attributed to any Country or Province that was conquered by force of Arms. The first use of it in this kind was under the Emperour H. 1st,[2] who flourished between the years of Our Lord 919 and 937, for he having conquered the Nac'ons of the Heneti and the Sorabi, divided all his new acquest "in prefecturas limitaneas, quas nostra lingua vocamus Marchias;" and these he distributed amongst his officers and soldiers, which from that time were called "Marchiones," and according to Crantius "collocavit in ea primus Marchionem, qui Provinciam tueretur armis quæsitam, et augescere contenderet in diem, et quam Romani, simili ex causa, dixere Provinciam, ille appelavit Marchiam;" and presently after to the same purpose he saith, "Marchiam dicerent Saxones eam Provinciam, quam sui juris esse, per arma sunt consecuti. Inde præsidi nomen inditum ut Marchio diceretur, qui illi jus diceret."[3] This course he likewise followed in other places, erecting the Marches of Sleswick against the Danes, as he had done that of Brandenburgh against (the) Heneti, as he did those of Misnia and Lusatia against the Polander and Sylesian; And as many others were afterwards constituted by his successors upon the same occasion; these Fœudatories being as so many bulworks upon the borders of Germany against the barbarous Nac'ons that encompast it.[4]

[1] Krantzius, Wandalia, lib. iii, ca. xv.

[2] This appears to be a popular error. Henry Duke of Saxony, here alluded to, was the first *King* of Germany; but it was his son Otho (the Great) who became the first *Emperor* of Germany, and of the so called "Holy Roman Empire."

[3] *Vide* Cal. lex jur., de verbis feudalibus, verbo Marchia.

[4] The following passages may be added in allusion to the reduction of Schleswig on the one side, and the first use of the term on the creation of the Mark of Brandenburg by Henry I, King of Germany, on the other: "Transferens imperii sui limitem ad Danos in Sleswig, (quam fecit Saxonum coloniam), et usque ad Wandalos in Brandenborg, ambobus in locis constituens *Marchionem*, qui rebus præesset"; (Krantzius, Metropolis, p. 76). Again, as to the origin or institution of the Mark (or Margravate) of Brandenburgh, the same writer says: "Urbem Sleswicum coloniam fecit Saxonum, constituto ibi *marchione*. Deinde quum Wandalos quoq. ad juga cogeret, oppugnata urbe illorum præcipua Brandenburgo", etc..... "Expugnatæ urbi præsidem imposuit cum colonia Saxonum, cui simile indidit honoris vocabulum, ut *marchio* diceretur, quod itidem in Wandalia signavimus. Inoleuerat tum primum Marchionum *nomen ante inauditum*, et (ut arbitror) ex Saxonica lingua ductum;

Hence it comes that so many countries of the Empire retain the name of Marcks to this day, as besides these already menc'oned, Baden, Styria, and Moravia in Germany; and in Italy, Ancona, Mantua, Ferara, Tarvissina (*sic*), and others. This he conceives, and I think truly, to be the originall of the title of Marquesse, a dignitie now common in most of the kingdomes of Europe, for though before this time the word "Marchiones" doth frequently occur, being menc'oned in the constituc'ons of Charles the Great; and Aimoinus[1] (speaking of his expedition into Gascoigne) saith expressly, that he [Charlemagne] left there Marchiones or Marquesses [Relictis Marchionibus] "qui fines Regni tuentes, omnes, si forte ingruerent, hostium arcerent incursus;" yet I conceive these dignities were rather officiary and personal, like the Duces Limitanei amongst the Romans, then [*than*] Feudall or hereditary, whose beginnings were not elder [*older*] than the reigne of this Emperor; But after this time the title of Marchio grew common, not only in the Empire, but allsoe in France and other places, for so Frodoardus[2] stiles the Counts of Burgundie, about the year 921; and Baldwin, Earle of Flanders, so styled himselfe not long after,[3] as may be seen in the Belgick Chronicles; And so likewise is Richard Duke of Normandy called, in the letters of Credence from Pope John 15th to Leo, Arch B'p of Tryers, touching the concluding of a peace between the said Richard and Etheldred, King of England, who began his reign in the year 978, "relatum est a compluribus de inimicitia Etheldri Saxonum occidentalum Regis nec non et Richardi Marchionis;" but the use of this word came not into England till after the times of W'm the Conqu'r,[4] nor doth it occur any

nam Veltmarck vocat quodque villagium suum agrum, quod alibi latius deduximus"; (Saxonia, lib. iii, p. 70.) Also to the same effect: "*Marchiones* quasi duces limitaneos constituit, ad Danos in Sleswig, ad Wandalos in Brandenburg, qui hodie permanet principatus"; (Metropolis, p. 65.) And again: "Henricus Rex victor, apud Sleswicum (quæ etiam Heidebu dicebatur), regni sui terminos ponens, *marchionem* ibi constituit, hoc est, ducem limitaneum, et Saxonum coloniam habitari præcepit." (Metropolis, lib. iii, p. 62.) Helmoldus refers to the same particular (Chron. Sclavorum, lib. i, cap. 2); also Selden (Tit. of Hon., Pars 2, p. 421).

[1] De Gest. Franc., lib. v, cap. 2. Aimoinus (or Aymoinus) was a Florentine monk. Muratori (Annali d'Italia) gives many other instances in the time of Charlemagne. See *postea*.

[2] Flodoardus, or Frodoardus, a French historian; Canon of the Church of Rheims.

[3] Baldwynus Comes Flandriæ *marchio*, (Marchantius, etc., *Chronic. Belg.*, pp. 182, 199.)

[4] William Duke of Normandy (The Conqueror), was frequently

where, as I can find, amongst the Saxon writers, which may allsoe be gathered from the alltering the terminac'on of Marck and Marcken into March, which is according to the French pronunciac'on here.

After the Normans were once settled, they beganne presently to thinke of extending their dominions upon the remainder of the Brittons in Wales. Thus, in a short time the Earles of Chester seized upon the County of Flint, and the parts adjacent. The Laceys, Clares, Mortimers, and others, seized upon severall parts of Monmouthshire; Fitz Hamon, with his twelve Knights, upon Glamorganshire; Bernardus de Novo Mercato upon Brecknock; and others upon other places, depriving the Welsh in a manner of all South Wales, and reduceing them into a narrow corner even of North Wales itself.[1] Every [part] of these Territories thus acquired by the sword was called a *March*, and the owner of them Lord Marcher, and the whole territorie thus divided amongst the Norman Barons came to be called the *Marches*, or the *Marches of Wales*, because it bordered upon that country; which name it first obtained, as I conceive, about the latter end of the reign of Henry 2d, or the beginning of King John, for in *Doomesday*, which was made about the 20th of W'm Conq'r, there is no menc'on made of the Marches, and all the Land which was without the confines of the English counties is said to be in *Wallia*; neither doth Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived under the reign of Henry 2d, and in his Intinerary (*sic*) often speakes of the Castles and Houses of the Norman Barons, any where call them by the name of Marches; neither doth any writer before Radulphus de Diceto, as I can find, who flourished in the time of King John, or about the year 1210, call this tract of ground by the name of the *Marches*, but speaking of Cadwalla's[2] invasion of the English saith, "fines inter Anglos et Britto-

styled *Marchio*, with reference to Normandy. Ordericus Vitalis calls him "Guillelmus Normannorum comes seu *Marchio*", and "Inclytus Normanniæ *Marchio* Willelmus, contra Belvacenses, qui fines suos depopulari conabantur", etc. (Hist. Eccles., Pars II, lib. iii, 16.) Again, "Guillelmus Normannorum *Marchio* ad transfretandum in Angliam se parat"; and "Nihilominus Normannorum *Marchio* parabat suam profectionem", etc. (Ib., xvii.)

[1] See this more fully *postea*.

[2] Cadvallanus in Sudwallia principatum aliquem habens, fines inter Anglos et Britones limitatos antiquitus sæpe transgressus est, et *Marchiam* violenter incursans, &c. (Diceto, Imagines Historiarum, p. 607.) Cadwallanus was, according to Diceto, a Prince of South Wales. We assume him to be the brother of Owen Gwynneth, called both Cadwalader and Cadwallus by some historians.

nes limitatos antiquitus sepe transgressus est, et *Marchiam* violenter incursans," &c. (p. 607); and afterwards (p. 703) "in *Marchia* principales defensivæ locorum prope munitionem illam quæ vocatur Castellum Matildis ad pugnam accincti concurrerunt hostiliter." This Castrum Matildis Cambden (Camden) thinks to have been the same which was afterwards called *Castle Collwen*,[1] and stands in the county of Radnor, between New Radnor and Bealt, in the middle of the *Marches*. In the same sense it is alsoe used in Matthew Paris, where he saith that David, Prince of Wales, and his nobles, "bellum moverunt, et ipsum (Henricum tertium) non mediocriter in *Marchia* damnificaverunt;" and in the condic'ons of peace between the said David and K. Hen. 3d, there is menc'on made of the *Barones de Marchia* (p. 626), and in him allsoe (p. 1001), the Lords Marchers are called *Marchiones*;[2] after which time wee shall find

He was assassinated in 1179, whilst under the safe conduct of Henry II. In the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough occurs, in 1177, Catwalanus, one of the Welsh princes who did homage to Henry II in that year.

[1] Camden (*Britannia*, ii, 465) has the following: "On the east side [*of Radnorshire*], among other castles of the Lords Marchers, now [1607] almost buried in their own ruins, the most remarkable are Castel Paine and Castel Colwen, which, if I mistake not, was formerly called Castel Maud in Colewent. This last was very famous, and belonged to Robert de Todeney, a man of considerable rank in the reign of Edward II. It is supposed to have taken its name from Maud de St. Valery, a woman of great spirit, wife of William Breose, who rebelled against King John." It was afterwards known as Castell Collen, or the great camp of Com-Radnor, lying in the parish of Llanfihangel Helygen, in the vicinity of Llandrindod. According to Nicholson, it was in 1840 "a square enclosure surrounded by a wall of rough, hewn stone, and defended on the west side by a double ditch."

[2] "Eo tempore Legatus, et Comes Gloverniæ, et alii duodecim electi erant ad pacem componendam, qui maxime elaborabant, ut exhæredati, facta redemptione pro transgressionibus, terras suas et possessiones recuperarent. Rogerus de Mortuo Mari cum cæteris *Marchionibus*, qui terras illorum dono Regis acceperant," etc., etc. Matthew Paris again, in alluding to the "Wallensium Rebellio", calls them also *Marchisii* (Hist., 638, 13): [1244] "Sub illius anni quoque tempore vernali, Wallenses nescientes et nolentes colla sua legibus ignotis Regni Anglorum submittere, duces sibi constituentes, David Leolini filium, et quosdam alios potentes de Wallia, contra Regem et ejus *Marchisios* bellum moverunt cruentissimum, chartarum juramentorumque suorum obliti." Further on we learn who these Lords Marchers were at that time, opposed to David and the Welsh,—"Comes de Clare, Comes de Herefort, Thomas de Muno-

the word used in the same sence very frequently, not only in our Historians, but also in our Statute Laws. So in the "prerogativa regis" (17 Edw. II) there are excepted in the Article of Wardships, "Feoda Comitum et Baronum *Marchie* de terris in *Marchia*, ubi brevia Domini Regis non currunt;" which is a strong argument that this tract of ground was then understood by the name of *Marches*, because the King's writ was not current there, which cannot be presumed of any County of England.

In the 28 of Edw. III (chap. 2d), there is an act made that all the *Lords of the Marches of Wales* should be perpetually annext to the Crown of England, as they and their ancestors have been at all times before this, and not to the Principalitie of Wales, in whose hands soever the same Principality may be, or hereafter shall come, where I think it cannot be denyed but [by] these *Marches* must be meant [lands] which by the graunt of the Principality of Wales were either claimed, or at least supposed to be aliened from the Crown of England.

But this is more expressly deducible from the Stat. 2 Hen. 4th (chap. 12), at which time there were many severe Laws made against the Welsh, who at that time, under the conduct of *Owen Glendower*, did very much infest the Borders. At that time it was ordained that no Welshman should purchase lands or tenements within the town of Chester, Salop, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, Lempster, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, nor other marchant townes joyning to the *Marches of Wales*, which is an evident proofe that these Townes were thought no part of the Marches of Wales, since they are there said to be only joining to them.

The like allso may be inferred from the Stat. 23 Hen. 6th (Cap. 5), where persons dwelling in Wales, and in the *Marches of Wales*, being indited and outlawed for Treasons and Felonies, are prohibited to come into the County of Hereford, where the County of Hereford is manifestly distinguisht from the *Marches of Wales*.

In the Stat. 32 Hen. 8 (Cap. 13), there is mention made of the Realme of England and Wales, and the *Marches* of the same; which *Marches* being neither belonging to the Kingdome of England and [*or*] Principalitie of Wales, must necessarily be placed here, or no where. [Vide 32 Hen. 8th, c. 4, of Tryalls of

muhe (Munemuto), Rogerus de Muhaut (Muhaud), et alii *Marchisii* potentes & præclari." Again, in the "Proditio facta contra Wallenses" (in 1258), the same chronicler says, "Cum autem hæc audissent Angli, videlicet, contermini, quos *Marchisios* appelamus, irruerunt subitò in Wallenses," etc.; but in this last sense the term is used to designate the inhabitants of the Marches, as we might say "borderers".

Treasons in the Marches of Wales]. See allsoe more to this purpose (in) the Stat. 2 Hen. 4 (Cap. 16 and 17); 31 Hen. 6th (Cap. 4); 13 Eliz. (Cap. 13); 26 Hen. 8 (Cap. 4 and Cap. 6); 2 Edw. 6th (Cap. 13) de decimis.

In like manner are the *Marches* excepted in all the Records of Parliament, as farr as I can informe myselfe, of which I shall here produce some few examples. In the 20th Edward I (Ryley's Records, p. 74),[1] in the great controversie between the Earles of Gloucester and Hereford, concerning the invasion of Brecknock, and the spoils there done, there was a Commission awarded to the Bishop of Ely and others, to examine the truth "per sacramentum tam magnatum quam aliorum," &c.; who being summoned to appear, refused to take their oaths, and unanimously answered, "quod nunquam consimile mandatum regium venit in partibus istis, nisi tantum quod res tangentes *Marchiam* istam deducte fuissent, secundum usus et consuetudines partium istarum," and so went away at that time without doing anything to advise with their fellowes.[2] And afterwards there being a Jury

[1] Ryley's Pleadings in Parliament, or *Placita Parliamentaria*, 1661.

[2] The refusal to be sworn, on the part of the several members of the Bishop of Ely's commission, summoned to inquire into the excesses committed by the Earls in question, is given in the Abstract of Pleadings (*Placitorum Abbreviatio*), temp. Edward I, and is not without interest. It runs thus: "Ob quamplurimos excessus more hostili cum vexillo displicato per Gilbertum de Clare, Comitem Glouc' et Hertf', et homines suos de Morgannon illatos contra Humfridum de Bohun, Com' Hereff' et Essex, et homines suos de Brekenoke; Dominus Rex assignavit episcopum Eliens', et alios commissarios ad inquirendum", etc.

"Mandavit eciam D'nus Rex, per literas suas, dilectis et fidelibus suis Joh'i Hastinges, Joh'i fil' Reginald, Edmundo de Mortuo Mari, Rogero de Mortuo Mari, Theobaldo de Verdon, Joh'i Tregoz, Will'o de Breause, Galfrido de Canvill, et Rogero de Pycheworth, quod intersint apud Brekenoke, et postea ven' apud Laudon," etc. Voluit idem D'nus Rex, pro statu et jure suo, per ipsos justiciarios, quod inde rei veritas inquiretur, per sacramentum tam magnatum quam aliorum proborum et legalium hominum de partibus Walliæ et comitatibus Glouc' et Heref', per quos," etc., cujuscumque condicionis fuissent. Ita quod nulli parceretur in hac parte, eo quod res ista Dominum Regem et Coronam et dignitatem suam tangit," etc. "Dictum est ex parte D'ni Regis Joh'i de Hastinges, et omnibus aliis magnatibus supra nominatis, quod pro statu et jure regni, et pro conservacione dignitatis Corone et pacis sue, apponant manum ad librum, ad faciendum id quod eis ex parte D'ni Regis injungeretur; qui omnes unanimiter responderunt, quod inauditum est quod ipsi vel eorum antecessores hactenus in hujusmodi casu ad prestandum aliquod sacramentum coacti fuerunt," etc. "Et licet prefato Johanni et aliis magnatibus expositum fuisset, quod nullus in hac

sworne in the same cause, they amongst other things p'sent, that the Earle of Hereford and his men of Brecknock had committed many disorders the more audaciously and presumptuously, because they hoped, "quod per libertatem suam *Marchie* possent evadere a penâ et periculo, que merito incurrisse debuissent, si extra *Marchiam* alibi in regno talem excessum perpetrassent;"[1] and in the same Record there is often menc'oned, "Lex et consuetudo *Marchie*," as opposite, or at least different from the Lawes and Customes of England.

In the 50th Edw. 3d (No. 164), the Commons of Worcestershire, Salop, and Stafford, Hereford, Bristoll and Gloucester, desire remedy for the safe passage of their merchants to Callis (*Calais*), and also [*that*] such as being of the *Marches of Wales* and County of Chester, robb in the Counties first recited, and commit other felonies or trespasses, and being thereof attainted in such shires, where the felonies are done, may therefore loose their goods and lands to their Lords; to which the answer was, that the old Law there be kept.

In the 2 Rich. 2d (No. 61), divers Townes upon the *Marches of Wales* pray that they may not be distrained or impeach't in Wales, but where they are debtors, suters or trespassers; to which the Answer is [*that*] the King and the *Lords of the Marches* would provide remedy therefore.

parte potest habere marchiam, D'nus Rex qui pro communi utilitate per prerogativam suam in multis casibus est supra leges et consuetudines in regno suo usitatas, ac pluries eisdem magnatibus ex parte ipsius Regis, conjunctim et separatim, libroque eis porrecto, injunctum est quod faciant sacramentum; responderunt demum omnes singillatim, quod nichil inde facerent sine consideracione parium suorum."

In the end, says the record, many things being overlooked owing to the Royal affinity of the parties concerned, the Earl of Gloucester paid to the King a fine of 10,000 marks, whilst the Earl of Hereford was fined in 1,000 marks. "Demum comes Glouc' fecit finem cum D'no Rege pro x millibus marcarum; et comes Essex pro mille marcis; et ob affinitatem et consanguinitatem cum Rege perdonantur plurima." (Hill, 20 Edw. I, Glouc', rot. 14.)

[1] "Et etiam quod hec omnia audacius et presumptuosius per ipsum Comitem et homines de Brecknock fiebant, credentes quod per libertatem", etc. (Ryley's Placita, p. 83.) This was a celebrated suit at the time, between Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, in 20 Edward I (1291). Gilbert de Clare was the eighth Earl of Gloucester. He married Joan Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I, and died in 1295. Humphrey de Bohun, third Earl of Hereford in descent from Henry de Bohun, ob. 1297. His son Humphrey married Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Edward I.

In the 3 Rich. 2d (No. 30), among the Petitions of the Commons, it is desired that certain counties boardering (*sic*) upon the *Marches* of Wales, might have remedy against such Welshmen as came into their countries, committing sundry robberies, rapes, felonies and other evills; to which the Answer is that the King, by the advice of the *Lords Marchers*, would provide remedy. This record is cited by the Lord Cooke [*Coke*] in his Cap. of the President and Councell of Wales.

In the 13 Hen. 4 (No. 42), among the Petic'ons of the Commons, certain frontier countries on the *Marches of Wales* complain against the manifold robberies and other extorc'ons of the Welshmen, and for redresse pray three Articles to be enacted; to which the K[ing] answers that he will be advised. See allsoe more of the like nature.

I shall conclude all this with the words of Mr. Selden, in his illustrac'ons on Poly Albion[1] (*sic*) [*Polyolbion*], speaking of the rivers which manure the batefull *March*, as the poet [*Drayton*] there terms it; by the *March* saith he understand[*s*] those limits between England and Wales, which continuing from North to South join the Welsh shires to Hereford, Shropshire, and the English part; and were *divers Baronies divided from any Shire*, untill Henry 8, by Act of Parliament,[2] *annext some to Wales and others to England*.[3]

The like excepc'on is allsoe frequent in the Year Books of our Law, of which, because I have them not at present by me, I shall enquire more hereafter. See many of these cited in my Lord Cookes (*Coke*) Cap. of the Court of the President of Wales (Cap. 48, p. 242).

[To the above account are these two marginal notes]:

The Court of Marches granted an injunction ag't prosecuting a suit for debt in London; upon which the Court of Com: Pleas

[1] Selden's Notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion;* the latter work (pub. 1622) being "a chorographicall description of all the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, Forests, of this renowned Isle of Great Britain."

[2] 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26.

[3] Selden further says: "The Barons that lived in them were called Lords-Marchers, and by the name of *Marchiones, i.e.*, Marquesses. For so (*Lib. Rub. Scac.*) Roger of Mortimer (Matthew of Westm., lib. ii), James of Audeleg, Roger of Clifford, Roger of Leiburn, Haimo L'Estrange, Hugh of Tubervil, are called *Marchiones Walliæ*, or Lords-Marchers of Wales; and Edw. III created Roger of Mortimer Earl of March, as if you should say, of the limits betwixt Wales and England." (Selden, Notes on Drayton.)

awards a prohibition to the Marches to surcease, & in case they did not an attachment. (Anderson, part i, fol. 279.)

Eschaet. 18 Edward IV. A writ directed [*to*] Nicho. Knyveton, Eschaet' in comit' Glouc' et Marchiis Wallie eid' com' adjacent', to take an inquisition of the lands of Isabell, late wife of Geo. Duke of Clarence.

(Rawl. MS., C. 358, ff. 15b-20.)

It would seem desirable for the object we have in view,[1] to consider the subject of the Welsh Marches under two distinct heads: first, the origin of the term in its application generally as a frontier line of defence; and secondly, the definement of its particular limits, site, and extent. The former of these has alone been considered in the foregoing account, and will receive further elucidation probably from the additional observations we propose to offer; but the latter has yet to be inquired into, and necessarily so, for there are vagueness and ambiguity in the expression "Marches", not so much in its general import or signification, as to its extent and limits, which a lapse of more than two hundred and fifty years has not tended to lessen, and which at the present day it will be difficult to remove. The term originally signified *the mark of any country's borders*, and in process of time was used to designate the whole *territory that adjoined that mark.* Hence the difficulty of assigning the true limits or extent of that territory which constituted the Marches of Wales. Where, in fact, was their line of demarcation? Was the term "Marches", as we take it, tantamount to an aggregation of lordships, baronies, or provinces, sepa-

[1] The further authorities for this paper are,—*Annali d'Italia* da Lodovico Antonio Muratori, 1762; Krantzius, *Wandalia; Metropolis; Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium;* Doderidge, *Principality of Wales*, 1630; Selden, *Titles of Honor*, 1631; *Notes on Drayton's Polyolbion;* Heylyn's *Cosmography*, 1622; Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.;* Ordericus Vitalis; Historical MSS. Commission, vols. 4 and 5 (Bagot, Carew, and Cholmondeley Papers); with other references quoted *in loco.*

rating England from Wales? And if so, had this territory any precise or definite bounds?

In the origin such must clearly have existed; but the interval since their first establishment is so great, that all direct clue on these points may be said to be nearly or entirely lost, leaving us in a state of comparative ignorance as to their actual limits. It will, therefore, be the object of this paper, by refuting what they were not, to endeavour to shew what they in all probability were.

First, as to the *origin* of the Marches under notice. Both Selden[1] and Doderidge (writing, the one in 1614, and the other in 1629), expressly state how these lands or "Marches" were first acquired. The latter,[2] in his *Principality of Wales*, specifies them as the "*March grounds*", which were "*neither any part of Wales, neither any part of the Shires of England*" (p. 41); and shortly after he styles the same as "*Baronies Marchers*".[3] Sel-

[1] John Selden, according to Haydn, statesman and jurist, was born in 1584, and died 1654. He was sent to the Tower for opposing in Parliament the illegal demands of Charles I in 1629.

[2] Sir John Doderidge, Knt., one of the Judges of the King's Bench, *temp.* James I.

[3] We cannot do better than quote the entire passage from Doderidge, as to the creation or original acquirement of the Welsh Marches: "As touching the government of the Marches of Wales, it appeareth by divers ancient monuments that the Conqueror, after hee had conquered the English, placed divers of his nobility upon the confines and borders towards Wales, and erected the Earldom of Chester, being upon the borders of North Wales, to Palatine; and gave power unto the said persons thus placed upon those borders to make such conquests upon the Welsh as they by their strength could accomplish, holding it a very good policy, thereby not only to encourage them to be more willing to serve him, but also to provide for them at other men's cost. And hereupon further ordained that the lands so conquered should be holden of the Crowne of England *in capite;* and upon this and such like occasions divers of the nobility of England having lands upon the said borders of Wales, made roades [*raids*] and incursions upon the Welsh, whereby divers parts of that country *neere* or *towards the said borders* were wonne by the sword from the Welshmen, and were planted partly with English colonies; and the said lands so conquered were holden *per Baronia*, and were called, therefore, *Baronys*

den (*Notes on Drayton's Polyolbion*) says "that by '*Marches*' he understands those limits between England aud Wales, which continuing from North to South, join the Welsh Shires to Hereford, Shropshire, and the English part, and were *divers Baronies* divided from any Shire until Henry VIII (27 Henry VIII, cap. s. 6)[1] by Act of Parliament annexed some to Wales, and others to England."

Thus we see, both in the opening pages of this inquiry, and the authorities just quoted, that the Marches originated in the conquest by certain Norman barons of portions of Wales conterminous with England. The preliminary question, however, will arise, whether such territory was at first appropriated for the sole purpose

Marchers. In such manner did Robert Fitz Hamon acquire unto himself, and such others as assisted him, the whole Lordship of Glamorgan; likewise Barnard Newmarch [Bernardus de Novo Mercato] conquered the Lordship of Brecknock; Hugh Lacy conquered the lands of Ewyas, called after his name Ewyas Lacy; and others did the like in other places of the Borders; all which were *Baronies Marchers*, and were holden by such the conquerors thereof *in capite* of the Crowne of England; and because they and their posterity might the better keepe the said lands so acquired, and that they might not bee withdrawne by suits of Law from the defence of that which they had thus subdued, the said Lordships, or lands so conquered, were ordained *Baronies Marchers*, and had a kind of Palatine jurisdiction erected in every [*one*] of them, and power to administer justice unto their tenants in every [*one*] of their Territories, having therein courts with divers priviledges, franchises, and immunities; so that the writs of ordinary justice, out of the King's Courts, were for the most part not currant amongst them. Nevertheless, if the whole Barony had come in question, or that the strife had beene [*between*] two Barons-Marchers touching their territories or confines thereof, for want of a superiour they had recourse unto the King, their supreame Lord; and in these and such like cases, where their own jurisdiction failed, justice was administered unto them in the Superiour Courts of the Realme. (13 Edw. III, Fitzha. Jurisdiction, 23; 47 Edw. III, 5, 6, 7; 6 Hen. V, Fitzha. Jurisdiction, 34; 7 H. VI, 35, 36.) And this was the state of the Government of the Marches of Wales both before and after the general conquest of Wales, made by King Edward the First, as hath been declared, until the seaven and twentieth Yeare of King Henry the Eight." (Doderidge, *Principality of Wales*, pp. 37, 38.)

[1] See also 28 Edward III, cap. 2.

of forming a bulwark against the inroads of the Welsh, in the proper sense of the ancient Teutonic *Mark*, or Italian *Marca* (whence the derivation), or simply from love of conquest and spirit of aggrandisement. At the outset there can be no doubt that the Seignories or Lordships obtained by right of conquest by the Lords Marchers (as the barons were called who "lived in them", to use Selden's words), were the result of a policy which it was found convenient by the English kings to adopt for the purpose of subjugating the Welsh; but so soon as the conquerors had established themselves, and were left in undisputed exercise of their own authority, such Baronies formed a barrier to all future inroads, and thereby assumed the defensive character by which, as *Marches*, they are specially known; for however much, up to the time of Henry VIII, each Lord Marcher governed his acquired territory as to himself seemed best, quite irrespective of his Sovereign's authority,[1] he was still ever ready to assist the King[2] in any conflict against the Welsh. This independent lawlessness must be considered as a separate feature in the investigation. It was due to the circumstance that these barons were allowed from the first to assume and exercise their own authority, irrespective of Royalty; and to this must be traced the fact that the King's writ "did not run" in those parts; so also that outrages and excesses were committed there with impunity, which could not have happened in England; as

[1] No better proof can be had of this than when Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford (of whom mention has been made) was called upon in the 9th Edward I to make answer to a plea, he refused to appear, alleging that he held his Seignorie by right of conquest, with regal, independent jurisdiction ["quod tenet terras suas in Glamorgan sicut *regale*, de suo et antecessorum *conquestu*"], and in common with other Lords-Marchers enjoying the same privileges, was not disposed to acknowledge superior authority in respect thereof, ["unde videtur ei, quod de hiis sine considerac̃one parium suorum Anglie, et marchesium Wallie, qui eisdem libertatibus in terris Walens' gaudent, *non debet alicui respondere*]." (Mic., 9 Edward I, Glouc', rot. 35.)

[2] *Ex gr.*, Hen. III (Matthew Paris *in loco*).

we see in the controversy, already alluded to, between the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, in 20 Edward I, touching the tract of country in dispute between them, where the perpetrators of these acts well knew, "quod per libertatem suam *Marchie* possent evadere à penâ et periculo, que merito incurrisse debuissent, si extra *Marchiam* alibi in regno talem excessum perpetrassent." (Ryley's *Placita Parliamentaria*, 1661, p. 83). Still these matters did not alter their essentially defensive quality as Marches, though such inherent features gave them a character peculiarly their own, and probably not elsewhere traceable, save on the score of lawlessness, which was equally paramount in the Northern Marches, towards Scotland, and other subordinate Royalties formerly existing.[1]

There can be no question, therefore, that in process of time, the name of *Marches*, as regards Wales, is identical, as a border-district, with the original Teutonic application of the term; equally so, in a defensive point of view, with the Northern borders, or Marches towards Scotland, which from first to last were organised purely for defensive purposes, and partook entirely of the nature of the original conditions under which such frontier defences were established. The Welsh Marches, however, retained the name as a district long after these conditions had passed away.

[1] *Ex gr.*, the Isle of Man.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES RELATING TO GLAMORGANSHIRE.[1]

Copied from the Iolo MSS., in the possession of Lady Llanover, by the Rev. W. Watkins, M.A.

1. *The Butlers of Dunraven.*—"Tradition says that the last Arnold Butler had frequently put out false lights, which being taken for those on the island of Lundy, drew ships on the Skutsgar or Toscar Rock, when they were wrecked, and plundered of their cargoes by Arnold Butler. All his children but the youngest, an infant, went out in a very fine summer's day in a small yacht, which had often conveyed the plunder of the wrecked to Dunraven, to the Skutsgar, and moored the yacht on the sandy side of the Rock. A high spring tide carried the vessel away up Channel, leaving the young Butlers on the Rock, where they were soon drowned. The parents and all the servants and guests ran out on the alarm having been given, leaving the youngest child asleep; but when they returned, this child was found drowned also in a tub of milk, which had just been filled for making a cheese. He, in his endeavours to drink some of the milk, fell into the tub, wherein he was found dead. Some say that it was into a tub of sweetwort he fell. In the distraction occasioned by this dreadful event of losing all their children so suddenly, they (the Butlers) sold the estate, and went to live in Monmouthshire. This has ever since been considered by the country as a divine judgment on the Butlers for their infamous practice of having occasioned the loss of so many ships, all of which they always plundered; and not only that, but murdered the sailors also when they had reached the shore by swimming from the Rock. It is said that the prac-

[1] The words of the original have been faithfully preserved, all additions to them (left out of the originals merely for abbreviation) being printed within square brackets.

tice of plundering ships originated with the Butlers, was, as it were, established by them, and, alas! continued by the country people down almost to the present day. It is now nearly discontinued, to which the present more humane family of Dunraven have greatly contributed. Arnold Butler's children, with others, were lost on the Skulskwr, near Ogmore, about 17th of Queen Elizabeth's reign."

2. *Magna Charta.*—"In many of the manuscript pedigrees of the Bassets of Beaupré it is said that Sir Phillip, Lord of St. Hillary, and the first of the family at Beaupré, was the person who first arranged and drew up the copy of Magna Charta which King John was obliged by the barons to sign in Runnymead; that many of those met at Beaupré to assist in this plan and its arrangement. Sir Phillip Basset was Chancellor to Robert Fitzroy, Lord or Prince of Glamorgan, and afterward Lord Chief Justice of England; and as he was so in or about the time of King John, there may be some probability in this account. It is at least remarkable that such a tradition, both oral and written, should be retained and preserved in the family; and its being so would be equally remarkable if it should be proved to be erroneous. The drawing of Magna Charta was a thing of great notoriety, of the greatest importance; and we may very reasonably infer that this family, whose ancestor had such a principal hand in this national concern, should consider it as an honour, and preserve the memory of it for ages."

3. *Various Kinds of Yokes.*—"The oldest Welsh MSS. on agriculture mention the *hir-iau*, or long yoke, having six oxen to it, that draw five plows. The Welsh Laws also mention the *hir-iau.* Whether this is capable of modern improvement must be left to the judgements of ingenious mechanics. I, for my part, think it may be revived on an improved principle. 'Pedair iau y sydd; un yw y Fer-iau, i ddau ychen ac un aradr; ail, y Fer-iau i dri ychen a dwy aradr: trydydd, y Mei-iau i bedwar ychen a thair aradr. Pedwarydd, yr Hir-iau

i chwech ychain a phum aradr.'" [There are four kinds of yokes: one for two oxen and one plough, one for three oxen and two ploughs, the third for four oxen and three ploughs; and the long yoke for six oxen and five ploughs.]

4. *The Title of Penrhaith.*—"Penrhaith, the most ancient title of sovereignty in Britain; *i.e*, chief or foreman of the *Rhaith*, or senatorial assembly. If contentions arose between the Princes of *Dinevwr* and *Aberffraw*, the Prince of *Mathraval* was Penrhaith, the supreme or sovereign, and had authority to assemble a *Rhaith*,—twenty-five from *Aberffraw*, and twenty-five from *Dinevwr*, having himself the casting vote; which, however, was not arbitrary, but a result of the *Rhaith Gwlad*, or *Gorsedd ddygynnull*, of his own principality. In a dispute between *Aberffraw* and *Mathraval*, *Dinevwr* was Penrhaith; if between *Mathraval* and *Dinevwr*, *Aberffraw* was Penrhaith. Besides these, the Pencenedl of every tribe or family could, by *Gosteg un dydd a blwyddyn*, assemble the *Rhaith Gwlad*, whenever he had an occasion, in behalf of his kinsman, or one of his *cenedl* (tribe). He possessed this power independently of the sovereign prince of the *Talaith*, or realm, and could even summon him to *Rhaith Gwlad*, to give an account of his actions, and to answer for them. If the *Pencenedl* was absent, the next in constitutional order was to act; and in the case of his absence, the next to him again in such order; and so down to the *Plainant* or *Claimant* himself, who could in this *ultimatum* of the case assemble a *Rhaith Gwlad* by *Gosteg un dydd a blwyddyn*. On the principles of this ancient British constitution there was an ultimate case, wherein every man could lawfully exercise the powers and authority of a king."

5. *Quakers' Yard.*—"Inscription on a tombstone in Quakers' Yard, in the parish of Merthyr Tydvil (or Llanvabon), on the high road to Cardiff: 'Here lyeth the body of Lydia Phell, who departed this Life the 20 of December 1699, ag'... (The age is obliterated.)

Lydia Phell, it is traditionally said, was a Quaker who had a freehold property in this neighbourhood. She gave the ground walled about, as it still remains, to be to the Society of Friends for a place of worship. It was continued as such till within the memory of many still living, of which I myself am one; and I have been twice at a meeting of Divine worship there. It has a stone bench all around it. The wall is 6 or 7 feet high, with a door on the east side. It is still the property of the Friends, by whom the wall has been repaired in 1821.

"The traditional account of Lydia Phell is, that she was a single woman who had bought the estate, and lived on it; that it was intended to build a Meeting House there, but that most of the Society in these parts emigrated with William Penn to Pennsylvania; and that after the death of Lydia Phell, what remained of them here joined the Society at Tref y Rhyg, where a Meeting House, said to be the oldest in Wales, had been built by Mr. Bevan, of whom the present (or late) Joseph Gurney Bevan, of London, is a descendant.

"Lydia Phell is said to have been very rich, and was very charitable; that on every first day of the week she attended at the Yard to worship, on which occasions she was numerously attended by her poor friends and neighbours, however bad the weather might be. There is hereabout an obvious predilection in favour of the Friends to this very day; and were it tolerably frequented by ministers, a very decent Society might be most probably gathered there. Quakers' Yard stands in a secluded valley, on a gently rising ground, above the romantic river Taf.

"George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, married a daughter, or, as some say, a sister, of Judge Phell. *Quere*, was Lydia Phell a sister or any other relation of Mr. Fox? I have enquired a good deal, and cannot find that there ever was any other person besides herself, of the surname of Phell, in this part of the country."

6. *Aberthaw Harbour.*—"About the time of Charles the First there were two large vessels employed on the West India trade, the owners being the Spencers of Marsh House, and Merchant Nichols, one of the Ham Nichols. Cargoes were brought up by lighters to Booth Cellars or Warehouses and to Marsh House. At the Booth Cellars it was at that time a very common thing to take £100 of a morning for sugar and other West India produce. The merchants and owners were ruined, and of course the trade, in the civil wars. The ruins of the Cellars (as the warehouses were called) are still to be seen at Booth."

7. *Primitive Iron Smelting.*—"Anciently the method of smelting iron [in Glamorgan] was in Bloomeries. The ore, charcoal, and limestone, were in due proportion heaped together in the form of a tumulus, similar to what are now called charcoal-pits, or the heaps of cordwood as put together for being converted into charcoal; and, like these, well covered over with earth or sods. But for iron there was, it is said, a kind of funnel of iron set up in the middle, on the top of the heap thus formed, to give vent to the smoke. Below, on or near the ground, there were two, three, four, or more, pair of large bellows fixed or hung to posts, in a manner similar to that in which blacksmiths hang their bellows. When the blower had raised the upper part of the bellows by pressing down the arm or handle, he stepped up on it, that it might thus be pressed down and blow with greater force, and more effectually blow. Such a bellows was termed *megin dan draed, i.e.*, a bellows under feet. At the base of the heap were formed two, three, or four holes, into which the noses of the bellows were inserted, and closely luted about them with well tempered potter's clay (of the country); and thus were the fires blown, the smoke finding its vent at the central funnel. The fires were thus intensely kept up until the ore was smelted; and as often as the fire appeared through the covering, more earth, or clay, or sods, was added to cover it as long as pos-

sible. When the ore was smelted, the heap (*marteg*) was opened, and the metal conducted into moulds in sand, to form it into pig-iron. It was then cast into moulds, also for boiling pots, poinets, or killets, etc. For the purpose of rendering the iron malleable, it was melted over several times: tradition says nine times. It was afterwards heated for the hammer and anvil, and so worked until it became fit [for] general use; and tradition says that was better iron than any that has ever been made in a different way. For converting it into steel, they passed it through the fire in a proper process many times; some say nine times. The fires for such purposes were made, in addition to charcoal, of horns, hoofs of horses and cattle, bones, and other animal substances, in due proportion. After it had passed through the whole process, it was (witness tradition) most excellent steel. Those old iron-makers, or, if you will, iron-masters, had, it seems, a strong predilection for the number *nine*, or at least tradition has it for them; but the following ancient triad indicates clearly that steel was passed through *nine fires*: 'Tri chaled byd; y maen cellt, *dur naw-gwynias*, a chalon mab y crinwas' (the three hardest things in the world, a flint stone, *the steel of nine fires*, and the heart of a miser)."

8. *Land Inclosure in the County.*—"The county [of Glamorgan] seems to have been enclosed from pretty remote times. Dafydd ap Gwilym, anno 1380, says of it,

> 'Gwlad dan gaead yn gywair,
> Lle nod gwych llawn yd a gwair.'

(A county enclosed in good order, a place of great note, abounding in corn and hay.)

"A MS. history in Welsh, of the Lords Marchers of Glamorgan, says that in the civil wars of Owain Glyndwr all the hedges and enclosures of the county were burnt and otherwise destroyed; that the county lay in that condition, in great part, till the time of Jasper Duke of Bedford, on whom Henry VII bestowed this

Lordship Marcher. He bountifully assisted the county to reinclose the land, built a great many houses, planted great numbers of orchards, [and] eased the county of many of its grievances.

"Leland represents the county as inclosed about the year 1430.

"Rhys Meyrig, of Cottrell in this county, [who] wrote a history of Glamorgan in the time of Elizabeth, a copy of which is in the British Museum, says that he remembered old people who had seen that part of the country between the high Post Road, as it was called, and Barry, open and uninclosed. This implies that it was in his time inclosed, and had been so ever since the first part of the reign of Henry VII, as Jasper died before him. And his saying that he remembered old men that saw the country uninclosed, must refer to a period so far back; and thus his account corresponds with my Welsh MS. account.

"The same Welsh MS. says that Sir Gilbert de Clare, Lord of Glamorgan (he married Jane de Acres, daughter to Edward I, whence we know the time wherein he lived), built 2,000 cottages, giving them to the poor of the country, and planted orchards that they might have good fruits and wine, as the MS. says; and in the populous villages he built the houses now called Church (*the word is very illegible*) houses. The upper apartments are halls, [in which] law courts, baron, [and] parish courts (vestries) were held; and where markets were held every Sunday morning on meats, meal, cheese, butter, etc.; and therein the assemblies of dance and song (so the Welsh phrase it) were held as often as the inhabitants pleased.

"These structures still remain in their original form. The lower apartments are mostly inhabited by the parish poor. Above them [is] a large room [with] a stairs to it from without, which would in most country towns in the kingdom be at this day esteemed a good town hall, chiefly used at present for schoolrooms, for dancing as of old, and sometimes for vestries, the

meetings of benefit societies, etc.; now and then as Methodist preaching places: this and the dance often succeeding one another."

9. *Cows and Horses Yoked.*—"It is traditionally said in some places in the mountains, that of old they habituated their cattle, cows as well as oxen, to be saddled, and to carry manure, etc., where wheel-carriages could not go. If true, it is to be much lamented that ever such a practice was discontinued, and it should be revived. The practice of yoking cows as well as oxen to the plough is not quite forgotten. I have seen it two or three times. Tradition says that horses were formerly yoked, and I have had a horse-yoke described to me. Two horses yoked, and a single horse before them, was esteemed a sufficient plough-team."

MEDIÆVAL PEMBROKESHIRE.

In Pembrokeshire, and more particularly in its southern portion, are found stone roofs which are the distinguishing features of the churches of that district. Their peculiar character is fully described in the valuable paper on "The Architectural Antiquities of South Pembrokeshire", by Mr. E. A. Freeman, read at the Tenby Meeting in 1852, and published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of that year, pp. 162-202. Although military and domestic buildings are included in the article, they occupy a small space in comparison with that which is devoted to the examination of the ecclesiastical remains.

In describing the tall, narrow towers of the churches, Mr. Freeman shews that they were, no doubt, constructed not merely as belfries, but as secure places for temporary retreat in cases of sudden attacks. He notices other peculiar features; but these occur in other districts. There is, however, one distinguishing feature

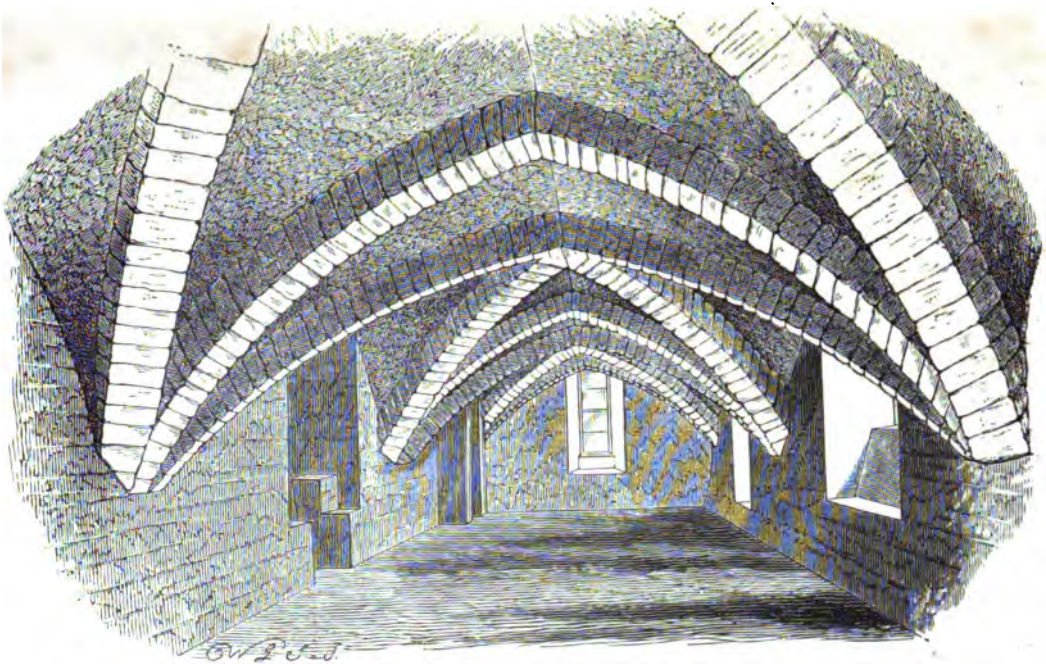
which occurs only in Pembrokeshire. This is the stone roof described by Mr. Freeman as a "perfectly plain, pointed, barrel-vault without impost, rib, or anything to break or mask it. It is simply an inclination of the walls on each side; and when the church is small and low, it gives almost the appearance of a cavern." This description applies also to the roofs of domestic buildings, numerous instances of which remain, although several have been removed within the memory of the present generation, as, for example, the building adjoining the churchyard at Tenby, said to have been the parish poor-house, which was removed in 1866. Examples of these vaulted roofs in domestic remains exist at the partly ruined house at Lydstep, on the right hand side of the road from Tenby to Manorbeer, which has been variously described as a hunting-seat of Bishop Gower, or the *palace* occupying the site of Llys Castle, where a king of Dyfed is said to have held his court. The peasants of the district, within the last fifteen or sixteen years, called it the "Place of Arms", and probably it is still known by that name. It is, however, only the remains of a larger building which must have been at one time of considerable importance. There still remain several vaulted rooms; some of which, however, are unprovided with chimneys or windows. A view of the exterior will be found in vol. xiii of the 3rd Series of the Journal (1867), p. 366. On the opposite side of the road is another early house with similar vaulted roof, but not so old or interesting as the "Place of Arms". The same roofs are found in the buildings adjoining the churchyard of Manorbeer, and in the oldest part of Scotsborough House, near Tenby, although in this latter case the upper part of the vault has been destroyed; but sufficient is left to shew what it was in its original form. Numerous other examples might be mentioned, but they are not so common as in churches.

If these are common enough, yet examples of genuine groined vaulting are very rare. Mr. Freeman says that

it only occurs in one or two of the towers at Robeston and Warren; but in this latter instance only skeleton springers remain. In the south chapels of Cheriton and Gumfreston plain cross-ribs are thrown across to disguise, as Mr. Freeman thinks, "a roof of the ordinary construction". At Haverfordwest is a house, on the left hand side as one ascends the hill, and near St. Mary's Church. The cellar of it has an early groined roof with massive ribs. In the belfry of the church is another example of the same kind of roof which is also said to exist in the porch of Nolton Church. At St. David's, in the Cathedral and adjoining buildings, are also remains of the same character. But our observations are limited to the English speaking portion of the county.

In a few of the castles within this district are remains of groined vaults, as in Carew Castle; where, however, the ribs have been knocked away at some period. In Picton and Newport Castles still remain examples, on the ground-floors, of the round towers; but in the former case a chamber has been utilised as a beer-cellar, and has somewhat suffered in consequence.

The cellars of Stackpool Court, the sole remaining relics of the former Castle, furnish a fine example of the ribbed barrel-vault, which remind one of the inferior similar work of the transept of Manorbeer Church, although the ribs are not set so close together. The masonry in the latter case is so rude and coarse that it must have been intended to be plastered as at present. But the most perfect example of a groined roof is that of the basement of Monkton Hall, known as the Prior's Hall, or according to the author of the *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, the Great Hall or the Charity Hall. Mr. Cobb, in his excellent description of it, which appears in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of 1880 (pp. 248-252), calls it simply the "old Hall", as its original use is somewhat uncertain. The character of this vaulted basement will be best understood by the accompanying illustration (cut No. 1) from the accurate



No. 1.—BASEMENT CHAMBER, MONKTON HALL.

Of its history nothing is known, nor even is the ownership free from doubt,—a doubt which has prevented a member who was desirous of buying it, from carrying out his intention. Under these circumstances its destruction, either by weather or by man, seems inevitable. It was called "old John Dunn's house"; which is all that is known, and which is certainly very little, as even all memory of the man has passed away. The other building belongs to St. Mary's parish. There is a good window which looked to the south, over the probable line of parapet of the town wall. It is now blocked; but if opened, it might give some evidence as to the date of this building, which may be of the fifteenth century. It is not, however, easy to say how far local styles remain in fashion in any particular district after they have passed away elsewhere. These remains of ancient Pembroke are certainly picturesque, and worthy, on that account, of being given in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, where their likeness will remain long after the buildings themselves have vanished.

For most of the above details we are indebted to J. R. Cobb, Esq., the Local Secretary for Breconshire.

Another remnant of former times is the Blockhouse, an illustration of which is also here given. (Cut No. 3.) It is situated in Angle (or as it is sometimes called, but erroneously, Nangle), which is, in fact, a corruption of *in angulo*. Nangle, however, has been in use in early times, as the Nangles of Ireland derive their name from this place, their ancestor having joined Strongbow in his invasion of Ireland. A large portion of the county Leitrim was granted to De Angle after the Conquest. The family were subsequently palatinate barons of Navan, County Meath. The Lords Nangle of Connaught became Irish, and took the names of Mac Hostilo, now corrupted into Costello. (See "Irish Families of Welsh Extraction" in the *Arch. Camb.* of 1852, p. 139.)

The situation of this ruin is one of great beauty, looking over the entrance of the Haven, towards Dale.

No. 3.—NANGLE BLOCK HOUSE.

There is another called West Blockhouse, as this one is known as the East, on Dale Point, exactly opposite. The contributor of the account of Dale, given in Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*, says Blockhouses were built here in the reign of Elizabeth; a chain, as it is stated, being drawn across the mouth of the Haven, from St. Anne's "to Nangle Point on the opposite coast, to obstruct the passage of the Spanish Armada". These points are nearly two miles apart, a fact which shews the value of the tradition. The Blockhouse at Dale corresponding to the one at Nangle Point, may have served as a signal-station; but they could not by guns prevent the entrance of vessels, unless those guns approached those of the present time in projectile force. But however this may be, the name indicates for what purpose they were erected. George Owen, the historian of Pembrokeshire, states that this Blockhouse was built in the time of Henry VIII. Lewis Morris assigns it to the reign of Elizabeth; but does not appear to have any authority for his statement, unless it may be the tradition which speaks of the long chain to cut off all approach to the Haven; whereas, on the other hand, Fenton (p. 403) justly argues that George Owen, who lived about that time, and made a survey and drew up an exact account of Milford Haven for the Earl of Pembroke, could hardly have made such a mistake. The fact that Henry built on the south and east coasts low castles commanding convenient landing-places (as, for example, on the coast between Rye and Winchelsea), may lead us to suppose that he might have taken similar precautions at the Haven, changing only the character of the works to suit that of the ground. The eastern part of Brighton was formerly protected by a block-house built by Henry, but the removal of which, about a hundred years ago, was made necessary by the encroachment of the sea. A similar defensive work was also erected by him to protect the entrance to Southampton Bay, and still exists, with some small additions. It is well known as Calshot

Castle, a small work more picturesque than useful as a stronghold. Hurst Castle, on the same coast, is another of Henry's building.

In describing the building, Fenton remarks that the parts projecting over the precipice "are held up by the strength of the cement, which seems harder than the stone itself." Although a native of the county, he does not seem to have been impressed with the great superiority of Pembrokeshire lime, otherwise he would hardly have "been inclined to infer that something had been here begun by the Romans for the security of the harbour", of the importance of which he suggests that they were fully aware. In confirmation of this theory he states that he has noted traces of a Roman road from St. David's (or Menevia), coastwise, to Dale, where the opposite Blockhouse stands; and thinks that "Carausius, that great naval commander, and a native of the country, must have justly estimated the value of such a harbour." But unfortunately for this tempting story, the masonry has nothing Roman in its composition. The Roman road, coastwise, that he traced, no one, it is believed, has been fortunate enough to find; for the only known road to Menevia, or Menapia, is the well known Via Julia, with its station Ad Vicesimum. And lastly, the Menapia which was the birthplace of Carausius was not in Pembrokeshire at all. It was a district between the Scheldt and the Meuse. Carausius probably, therefore, knew little about Milford Haven.

We may, then, take George Owen's statement, namely that it was built in the time of Henry VIII, to be the correct one; and if the one on the opposite side of the water is the same, the two are unique specimens of sea-coast defences in Wales.

It is only necessary to mention that we are indebted to Mr. Worthington G. Smith for the faithful and beautifully executed illustrations.

E. L. BARNWELL.

May 24, 1881.

THE CALDY ISLAND STONE.

In vol. i of the 3rd Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, at p. 258, Prof. J. O. Westwood gives a description and illustration of this stone. In vol. xi of the 4th Series, p. 294, Prof. Westwood returns to the subject with a second illustration from my graver. Little remains to be added to these two descriptions and illustrations. The stone is 5 feet 10½ inches long, 1 foot 2¾ inches wide at its narrowest part, and 4 inches thick. The first illustration was engraved from a rubbing only. I made myself familiar with the first cut before I made the camera-lucida drawing on the spot. Prof. Westwood, in his first description, says the letters are "rudely formed"; but in this (if he means that they are thick and clumsy) he has been misled by the rubbing, as the actual letters are sharp, and somewhat thin, and

to me elegant. The limbs of the cross, described as "somewhat furcate", I could only see as perfectly straight and flat. A comparison of my engraving, letter for letter, with that of 1855, taken with Prof. Westwood's reading, cannot fail to be instructive. The differences in

some of the letters, and the difference in the proportion of the upper limb of the cross, are singular. It seems strange that the additional Ogham marks of the right hand edge, the crosses on the edges, and the cross on the back, were at first overlooked. The cross at the back has not till now been illustrated; so that the present engraving, chiefly founded on a sharp and excellent rubbing kindly supplied by J. T. Hawksley, Esq., lord of the manor, and aided by my memory and a rough sketch I made on the spot, will suffice to complete the illustration of this remarkable stone. The cross at the back is similar in size with that of the front. It is, however, considerably lower down on the stone; it is much more rude in execution, and all the limbs are boldly furcate at the extremities.

The stone is in good preservation, and the inscription is remarkably clear and sharp. It only remains to be added that the present engraving, and that of the entire stone at p. 294 of vol. xi, 4th Series, are both engraved to an uniform scale, viz., 1 inch to the foot.

W. G. Smith.

HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(*Continued from p. 225, Vol. xi.*)

1626, April 25. Order for the discharge of Griffith, undersheriff of Carnarvon, in custody for arresting Henry Griffith, servant to the Bishop of Bangor. Annexed: 1. List of persons to be sent for to answer for contempt in the matter of Griffith's arrest. Signed by the Lord Keeper Coventry. 2. Petition of Sir Thomas Williams, Bart., High Sheriff of the County of Carnarvon, to Lord Keeper Coventry.

1626, May 4. Warrant to pay Jenkin Lloyd, Esq., £25 for the press of one hundred men, and their conduct from Montgomery to Chester, for service in Ireland.

1626, May 4. Warrant to pay John Wynne £7 11*s.* 8*d.* for the press of fifty men, and their conduct from Merionethshire to Chester, for service in Ireland.

1626, May 16. Petition of Anne Toy, praying their Lordships to hear her suit against the Bishop of Bangor and Sir Robert Mansell.

1626, May 16. Petition of John Edwards the elder, of Chirke, that the order made by this House in his cause against his son may be discharged.

1626, May 16. Petition of John Edwards the younger, that the order made by their Lordships on the 9th of July 1625, in his suit against John Edwards the elder, may be confirmed.

1628, April 29. Petition of James Whitney, one of the clerks of the Convocation for the diocese of Llandaff. Richard Colley, petitioner's servant, has been arrested by the Under-Sheriff of Hereford. Claims the ancient privilege of the House of Convocation, and prays that the persons offending may be sent for to answer their contempt.

1628, May 16. Petition of the Lower House of Convocation. Richard Colley, servant to James Whitney, a member of their House, has been arrested, contrary to privilege, by the under-sheriff of Hereford. Prays that he may be punished for his offence.

1640, April 14. Certificate of the return of Thomas Glynne, Esq., as knight of the shire for the county of Carnarvon, and John Glynne, Esq., for the town of Carnarvon.

1640, April 15. Certificate of the return of Sir Edward Lloyd to be burgess for the town of Montgomery.

1640, April 15. Certificate that William Herbert, of Cardiff, Esq., returned to be burgess for that town, is improperly described as mayor. The said town is "no mayor town", and the indenture has accordingly been amended by the Sheriff.

1640, April 15. Certificate of the return of Francis Lloyd, Esq., to be burgess for the town of Carmarthen.

1640, Nov. 10. Copy of warrant for issuing a new writ for election of a Member for Carnarvonshire.

1640, Nov. 14. List of the sums received at the Exchequer from the laity of each county of England and Wales, for the fifth subsidy under the Act 3 Car. I, cap. 7, amounting to £54,407 18*s.* 6½*d.*, and the fifth subsidy of the nobility, amounting to £3,910 18*s.* 0*d.*

1640-1, Jan. 21. Petition of Hugh Morgan that John Vaughan may be called upon to answer for refusing to deliver up to petitioner certain lands in Merionethshire in compliance with two orders of the Court of Requests.

1640-1, Feb. 1. Petition of Hugh Gwyn Ap Humphrey and his mother Mary Gwyn for relief against a decree in Chancery, made by the late Lord Keeper Finch, touching certain lands in Carnarvonshire.

1640-1, Feb. 9. Petition of John Watkins, B.D. Henry Morgan, clerk, was lately presented to the rectory of St. Fagan's;

but a charge of simony was brought against him, and petitioner obtained presentation from the King. Morgan is dead; but the Bishop of Llandaff will not institute petitioner upon the King's title. Prays for relief.

1640-1, Feb. 27. Petition of the nobility, knights, gentry, ministers, freeholders, and inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester [to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament]. Many petitions are circulated in the country in favour of innovations in religion, the opinions contained in which petitions the present petitioners entirely disclaim. While thanking Parliament for what has already been done in redressing grievances and repressing Popery, they deprecate any change in episcopal government, which they believe to be far more conducive to religious liberty than the Presbyterian. They annex a copy of a petition or libel dispersed abroad, and also a copy of certain positions preached in the county, which they believe to contain matter dangerous to the peace both of Church and State. (L. J., iv, 174.) Annexed:

1. Copy of petition or libel referred to in preceding. Petitioners' grievances are insupportable; and thanking God for the opportunity of representing them to Parliament, they complain of grievances: 1st, ecclesiastical,—the usurping prelates and their lawless, dependent officers; and their irregular manner of worshipping God, which they cruelly impose upon petitioners. The prelates are the Pope's substitutes, and lord it over God's heritage, both the pastors and people. Petitioners pray for the utter abolition of bishops, their impious courts, their dependent officers, their corrupt canons, book of articles, and "English refined Mass-Book of Common Prayer, with all their Popish, significant ceremonies therein contained." 2ndly, civil miseries: payment of tithes, delay in suits at law, county courts kept on Monday, and petitioners thereby obliged to travel on Sunday; the country very destitute of schoolmasters, excessive fines imposed by some landlords. Pray for government according to the will of God revealed in the Old and New Testaments.

2. Certain positions preached at St. John's Church in Chester by Mr. Samuel Eaton, a minister lately returned from New England. Names of parsons and vicars are anti-Christian; pastors, etc., should be chosen by the people; things of human invention (the Book of Common Prayer) are unsavoury and loathsome unto God; each congregation should censure its own members, and not allow this power to the bishops; episcopal government should be abolished, and those who helped not in the work should be cursed, like Meroz; "the power of the keys" belongs to the whole congregation.

These papers are stitched up in vellum, with 113 pages of schedules of signatures.

1640-1, March 3. Petition of Griffith Griffiths [to H. C.] prays for inquiry into the conduct of Richard Wynne, who having bought the office of under-sheriff of Montgomery, is a great exactor of fees and oppressor of the county.

1641, May 8. Return of the payments made by the laity of each county in England and Wales to a subsidy in the seventh year of James I, amounting in all to £71,630 9*s.* 11*d.*

1641, May 31. Certificate of the magistrates and ministers of the city of Chester, that there have been no such disturbances in any of the churches there as are mentioned in their Lordships' Order of the 22nd of April last. Pray for grave consideration of those who have wrongfully informed the House. (L. J., iv, 262.)

Annexed: 1. Copy of order mentioned in preceding (L. J., iv, 225), *in extenso.*

1641, June 19. Petition of Mary Hughes, spinster, for relief against Thomas Hughes and Roger Middleton touching a mortgage of the manor of Esclusham in the county of Denbigh.

1641, August 14. Draft order for the protection of Thomas Bushell, Undertaker of His Majesty's Mines Royal in the county of Cardigan, in the working of the same. (L. J., iv, 364.)

Annexed: 1. Affidavit of William Bushell, steward to Thomas Bushell, respecting the mines and the opposition of Henry Middleton to the working of the same. 11 Aug.

2. Certificate of Sir Robert Heath. 11 Aug.

3. Paper respecting the case. Bushell having put in bail, pursuant to order, prays that he may be put into quiet possession of the mines.

1641, Aug. 25. Copy of order for the seizure of the temporalities of the Bishop of St. David's until he make appearance in Parliament. (L. J., iv, 376.) *In extenso.*

1641, Aug. 30. The Commons' declaration upon the complaint of Sir John Corbett, Bart., against John Earl of Bridgewater; William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; Henry Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal; Francis Lord Cottington, Edward Lord Newburgh, Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Francis Windebank, Knights and Secretaries of State. In 1632 the Earl of Bridgewater, then Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire, appointed Edward Barton muster-master for the county, and, contrary to law, imposed upon the county a large yearly sum, afterwards reduced to £50. At a sessions before Sir John Corbett and others, this was presented to the grand jury as a grievance, and some doubt arising, Sir John said that the Petition of Right would deter-

mine that question, and desired that it might be read. For this he was put out of the commission of the peace, attached, and brought before the Council Board, and was committed to the Fleet, and there kept prisoner twenty-four weeks and three days, the plague being then in London. During this imprisonment an information was exhibited against him in the Star Chamber, containing no other matters than the doings aforesaid; to which Sir John was compelled to answer, and to enter into bond for £2,000 to attend from time to time. The cause was published three years since, but never brought to a hearing. The Commons impeach the Earl of Bridgewater and the other persons above mentioned for their several shares in these illegal proceedings. (L. J., iv, 383.)

1641, Dec. 30. Petition of divers of the nobility, justices, gentry, ministers, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester [to the King, Lords, and Commons]. Petitioners are very apprehensive of the dangerous consequences of innovation, and much scandalised at the present disorders. The holy, public service is so fast rooted by a long settled continuance in the Church that it cannot be altered, unless by the advice and consent of some national synod, without universal discontent. Petitioners pray that no innovation of doctrine or liturgy may be admitted, and that some speedy course may be taken to suppress schismatics and separatists whose factious spirit endangers the peace of both Church and State. The petition is signed by 9,556 persons. (L. J., iv, 482.) *In extenso.*

1641. The names of great recusants that live in and near the town of Monmouth, where the magazine of the county is, with the value of their estates, and the distances at which they live from the town.

1641. Petition of John Owen that Lewis Nanney may be called upon to answer for his misdemeanors touching certain leases of the manor of Estimawer in the county of Merioneth.

1641. Petition of Sir William Williams, Bart., prays for a determination of the cause between his brother Thomas Williams and himself, touching the will of their late father. The matter was referred to the Bishop of Lincoln, who gave a judgment to which petitioner, though a loser thereby, is ready to submit; but his brother declines so to do.

Obituary.

In the last Number of the Society's Journal we had the melancholy duty of recording the deaths of two of our oldest members, both octogenarians. We have on the present occasion a still more painful announcement to make, namely the death of Edward Breese of Portmadoc, which occurred on the 10th of March last, in London. He was born in Caermarthen, April 13, 1835; so that he was removed at the early age of 45. He was the son of the Rev. John Breese by Margaret, second daughter of Mr. David Williams of Saeson, Carnarvonshire. On the resignation of his uncle, the late Mr. David Williams, who for some years represented the county of Merioneth in Parliament, he was appointed by the Court of Chancery Receiver of the extensive Madoc estate. He was also Clerk of the Peace for the county of Merioneth, and to the Magistrates of the Portmadoc and Penrhyn divisions. In 1862 he purchased the Dolwriog estate, which in the fifteenth century formed part of the lands of Rhys Goch Eryri. At a later period he became by purchase the owner of a smaller property, but of greater interest as containing the great Roman camp of Tomen y Mur, which, had his life been spared, would probably have been more completely examined than has as yet been done, for few took more genuine interest in Welsh antiquities of all classes than he did. He was Local Secretary for Merioneth when in 1876, on an attempt being made to preserve from destruction the building in Dolgelley known as Cwrt Plasyndre, on the ground of its being the parliament-house of Owen Glyndwr, he came forward and proved that the tradition was a myth, and that the house could never have been what it was popularly believed to be. Owen did hold a parliament in that town, but this building was not then in existence.

Among Mr. Breese's other literary contributions, the *Kalendars of Gwynedd*, printed in 1873, is the most important. The amount of research and labour was enormous; and as his careful accuracy was one of his most remarkable characteristics, the work is one of very great value. After the Carnarvon Meeting in 1877, arrangements were made for printing the *Diary of Peter Roberts of St. Asaph*, and a transcript was obtained by him for that purpose, Mr. Breese undertaking the editing. Notices of the intended publication were issued, and several subscribers' names were obtained. The state of Mr. Breese's health caused some delay. Unfortunately one of his eyes was subsequently so injured by a gunshot, that after suffering intense agony for a considerable time he was compelled to have it removed, and apparently had recovered from the effects. In the early part of last February he went to London, where he caught cold, which seems to have brought on a serious attack of rheumatic fever, which terminated his existence, as above stated, on the 10th of March.

In the formation of his library he spared no expense. Among other literary treasures is a perfect copy of Salesbury's New Testament, which is in that condition so rare that it may almost be called unique. There are also more than one copy of the original edition of Powell's *History of Wales*, all of them in unusually good condition.

Mr. Breese was, however, not only an able and accomplished scholar as regards the history and antiquities of his native country, but he was one of the most genial and hospitable neighbours, and a kind-hearted and generous friend to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance; so that the void his decease has made will not be easily filled up, either as regards his large circle of private friends, or the members of this Association. He leaves a widow and six children, the eldest of whom, aged sixteen, was to have been articled to his father, who was head of the well known firm of solicitors, Breese, Casson, and Co., of Portmadoc; but is now, we believe, in their offices.

It is remarkable that in this same month the Society lost two other members of long standing. On the 14th died THOMAS BRIGSTOCK, Esq., of Welbeck Street, connected with a well known family of that name in South Wales; and on the 22nd he was followed by the Rev. CHARLES WILLIAM HEATON, a younger son of John Heaton, Esq., of Plas Heaton in Denbighshire, and rector of Aston Clinton, one of the most valuable livings in the gift of Jesus College, Oxon., of which he was for many years a Fellow.

We have also the painful duty of recording the death of another old member of our Association, Canon WILLIAMS of Culmington, formerly of Rhydycroesau, who has soon followed his friends and fellow antiquaries, Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, and Mr. Breese of Portmadoc, to the tomb. Canon Williams was for over forty years vicar of Llangadwaladr and rector of Rhydycroesau.

Mr. Williams was the son of the Rev. Robert Williams, perpetual curate of Llandudno, Carnarvonshire, and was born in Conway on the 29th of June 1810. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and took a third class in Classics and his M.A. degree in 1832. The year following he became curate of Llangernyw, and in 1837 vicar of Llangadwaladr. In 1838 to this was added the rectory of Rhydycroesau, near Oswestry, which he held up to 1879, when he removed to Culmington.

As a Welsh scholar and antiquary, Canon Williams took the foremost rank, and his death will be a severe loss to Celtic literature. Up to the last his pen was active, and his literary services to the Principality covered more than half a century. His name to the general reader will be best known as the author of an admirable "Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen", a goodly octavo volume of nearly 600 pages, which was published in its present form in 1852. This popular work first saw the light in 1831, as we gather from a minute in the "Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society" of that year,

which states that a prize was awarded to "Robert Williams, Esq.," for a "Biographical Sketch of the most Eminent Individuals Wales has produced since the Reformation." This was the year, we may note in passing, in which the Society awarded another prize to a "young Welshman" (Arthur James Johnes, Esq.) for an essay on the "Causes which in Wales have produced Dissent from the Established Church." The Society had Mr. Williams' "Biographical Sketches" translated into Welsh, and "printed for general circulation in the Principality", under the title of "Enwogion Cymru", and the original MS. was ordered to be printed in the fourth Number of the Society's "Transactions". In 1836 the author issued the first special edition of the book with "Addenda", containing notices of Dr. W. O. Pughe, R. Llwyd, and others. This was a thin duodecimo of 115 pages, and was published by Hughes of 15, St. Martin's-le-Grand, London.

Another of Mr. Williams' earlier works was his "History of Aberconwy", which appeared in its original form as an "Historical Account of Conway Castle." In 1865 Mr. Williams gave to the world his "Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum", a dictionary of the ancient Celtic language of Cornwall. This was a quarto volume, of which 500 copies were issued. The work is out of print.

The most recent work of the deceased was the editing and translating of selections from the famous Hengwrt MSS. preserved at Peniarth. In 1876 Mr. Williams issued the first volume of "Y Seint Greal". In the preface he says: "'The Seint Greal' is the most important of the prose works now remaining in manuscript, and it is written in such pure and idiomatic Welsh as to have all the value of an original work, and is well deserving of the study of the writers of the present day, few of whom can write a page without corrupting the language by the copious introduction of English idioms literally translated. Should I succeed in bringing out 'The Greal' without incurring a heavy loss, I shall proceed with the publication of 'The Gests of Charlemagne', 'Bown o Hamton', 'Lucidar', 'Ymborth yr Enaid', 'Purdan Padrig', 'Buchedh Mair Wyry', 'Evengyl Nicodemus', etc., all of which have been carefully transcribed by me." "The Greal", as we have said, appeared in 1876, in a complete volume, having been first issued in three Parts. Two further Parts, for the second volume, have since been issued.

Mr. Williams' literary labours were by no means confined to his published books. He was one of the Editorial Committee of our Association, and at various times contributed to the pages of the Journal. He also wrote a few papers in the now extinct *Cambrian Journal.* To *Bye-Gones* he also occasionally wrote, and his contributions were always valuable. The publishers of the *Gossiping Guide to Wales* were indebted to him for a thorough revision of the work, and the addition of a Glossary of Welsh words. In 1868 Mr. Williams translated into English the *Book of Taliesin*, for Mr. Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, and in 1878 he revised several of the notes to Mr. Askew Roberts' edition of the *History of the Gwydir Family.*

Mr. Williams' literary labours speak for themselves, and need no

panegyric. He was a hard-working student to the last, and although over seventy years of age was able to read the smallest type without glasses, and often continued his studies until midnight without fatigue. As a Welsh scholar he has been rivalled, but not surpassed, and his library of Welsh books and books connected with Wales is extensive and valuable. The *Montgomeryshire Collections* of the Powysland Club, published last year, contain a letter from Mr. Williams to Mr. Morris C. Jones, the Hon. Secretary of that Society, urging that the Museum at Welshpool should be made the grand library for the reception of Welsh printed books; and calling attention to the fact that even the most unimportant works may sometimes be useful to scholars, instancing as an illustration of this the extracts from old Welsh almanacks published in *Bye-Gones* by Mr. E. G. Salisbury of Glan Aber, Chester. We wish we could express a reasonable hope that the library of the deceased could be secured to carry out this suggestion. The remains of the deceased gentleman were interred at Culmington on Monday the 2nd of May 1881.

A. R.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

EARLY DEFENCES OF HEREFORD AND OTHER TOWNS ON THE WELSH BORDER.

SIR,—A perusal of the interesting paper on the "Castles of England at the Conquest and under the Conqueror", in the last Number, induces me to make a few remarks on the subject of it. Hereford is mentioned in it as one of the towns already walled at the time of the Conquest; but a question arises whether this was a stone wall. The word *murus* would lead to the conclusion that it was. It appears, however, that Earl Harold, after his victory over the Welsh in 1055, returned to Hereford, and surrounded the city with a wide ditch and high earthwork, fortified with gates and bolts or bars (*seris*). It is improbable that a stone wall was added soon afterwards. In *Domesday Book* there are three or four references to the wall of the city of Hereford in the time of King Edward, and a distinction is made between the dwellers within and without the wall. The town within the wall had but a few inhabitants. As the city increased, the dwellings without the wall were probably included within it; but if a wall existed at the time of the Survey, the city appears to have been only partially enclosed in the early part of the reign of Henry III. During the King's stay there, on the 24th September 1223 (Close Rolls, vol. i, p. 564), he directed Brian de L'Isle to let the citizens of Hereford have materials for a hedge and stakes (*claisturam et palos*) of thorns

and maples (*arabulis*) and underwood in his forest of Trivel and Haye of Hereford, to enclose the city where it was not enclosed. A pleashed or tyned hedge of dead wood formed the boundary between the park and Castle of Huntington in 1413. (*Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 46.) Shrewsbury and Bridgenorth were, in the early part of the same King's reign, without a sufficient defensive enclosure. In the 2nd Henry III the Sheriff of Salop was commanded to order the men of Salop to adopt every means of fortifying and enclosing their town, and so preventing the King's enemies having free ingress into it. Two years afterwards Shrewsbury and Bridgenorth were authorised to receive certain tolls for three years to enable them to enclose the towns for safety and defence. No mention is made of a wall. The Sheriff of Salop was at the same time ordered to let the burgesses of each town have out of the King's forest trunks of old trees (*zuchis*) and dead wood to make two piles or heaps of wood (*rogos*) to aid in their enclosure. A ditch and mound would necessarily form a part of such a fenced enclosure. (*Close Rolls*, vol. i, pp. 374 and 418.)

Ditches, with the excavations thrown up to form a rampart, were probably in use as defences for many years after the Conquest, where stone was not readily procurable. Writs of murage for enclosing and protecting the town of New Radnor were granted in 42 Henry III and 11 and 18 Edward I. A large portion of the town wall remains standing on the west and south; but it presents the appearance of a wide ditch with a very high turf-covered earthwork rising out of the ditch.

The remarkable earthworks which formed the site of the Castle of Builth (see vol. v, present Series) were probably thrown up under the direction of Reginald de Braose, for separate writs were issued to the Sheriffs of the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, directing them to let Reginald have the aid of men of their respective counties to fortify the Castle of Builth, and throw up earthworks there,—*fossatas et trencheyas*. (*Close Rolls*, vol. i, p. 408.) The employment of men from these three counties sufficiently shews the magnitude of the earthworks undertaken. Judging from the account of works, the walled structure which formed the Castle of Builth may have been built from the 5th to 9th Edward I; but unfortunately these accounts are mere entries of the monies paid weekly for wages and materials, and give no account of the nature of the works.

R. W. B.

TOMEN Y MUR.

SIR,—In September 1880 the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater, of Shrewsbury, wrote to *Bye-Gones* to call attention to a stone lying on a wall at Tomen y Mur, Festiniog, which bore incised marks. Had Mr. Breese lived he could have investigated the matter. The Rev. W. Alport Leighton, in reply to Mr. Drinkwater's query, conjectures the stone to have on it an Ogham inscription, although no mention is made of one at Festiniog in Brash's work; and the only incised stones re-

corded in the locality, figured by Westwood, are Roman sepulchral inscriptions. Perhaps some reader of this may have an opportunity, during the coming season, of reporting on this stone.

Yours, etc., A. R.

Croeswylan, Oswestry.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Is it true that the bilingual inscription at Llanvaughan, near Llanybyther, which was visited by the Association during the Meeting at Lampeter, has recently been demolished? Some assurance to the contrary would be very acceptable to all members of the Association. No doubt some of the Local Secretaries can give the information required. X. Y. Z.

At p. 86 of the Iolo MSS. we have a short tract entitled "Prif Gyfoethau Gwlad Gymry." Some of the boundaries there given are exceedingly curious and interesting. But where is the original? At the bottom of the page Iolo gives one to understand that his version comes from "Llyfr Mr. Cobb, o Gaer Dyf." Who was the Mr. Cobb of Cardiff referred to? and what has become of his book? Can anybody give me a clue to its whereabouts? J. Rhys.

Miscellaneous Notices.

Cambrian Archæological Association.—The Meeting of the Association for the present year will be held at Church Stretton, under the presidency of C. C. Babington, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., on Monday, August 1, and four following days. Particulars as to arrangements will be given in the July Number.

Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FOURTH SERIES.—VOL. XII, NO. XLVII.

JULY 1881.

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF CASTLES IN THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

HENRY II was a great builder, and especially of military works. "In muris, in propugnaculis, in munitionibus, in fossatis,.....nullus subtilior, nullus magnificentior, invenitur." This, however, does not so much refer to new castles, of which he built but few, as to the completion or addition of new keeps to the old ones, such, for example, as Dover.

A few days after his arrival in England he received the fealty of the magnates of the realm at Winchester Castle, and was crowned at Westminster, 19th December, immediately after which he granted to William Earl of Arundel the Castle and Honour of Arundel and the third penny of the county of Sussex. This was probably for life, for upon the Earl's death in 1176 the Castle and county reverted to the Crown, and were regranted. Notwithstanding this beginning, Henry was fully determined to carry out the policy agreed upon at Wallingford in the face of the nation. A few days later he attended a council at Bermondsey, at which it was decided to order all foreign mercenaries to quit the kingdom on pain of death, and to raze all castles erected in the reign of Stephen. This decision was felt on all sides to be absolutely required, and it was, to a great extent, at once acted upon. Of these "castra

adulterina" he destroyed, by some accounts, 375; by others, 1,115. Unfortunately their names and sites have rarely been preserved, and can only be inferred where a castle played a part in the wars of Stephen and Matilda, and is not afterwards mentioned. These castles were, no doubt, built usually by men of limited means, and in haste; but even a small and badly built castle of masonry would require some labour and outlay of money for its destruction. Possibly many of these buildings were of timber, upon the existing mounds. Also there are found slight earthworks of no great height or area, the plan of which seems that of a Norman castle, and which not improbably belong to this period. At Eaton-Socon in Bedfordshire, and Lilbourne in Northamptonshire are such earthworks. Farringdon and Mount Sorrel Castles, and those of Stansted and Hinkley, Coventry, Cricklade, and Winchcombe, are thought to have been dismantled at this time. Drax Castle, in Yorkshire, stood out, and was destroyed, as, though far less completely, were Bungay and Tutbury, Thirsk, Malzeard, and Groby. Under the pressure of the times even ecclesiastical buildings had been occupied as castles. Ramsey and Coventry Abbeys were so used by Geoffrey Glanville and Robert Marmion, and the fine church of Bridlington by D'Aumâle.

Henry strove to carry out the new policy without respect for rank or party; but when he threatened the strongholds of the great nobles his difficulties began. Hugh Mortimer and Roger son of Milo Earl of Hereford and High Constable, old supporters of Matilda, refused to surrender Wigmore, Cleobury, Bridgenorth, Hereford, and Gloucester. Henry at once took action. Leaving Wallingford Castle in the spring of 1155, he laid siege to Bridgenorth, whence one of his letters is dated, "apud Brugiam in obsidione". He also took by siege Cleobury and Wigmore. This success caused the Earl of Hereford to surrender Hereford and Gloucester, where Henry had received much of his education; and on his protestation of submission, the Earl was allowed

to retain Hereford. Henry Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, was forced to flee the country, and his castles were ordered to be destroyed; and that this order was executed, appears from the charge for the work entered in the Pipe Roll for 1155-6. In like manner D'Aumâle, a baron of the house of Champagne, whose power lay in Holderness, and who had commanded at Northallerton, was forced in January 1155, after a short resistance, to give up Scarborough, the strongest castle in Holderness, and Skipsea, not far its inferior. Henry also visited Northampton, Nottingham, Lincoln, and York, and some of the western castles and counties. At Windsor the "fermor" of the castle expended £4:15:5 in his reception, "in corredio regis". According to Mr. Eyton, 140 castles were destroyed in the course of 1155. William of Ypres, a turbulent leader of Flemish mercenaries, who had been created Earl of Kent by Stephen in 1141, was banished. He was one of the "pseudo Comites".

A part of the new policy, though not at once enforced, was the introduction, to a certain extent, of a money commutation for personal military service. The new payment, under the name of "scutage", became an important branch of the revenue of the Crown. A rule was also established, which, if not always acted upon, was well understood, that no man should build a castle, or convert his dwelling into a "domus defensabilis", without a license from the King.

In 1156 Henry went by way of Dover to the Continent, where he took Mirabeau and Chinon, one of his charters being dated "Mirabel in obsidione", and another, "apud Chinon in exercitu"; nor did he return to England till 1157, when he was at Southampton Castle, and went thence to Ongar, Richard de Lacy's Essex castle, and received from William Count of Mortaine, King Stephen's son, Pevensey and the Warren castles, which had fallen to him with the name and estates of that family. Hugh Bigod also gave up Norwich, and made a general submission. Henry then visited Col-

chester and other Essex castles, and thence proceeded to Northampton. Malcolm of Scotland was fain to follow the example of his English friends, and gave up Carlisle, Bamborough, and Newcastle, together with the three northern counties. His personal submission was made to Henry at Peveril's Castle in the Peak, on which occasion the sheriff's expenses on his behalf were considerable. Malcolm was allowed to retain his grandmother's Honour and Castle of Huntingdon.

The destruction of smaller and later castles restored to their former prominence those of greater strength and older date, which being for the most part necessary for the defence of the kingdom, were preserved and strengthened, and entrusted to castellans of approved fidelity. Becket, before his promotion, thus received the Castles of the Tower and of Berkhampstead, and the Castle and Honour of Eye.

One of Henry's chief difficulties arose out of the position of the marcher-lords, such as the De Clares and the Mareschals, whose almost regal powers, granted originally to enable them to hold the frontier against the Welsh, were more frequently used, in conjunction with the Welsh, to coerce the sovereign.

In 1157 Henry invaded North Wales, and while traversing Counsyth, a Flintshire pass, was for a moment in great personal peril. It was on this occasion that Henry de Essex threw down the standard and fled, and thus forfeited his castle of Raleigh. On his way back Henry repaired the castles of Basingwerk and Rhuddlan, and probably directed the construction of Bere Castle, west of Cader Idris.

In 1158 Henry visited various parts of England. At Carlisle, in January, he knighted Earl Warren, but refused that honour to Malcolm King of Scotland. While there he fortified Wark Castle, the sheriff's charge for which was £21 : 8 : 11. At Nottingham he gave to Richard de Haia the custody "castelli *mei* de Lincoln", shewing that he claimed it for the Crown. In August he embarked at Portsmouth or Southampton for Nor-

mandy, and while abroad took the castles of Thouars, Amboise, Frètevel, Moulins, and Bon-Moulins. In 1159 he was occupied three months at the siege of Thoulouse, which he failed to take. Other castles in Normandy he took and repaired; others, again, he destroyed; and he built a few altogether new.

In January 1163 Becket came to England with the King, and gave great offence to the baronage by claiming Tonbridge Castle for his see. Towards the close of the year Henry deprived him of the charge of the castles of Eye and Berkhampstead, and in December admitted him to a personal interview at Oxford Castle. In this year Henry was again at Peak Castle, and in March 1164 at Porchester. Soon afterwards the strong castle of Tickhill fell to the Crown by escheat; and Henry spent Christmas at Marlborough, a royal castle.

In 1165, after a short visit to Normandy, during which the Queen visited Sherborne Castle, Henry was at Rhuddlan, and caused Basingwerk and the Flintshire castles to be again put in order. This was fortunate, for the campaign was unsuccessful. Expenses on that occasion were allowed at Oswestry (then called Blancmont), Shrawardine, and Chirk Castles. This was an assertion of ownership on the part of the Crown, although Oswestry was part of the private estate of William Fitz-Alan, then a minor. Henry retired to Shrewsbury, and soldiers were brought up from Worcester and Abergavenny, some of whom were quartered in the Corbet Castle at Caus. Grosmont, Llantilio or White Castle, and Scenfrith, also contributed soldiers. From Shrewsbury, Henry, reinforced, advanced into Powis-land, and encamped on the Berwyn Mountain, where he was near being cut off by the Welsh, and had to take refuge at Shotwick Castle, a small fortress on the root of the peninsula of Wirrall, whence he retired to Chester, and returned to London.

In 1166 was compiled the return of military fiefs and tenants in chief, known as the *Liber Niger*, and which professes to represent the feudal military force

of the kingdom, though so far only as the division of the land into military fees was then completed. The *Liber Ruber* states the fees, in the reign of Richard I, to have been 32,000. Orderic gives them at nearly double this, or 60,000. But there are no data for estimating, with any approach to correctness, the force that the King could bring into the field. Under Henry I and Stephen mercenaries were largely employed, drawn mainly from Flanders. The *Liber Niger* has received very valuable attention at the hands of Mr. Eyton and Professor Stubbs.

Early in Lent in this year Henry embarked at Southampton for Normandy, where he reduced the castles of Alençon and La Roche Mabile, and received a visit from the King of Scotland. Late in the year Geoffrey de Mandeville and Richard de Lacy engaged in an unsuccessful expedition into North Wales, and again strengthened Basingwerk Castle, during which they were attacked by the Welsh. Henry remained absent in Normandy, Gascony, and Brittany, about four years, landing at Portsmouth in March 1170; but he returned to Normandy in June. In October he wrote to Prince Henry directing him to restore the Honour of Saltwood to the Archbishop. 29 December, Becket was murdered, the assassins having rested at Saltwood the preceding night. After the murder they went to Knaresborough Castle, then held by Hugh de Morville as Castellan.

In August 1171 Henry landed at Portsmouth, and early in September was in South Wales, where he took Caerleon from Iorwerth ap Owen, and went on to Pembroke Castle to meet Prince Rhys, to whom he made over a large part of Cardigan. From Pembroke, or rather from Milford, he went, in October, to Ireland, whence he returned, by St. David's and by Cardiff, to England in April 1172, and thence embarked from Portsmouth for the Continent in May.

In April 1173, the confederacy between the King of France and Prince Henry, who carried with him the

discontented party among the English barons, broke out into open war in both countries. Henry the elder remained at Rouen, and with the doubtful exception of a short visit to England was content to leave the conduct of the war there to the faithful and able Richard de Lacy.

The English rebellion was of a very grave character. Among the rebels were the Earls of Chester and Leicester, Ferrars Earl of Derby, Mowbray, and Paganel. Ferrars held Groby, Tutbury, Burton, and some other castles; Mowbray held Kinnard's Ferry Castle in Axholm, Thirsk, and Malzeard, which seem again to have been repaired or rebuilt; David of Scotland, Earl of Huntingdon, held that castle; as did Bishop Puiset Norham and Durham. These northern castles were strong, and supported by the Scottish levies; but the great body of the baronage was with the King, and even in the north his party preponderated. It included Umfraville of Prudhoe, De Vesci of Alnwick, Ros of Hamlake, Bruce of Whorlton and Skelton; and in the south, almost all the great barons. Lacy laid siege to and burned Leicester town; but the Castle seems to have held out. He also, accompanied by Bohun, marched into the north, and wasted the border country and the Lothians. The royal castles generally were ordered to be victualled and garrisoned.

In September, Robert Earl of Leicester landed at Walton in Suffolk, with a body of Flemish mercenaries. Suffolk was, no doubt, selected for the landing as being opposite to the Flemish ports, and under the local influence of the house of Bigod, who held the castles of Framlingham and Bungay, and were hereditary Constables of Norwich, an office often forfeited, but which gave them great influence in the city. Leicester and his Flemings were at once received at Framlingham, and thence besieged Haganet Castle, governed for the King by Ranulph de Broc. This they took; but failed before the walls of Dunwich, and thence marched towards Leicester. Meantime Lacy and Hum-

phrey de Bohun had hurried back from the Scottish border, were reinforced near Bury by the Earls of Arundel, Cornwall, and Gloucester, and in October came up with the Flemish army at Fornham St. Généviève. The invaders were routed, and Leicester and his Countess taken and sent prisoners to Normandy. Lacy's work was, however, but half completed. Mowbray still held Axholm, and Earl David, or, probably for him, Anketil Mallori, held Leicester Castle. The King of Scots laid siege to Carlisle, while his brother took the castles of Knaresborough, Brough, and Appleby. In May 1174 Leicester Castle was still untaken, and the Scots had reduced Warkworth and laid siege to Prudhoe and Alnwick. Lacy was engaged in the siege of Huntingdon, aided by St. Liz, who claimed it. But a second body of Flemings had landed, had attacked Norwich, and much injured Nottingham and Northampton. The Bishop of Lincoln had, however, taken Axholm.

In the midst of this critical state of affairs Henry landed at Southampton, in July 1174, with his prisoners, whom he sent to Devizes. His arrival coincided with a sudden and material improvement in the state of his affairs. While Henry was engaged in an act of penance at Becket's tomb, William King of Scots was taken before Alnwick. After a short illness in London, Henry went to Huntingdon in time to receive the surrender of the Castle, and thence to Framlingham, which, with Bungay, was surrendered to him by Hugh Bigod. Prince Rhys, then in alliance with Henry, besieged and took Tutbury, and the Mowbray castle of Malzeard was also taken. At Northampton, in July, Henry received the submission of the Bishop of Durham, with the castles of Durham, Norham, and Northallerton. Thirsk Castle was given up by Roger de Mowbray; Tutbury and Driffield by Earl Ferrars, with Leicester, Mount Sorrell, and Groby.

Henry's success was complete; but the rebellion shewed how dangerous were the great castles to public order, and how necessary it was to dismantle a large

number of them, and to keep the rest, as far as possible, in the hands of the Crown. This policy he continued to act upon to the end of his reign, treating all conquered rebels with great clemency as regarded their persons and their estates, but retaining their castles in his own hands. Even Richard de Lacy, to whom the hundred of Ongar was granted in 1174, was not allowed to retain the castle.

In May 1175 Henry was in England, and in June received the surrender of Bristol Castle from William Earl of Gloucester. In January 1176 was held the council at Northampton at which the kingdom was divided into six circuits, with three justiciaries for each circuit. Among the edicts which they were to enforce were those relating to castles. A strict inquisition was to be made into the tenure by castle-guard, and how far its duties were discharged.

It does not appear to what extent the new regulations were carried out; but the general effect of the new system was to check marauders, and to render insurrections more difficult and less frequent. Northallerton, more than once dismantled, was at last (1177) entirely destroyed; and the Bishop of Durham, its owner, had to pay a fine of a thousand marcs for his share in the last rebellion. Such castles as Durham, Norham, and Scarborough, which it was expedient to preserve, were attached to the Crown, and placed in the hands of faithful castellans. Bamborough was entrusted to William de Stuteville, and Norham to William de Neville, Scarborough to the Archbishop of York, Berwick to Geoffrey de Neville, and Durham to Roger de Coniers. The assize of arms, by which, in 1180, it became the duty of each freeholder to provide himself with arms and armour according to his means and condition, rendered the commonalty more capable of resisting tyranny, and on the whole tended to strengthen the hands of any not very unpopular sovereign against the barons.

The general result of Henry's domestic policy was

undoubtedly successful, and his latter years were untroubled by any serious outbreak. In 1177 he returned to Normandy; but both there, and during his subsequent visits to England, he paid great attention to the castles of either country, visiting many of them, appointing and changing the castellans, and causing the defences to be kept in proper order. In February 1187 he visited the very singular castle of Chilham by Canterbury. He died in the castle of Chinon, July 1189.

G. T. CLARK.

THE MARCHES OF WALES.

BY SIR G. F. DUCKETT, BART.

(*Continued from p.* 150.)

THE first who formed the idea of creating the Mark (or Marches) for defensive purposes is commonly supposed to have been Henry Duke of Saxony; but erroneously, for the original conception dates to the time of Charlemagne. This Prince Henry, who in 919 was elected King by the Franks and Saxons, was the first King of Germany of the Saxon dynasty.[1] Endowed with more than usual wisdom and foresight, he had especial regard, in consolidating his conquests and dominions,[2] to the security of his frontiers, extending from Jutland[3] on the

[1] Henry Duke of Saxony was surnamed "Der Finkler" or "Vogler" (Anglicè, "the Birdcatcher"), "Auceps" (Lat), "L'oiseleur" (Fr.), because on the news of his election reaching him, he was found engaged in his favourite occupation. As observed by a German writer, far more appropriately might he have been styled "The Saxon" or "The Great", for by his victories over the barbarous hordes surrounding him, and the consolidation of his kingdom, including the conquest of Lorraine, he laid the foundation of the future German empire.

[2] Heeren u. Ukert, Gesch. der europ. Staaten.

[3] Supposed to have been the country whence came the Anglo-Saxons, who conquered and established themselves in England between 455 and 586.

west, to Bohemia and Hungary on the east; and as a barrier against the inroads of the Vandal, Sclav, and Hungarian hordes which surrounded him, he established the defensive frontier or Mark [of] Schleswig on the western side of his kingdom, that of Brandenburg towards the east, and other intermediate Margravates towards the north.

Thus the formation of these Marches (Marken, Markgrafschaften,[1] or Margravates) by Henry I of Germany, with their organised frontier force, has been assumed (though wrongly, as observed) to be the origin of the expression in their first employment for defence. Nevertheless, the term, whether Marches (Angl.), Marca (Ital.), Marche (Fr.), or Mark (Ger.), (Grenzmark, Flurmark, etc.), has ever since been applied in all countries of Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic origin, as in many others, to their respective defensive frontiers, in the same way that Markgraf,[2] Margrave (Marquis), Marchesi, Marchese, Lord Marcher, Lord President of the Marches, or Lord Warden, has been used to designate the Governors set over them.

Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, connects the term with an earlier date; and it will be seen that as a matter of fact the title of Marchese (*Marcario*) as governor of a frontier district, dates to the first years of the reign of Charlemagne. He observes: "For the ancient use of *March* or *Mark* there is testimonie in divers passages that occurre in the Lawes of the Alemans, of those that inhabited Baviere, of the Ripuarians, of the Lombards, and in divers other parts, that give us the same notion of the word 'Marcha', with the Latin termination, which cleerly is the same with Mark or March; and Margus (the same word varied in termination) is used by Sugerius for Normandie, being the

[1] These consisted of the Mark Schleswig, the Mark Brandenburg, the Nordsächsische Mark, and the Markgraftschaft Meissen.

[2] According to Sianda (ii, cap. viii, p. 42), the title of Markgraf had its origin in 938, when Otto (the Great) constituted Leopold Margrave of Austria.

utmost West March of France. Whence it is also, that 'Commarchani' occures (Leg. Boior., tit. ii, cap. 5, etc.) for neighbours 'bordering one on the other'. So Marca Hispanica, Marca Brittanica, Marca Anconitana,[1] and Trivisana, in Italy;[2] the Marca Normannica and Britannica in France, adjoining the sea; with those inland of Misnia, Lusatia, Brandenburg, Moravia, Austria, Mountferrat, and Susa in Savoy; and such more we meet with in the elder times. Thence also 'marchiser' at this day (1631), in French, is 'to border on or to adjoyne to'; and the Spaniards say 'la ciudad y sus comarcas' (the city and its outskirts or limits);[3] and thus the word hath out of Germany and those northern nations spread itself into the rest of Europe. From 'Mark', in this sense, come Marchiones, Marchesi, or Marchiani (in Latin), with Markgraves or Comites Limitanei."

Apart, however, from the foregoing we imagine, by way of suggestion, that it might not be difficult to connect the origin of the word with the name of Marcomani or Marcomanni, a German horde dating to an anterior epoch (of whom Tacitus speaks), first on the Rhine, and lastly in Bohemia; for the term, if taken as "Border-men", may not be without its derivative significance, especially from the very early use of "Marca" among the Italians, as shewn presently[4] by Muratori,

[1] Or Marca d'Ancona.

[2] Heylyn (*Cosmography*, i, 98), speaking of Treviso, says: "A city of sufficient note in the latter times, from being the residence or seat of those 'Provincial Governours' (Marquesses they are sometimes called) which the Lombardian Kings sent hither to defend their borders. Hence it gave the name to all the country: in Latin called *Marca Trevisiana*, or Tarvisana."

[3] The Italians also say *marcare*, to border upon.

[4] Since the above was in the printer's hands, the following observations by Kranz (*Wandalia*, lib. iii, cap. xvi) and Heylyn (*Cosmography*, ii, 345, 384) bear out our supposition. The former remarks: "Soleo quoque Marcomanorum nomen ad eundem referre originem"; the latter, speaking first of the Alemanni (Almans), says: "I see no etymology more agreeable to true antiquity than to derive the name from Mannus, the son of Tuisco (from whom the Teutones about Brandenburg derive), one of their gods, and a principal founder of this nation ('Tuisconem Deum et filium Mannum;

coupled with the above quotation by Selden from Leg. Boior., tit. ii, cap. 5.

That the term "Marca" was in use in Italy, and employed for a like purpose, as early as the time of Charlemagne, fully a century and a half earlier than the date ascribed to Henry King of Germany, is made perfectly clear from Muratori's *Annals of Italy*. First, in the time of Lothaire, the grandson of the Emperor Charlemagne (A.D. 827), in alluding to the *Marca* of Friuli (or Trivigi), and to Baldric, Duke and Marchese (or Margrave) of the same, we find the following: "Cadde questo medesimo gastigo sopra Baldrico Duca o Marchese del Friuli, e quella *Marca*, quam solus tenebat, inter quatuor Comites divisa est. Sicchè veggiamo, che prima d'ora era stata formata la *Marca* del Friuli, e ch' essa per questo avvenimento cessò d' avere un Duca o sia *Marchese*, con essersene dato il governo a quattro Conti, cioè a quattro Governatori di Città, indipendenti l'uno dall' altro. Probabilmente queste Città furono Cividal di Friuli, Trivigi, Padova, e Vicenza, se pur fra queste

originem gentis conditoresque', as it is said by Tacitus); the people being called Alemanni in all ancient writers, as men that did derive themselves from this Mannus, the son of Tuisco. In like sorts, as I think, the *Marcomanni* inhabiting the countries of Moravia were so called, as being the *Manni of the Marches*, or out-borders of Germany." The same author gives some further particulars of these people and of the institution of Margravates: "The old inhabitants of the other part [*of Austria*] were the *Marcomanni*, in those parts which are next Moravia, who intermingled with the Boii, and united with them under the name of Boiarians, won from the Romans the whole province of the second Rhætia", etc. "But these Boiarians being conquered by Clovis the Great, and the Avares driven out of Pannonia by Charlemagne, both provinces became members of the French empire till the subduing of Pannonia by the Hungarians; to oppose whom, and keep in peace and safety these remoter parts, some Guardians or *Lords-Marchers* were appointed by the Kings and Emperors of Germany, with the title of Marquesses of Ostreich; at first officiary only, but at last hereditary; made so by the Emperor Henry I (see *antea*, pp. 1 and 11), who gave this province to one Leopold surnamed the 'Illustrious', the son of Henry Earl of Bamberg, of the house of Schwaben, and therewithal the title of Marquis, anno 980."

non si computò anche Verona. Il nome di *Marca* vuol dire Confine. *Fin sotto Carlo Magno* per maggior sicurezza delle Provincie situate a i Confini, furono istituiti Ufiziali, che ne avessero cura, chiamati perciò *Marchensi*, e *Marchesi*, che è quanto dire Custodi de' Confini. E perchè secondo i bisogni non mancasse forza a tali Ufiziali, al *Marchese* furono subordinati i Conti, cioè i Governatori delle Città della Provincia." (*Annali d' Italia*, dall' anno 601 sino all' anno 840, di Muratori, 1762, iv, 475-6.)

Then in allusion to the earlier years of the reign of Charlemagne he says, viz., in A.D. 776 (anno di Carlo Magno, Rè de Franchi e Longob. 3): "Ivi (*viz.*, *Trivigi*) lasciò *Marcario* con titolo di Duca, etc."—"che al Duca del Friuli fossero allora sottoposte varie Città, cioè che fosse formata la *Marca Trivisana, o del Friuli*" (Id., iv, 317). "Era ito a Roma il povero Vescovo; e Papa Adriano l' avea rimandato e raccomandato a *Marcario* Duca del Friuli" (A.D. 779, anno di Carlo Magno 6); (Id., iv, 324.)

The Marches of Wales may be compared, in many respects, with those of the frontier border of England towards Scotland, with certain distinguishing peculiarities;[1] but whereas the latter were from the very first a defined tract of country organised solely for defensive purposes,[2] like the original Teutonic Mark of the German Empire, and so continued to be to the last; the

[1] It is true that at first the Scots from time to time took occasional possession of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and thus temporarily extended their border; but these provinces were as often recovered, and the border-limits confined to the Tweed on the east, the Solway on the west, and the Cheviot range in the centre.

[2] A feature in the border-system of King Henry I was remarkably followed in our own country very many centuries later, and should not pass unnoticed. We allude to the erection on his borders of "Watch-towers", because the same system was adopted in 1552 by the Lord-Warden of the Northern Marches towards Scotland, when such "look-out stations" (or *postes de guetteur*, as one may call them) were manned by "Watchmen", answering entirely to the same class as the "*Kukbürger*" of the ancient Saxon period.

former, as has been shewn, were the result of original seizure and conquest, and much as they tended, at different periods, to form a barrier to the inroads or forays of the Welsh, there is not that conspicuous vagueness as to precise site and extent, in respect of the Scotch and English Marches, so discernible in after times in those of the Welsh borders, which retained the name without the defensive administration of the Northern Marches long after their annexation to England, and all causes of hostilities having ceased, had rendered the same any longer a necessity.

Each district, however, afforded a secure and similar asylum to felons and outlaws; and the same lawlessness in each was a feature which one had in common with the other.[1] Again, each had its courts of justice. In the North, the Warden Courts,[2] with whatever local differences associated, were established for the administration of justice, similarly with the ancient courts of the Lords Marchers[3] and the subsequent Court of the Council of Wales;[4] but the similarity in this respect extends no further, for long after the Welsh Marches had ceased to exist as a reality, the latter Court still continued to exercise its functions.[5]

[1] See footnote, p. 149 *antea*.

[2] Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 574.

[3] Selden observes: "These Marchers (*Lords-Marchers of Wales*) had their laws in their Baronies; and for matter of suit, if it had been betwixt tenants holding of them, then it was determined in their own courts; if for the Barony itself, then in the King's Court at Westminster, by writ directed to the Sheriff of the next English shire adjoining, as Gloucester, Hereford, and some other. For the King's writ did not run in Wales as in England, until by statute the Principality was incorporated with the Crown, as appears in an old report, where one was committed for esloigning a ward into Wales, *extra potestatem Regis*, under Henry III." (13 Henry III, tit. Gard., 147; Selden, *Notes on Drayton's Polyolbion.*)

[4] The Court of the Council of Wales had its seat at Ludlow; the Lord-Warden of the East Marches towards Scotland had his seat at Berwick; the Lord-Warden of the West Marches at Carlisle.

[5] In 1689, when it was finally abolished, it had long been accounted a standing grievance, and was deemed an "unnecessary and arbitrary" court. (Tindal, *Hist. of Engl.*, iii, 98.)

With respect to the second part of this inquiry, the *extent* of the Welsh Marches, about which, at this day, such vagueness exists, it would appear that these had not always been defined by the same limits; so that in after times it is not a matter of much surprise that in certain quarters doubts were raised as to the territory embraced by their jurisdiction. Selden, writing in the time of James I (1618), observes thus of them: "The particular bounds have been *certain parts of Dee, Wye, Severn, and Offa's Dyke.*[1] The antienst is *Severn;* but a later is observed in a right line *from Strigoil*[2] *Castle upon Wye* (near Usk in Monmouthshire) *to Chester upon Dee.* Betwixt the mouths of Dee and Wye in this line (almost c. miles long) was that Offa's Dike cast. King Harold made a law (Higden, *Polychron.*, i, cap. 43) that whatsoever Welsh transcended this Dike with any kind of weapon should have, upon apprehension, his right hand cut off." (Selden, *Notes on Drayton.*)

[1] Offa's Dyke, extending from the Dee to the Wye, through the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Montgomery, Shropshire, Hereford, and Monmouth, was the ancient boundary-line on the borders of Wales, between that country and the kingdom of Mercia. There is some doubt as to the time it was thrown up by Offa, King of the Mercians, viz., between 774 and 794, when he died, or before his time. It consisted of a vallum or rampart from 50 to 60 feet wide, with a ditch or dyke on the Welsh side; was crossed at intervals by roads, and defended by forts. The Welsh, in their endeavours to destroy it, were uniformly unsuccessful. Beginning to the west of the mouth of the river Dee at Prestatyn, a little below Holywell, on the Flintshire coast, it proceeded in a slanting or south-easterly direction to Caedwyn, and from thence due southward towards Monmouthshire and the Severn estuary at Bristol, or rather where the Wye runs into that river. Passing by way of Minera, Rhuabon, Chirk, Selattyn, to Llanymynech, it crossed the Severn into Shropshire, ran past Montgomery and Clun-Forest to Knighton, and thence by the eastern part of the county of Radnor, and the west of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, to its termination overlooking the Severn. Vestiges of it can still be traced near Mold in Flintshire, and between Rhuabon and Wrexham; but it is generally levelled throughout its course. (S. Camden, p. 698.)

[2] Striguil (or Troggy) Castle, between Usk and Chepstow in Monmouthshire, seems here indicated. It was built, as it is said, by Richard Strongbow.

From the foregoing, and other extracts to be quoted presently from authorities of the same century, pointing to a subsequent amalgamation of the Marches and Shires, both English and Welsh, we infer that the entire part of some counties, and portions of others bordering on and now forming part of England and Wales (those, namely, contiguous to the Dee, the Wye, and the Severn), must have constituted the territory comprised by the term "Marches." The counties of Hereford, Monmouth, and Gloucester, are partially watered by the Wye; those of Shropshire, Worcester, Gloucester, and Monmouth, equally so by the Severn; whilst Offa's Dyke is common to those of Hereford, Shropshire, Montgomery, Radnor, Denbigh, and Flint. The whole district lying between the Wye and the Severn in Gloucestershire, would at least have constituted their commencement.

That such was the original territory comprehended by the Welsh Marches, is rendered probable from the fact that in 1641 litigation took place as to the jurisdiction of the Court of the Marches over certain counties, supposed at that time to be exercised beyond its "appointed limits", proving even that at that date the exact extent of the Welsh Marches had not become less questionable than was the case one hundred and fifty years before that time, notwithstanding that Selden, writing only in the earlier part of that century, defines them very distinctly. As the four counties which resisted the Court's jurisdiction were watered by the rivers specified by Selden, and comprised within the limits of the Marches, there can be no doubt that the right, even if traditional, which the Marches Court exercised, was valid.

That conflicting opinions began to arise at a very early date as to the reputed extent of the *Marches*, is shown by the very Baronies, which constituted them, being brought in question. This is fully set forth in a MS. in the Lansdowne Collection, No. 216 (given by Clive, *History of Ludlow*), from which is the following

extract. Alluding to the Act of 27 Henry VIII, in which the "prerogatives" of the Lords Marchers were taken away and vested in the Crown, it says: "Sithence which time, for that the said jurisdictions and authorityes, the comon signes and outward badges and tokens, whereby the comon people tooke knowledge of Lordships Marchers, are taken awaye, and growne out of use, and *it is now growne a doubt and question, which are and were Lordships Marchers in Wales, and which were not*, some claymingе the same who never was, and some who are and ought to be allowed are denyed so to be."

But a still earlier proof of this may be given. In the 19th Edward I, Matilda de Mortuo Mari sought to recover lands and tenements of which she had been disseised by Ralph de Tony and others, assumed and wrongly stated in the writ to be in the county of Hereford. The case was tried at Hereford, when the defendant pleaded an error in the declaration; that the lands were falsely described, not being in the county of Hereford, "but in the Marches of Wales"; ("quod tenementa non sunt in comitatu [*Hereford*], sed sunt *in Marchia Wallie*, et debent in judicium deduci secundum legem Marchie, et non per legem Anglie, juxta statutum de Ronemede").[1] The lands, in fact, were in that part of the Marches —the very centre of them—afterwards united, and assigned (*temp.* Henry VIII) as a county to Radnor, but correctly attributed to Herefordshire in one respect, that the greater part of it towards Wales, at that time, was comprised by the Marches.

These instances testify to the uncertainty prevailing as to their limits at the periods named. Still it must be remembered, on the other hand, that the *Marches* comprehended not only most of Lord Marchers' Baronies, constituting a very great extent of country in the aggregate, but that some of these Lordships or Baronies extended far beyond the Marches thus understood, for

[1] *I.e.*, Magna Carta. See *Placitarum Abbreviatio*, p. 286, Mich., 19 Edward I, Heref' rot. 58.

nearly the whole of Wales had been conquered by the Lords Marchers; so that beyond doubt the *present* border counties both of Wales and England may be fairly assumed, as already observed, to have at one time constituted the Marches in question.[1]

The following entries tend, we think, to support this and our own view generally, as to the extent of the Marches. Among the Bagot Papers (Hist. MSS. Com., iv, p. 336) referring to the Council of Wales, some one writing in 1594, observes, "Every one of the Counsell there is ordinarily justice of the peace *over all the Shires of the Marches* and Wales." This is conclusive as to the Marches comprising a plurality of Shires; and in the controversy which arose *temp.* Charles I, as to the jurisdiction of the Court of the Marches of Wales, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh, were shown to be wholly composed of Lordships Marchers; so that these came equally under that definition. The Escheators' Accounts and Inquisitions-post-mortem are uniformly headed, "*Gloucestershire and the Marches of Wales*", "*Herefordshire and the Marches of Wales*", "*Shropshire and the Marches of Wales*", proving a decided connection with those [now] English counties, as part and parcel of them. A writer of the seventeenth century (Heylyn, chaplain to Charles I and II), alluding to the Acts of Edward I and Henry VIII in respect of Wales, observes thus: "The whole country, (not taking in the counties of Shropshire and Monmouthshire[2] into the reckoning), contains in it twelve Shires only, of which seven were set out by King Edward I; that is to say,

[1] Nothing can be more fallacious than the assertion given at p. 95 of Clive's *History of Ludlow*, that "all the country *between Offa's Dyke and England* was called the Marches or Bounds between the Welsh and English." Offa's Dyke was simply a line of demarcation between England and Wales, by crossing which a party from the Welsh side came at once into England; but the simple fact of the partition of the Marches into *Shires* quite disproves any such assumption.

[2] Monmouthshire was formerly considered one of the counties of Wales (Stat. 27, H. 8, cap. 26).

Glamorgan, Pembroke, Carmarthen, Cardigan, Merioneth, Anglesey, and Carnarvon: the other five, viz., the counties of Denbigh, Flint, Montgomery, Radnor, and Brecknock, were added out of the *Marchlands* by King Henry VIII"; and speaking of the same Kings in another place, he observes to the same effect: "He (King Edward I) divided Wales into seven shires (*naming them*), after the manner of England"; and of Henry VIII, "He added also six shires to the former number out of those counties, which were before *reputed as the Borders and Marches of Wales.*" Sir John Dodridge observes in his *Principality of Wales* (p. 41) much to the same purpose: "Therefore, by the said Act of Parliament (27 Henry VIII), there are erected in Wales four other new ordained Shires of the *Lands not formerly so divided;* namely, the several Shires of Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery, and Denbigh; and those also, together with the former ancient Shires, are by that Act of Parl't, and by the Statute of 38 Hen. VIII, subdivided into Cantreds; and all the '*March grounds, being then neither any part of Wales, although formerly conquered out of Wales, neither any part of the Shires of England*', the said King, by the said Act of Parliament, did annex and unite, partly unto the Shires of England, and partly unto the said Shires of Wales next adjoyning, etc.; which the said King was rather occasioned to do, for that most of the said *Baronies Marchers*[1] were then in his own hands."

The above writer (Heylyn) quotes also Ludlow and Shrewsbury as two market towns *in the Marches,* "built not only for commerce and trade, but fortified with walls and castles to keep in the Welch; and so employed

[1] Called also "Lordship Marchers". Thus among the Carew Papers (Hist. MSS. Com., iv, 370) are these passages: "A *Lordship Marcher* is a Seignorie in Wales, holden of the Crowne of England in chiefe, which came to pass three maner of wayes."—"How the Lords of the Marches or *Lordship Marchers* tooke first theire names."—"The concordances and discordes or differences that were between a County Palatine in England and a *Lordship Marcher* in Wales in ould tymes"; *i.e.*, in what they agreed, and in what they differed.

until the incorporating Wales with England took away all occasion of the old hostilities." Of Shrewsbury he remarks, "*counted now in England*, but heretofore the seat of the Princes of Powysland, who had here their palace." Powysland, or the greater part of it, clearly comprised a considerable portion of the Marches of Wales, for the same author defines it as containing "the whole counties of Montgomery and Radnor, all Shropshire beyond the Severn, with the town of Shrewsbury, and the rest of Denbigh and Flintshire." It extended, according to Selden (*Notes on Drayton*), "from Cardigan to Shropshire, between North and South Wales, comprising part of Brecknock, Radnor, and Montgomery; and on the English side, from Chester to Hereford."

One authority speaks of "*all the Shires of the Marches* and Wales". Dodridge observes, p. 41, "some territories in Wales were then no *Shire grounds*, by reason whereof the lawes of England could have no currant passage therein"; another, "of the *four Shires* incorporated afterwards with England, viz., Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Shropshire."

As regards these last four shires, we find the following particulars respecting them mentioned elsewhere: "In the beginning of the reign of Charles II (Hist. MSS. Com., v, 333), the President and Council of the Marches of Wales claimed jurisdiction in Gloucestershire, and their claim was resisted." The same Marches Court had in the previous reign (1641) claimed and exercised jurisdiction over the four counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, which also gave rise to litigation and much commotion at the time. It was then argued that the jurisdiction was "illegal and injurious", and held as an encroachment beyond their appointed limits, and that these four counties were never parcel of Wales or the Marches thereof. The right of the Council's jurisdiction over the four shires was maintained by the King's Solicitor-General, Sir Francis Bacon (Hist. MSS. Com., v, 338). One of the argu-

ments held against the claim by the other side was as to these words, "in the Marches of Wales, or in any other place where the King's writ doth not run." The inquiry is, "Where are the Marches of Wales?" The Statute answers, "Where the King's writ *doth not run.* But it is, and ever was, currant in those four counties; *ergo*, etc." Another: "No Welchman may purchase lands in the Townes of Salop, Hereford, Glouc., etc., nor in any other marchant Towne *adjoining* to the Marches of Wales; *ergo*, not Marches, for nothing can adjoyne to it selfe." (Gough's *Wales*, p. 3, Bibl. Bodl.)

These arguments may be taken for what they are worth: we quote them chiefly to show the opinion which existed at different epochs, as to what constituted, and what did not constitute, the Marches of Wales.

Another (and final) argument against the Court's jurisdiction, and which goes far to show the opinion of what, at that time, was held to constitute the actual Marches, was this, that whereas by 27 Henry VIII several "Lordships Marchers were annexed to England, and others to Wales (as observed already, in other words, by Heylyn), *those last were only properly Wales and the Marches thereof*, within the words of the Statute (Cott. MS. Vitellius, c. i), and not the Lordships Marchers of the ancient English counties."

The case (first cited) in the time of Charles II, arose from a letter dated March 14, 1661, addressed by the Earl of Carbery, then Lord President of the Marches, to the High Sheriff and magistrates of Gloucestershire, bringing to their notice the bad state of the roads in that county, and calling upon them to put in force the statutes relating thereto. To this letter the justices of the county, to the number of twenty-one, issued a Declaration denying that the county of Gloucester was within the Marches of Wales, or within the power or jurisdiction of his Lordship's commission. (Hist. MSS. Com., v, 338.)

Still the jurisdiction had ever been so exercised; and the result of these different quotations, taken collect-

ively, leads us to infer that the extent of the Marches comprehended *ab antiquo*, as by us surmised, all the Welsh border counties, and present English counties bordering on the Principality, or the greater portion of them, from the mouth of the Dee to that of the Severn, though their precise limits have been long since lost.

To summarise the foregoing details, we may in conclusion observe, that as on the one hand the Marches of Wales originated in territory acquired by force of arms, and had a self-government of their own, to a certain extent independent of Royal authority, down to the time of Edward III, constituting till that time and afterwards so many distinct Baronies,—the Lord-Marchers, however, their *quasi* supreme rulers, both aiding and acknowledging the King in all his conflicts with the Welsh, proving thereby their eventual calling and position identical with the originally established Margraves of the German empire,—so on the other, from the time of King Henry VIII, after all cause of such hostilities had ceased, and the Marches had eventually become incorporated with the Shires (which, again, were wholly or partially added to England and Wales), the term *Marches* appears still to have remained in force, though the *limits* of the same in the amalgamation became gradually lost sight of, or at least in time so undefined, that the Shires or counties, of which they had formed part, were in a way identified with the original Marches, causing the confusion both in the latter appellation, and the extent of country comprehended by the term. This ambiguity became greater as time drew on, and had probably reached its height at the time of the contested jurisdiction of the Court, above alluded to, in 1641. At the present day the term is so much more vague and indefinite, that unless what we have adduced has brought conviction with it, and tended somewhat to solve the mystery and difficulties surrounding the question, one may well still ask, "What were the Marches of Wales?"

LIST OF LORDS PRESIDENT OF WALES.

Ex Dodridge's "Principality of Wales", p. 39.

17 E. IV.—About the 17 of Edward IV, the King sent his son Prince Edward to reside there, under the tuition of the Lord Rivers, his uncle, to whom severall were joyned; and Joseph Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, was made President, who is reckoned the first President of Wales.

17 H. 7.—Dr. William Smith,[1] Bishop of Lincolne. (Godwyn, Cat. of Bps., reckons him the first President there. Vide Pat. 17 Hen. 7, p. 2, m. 7, dors.)

(Commission to this William, Bishop of Lincoln, President; Robt. Ffrost, Clerk; Sr Gilbert Talbott; Sr R. Pole; Sr Wm. Uedale; Sr Thomas Inglefield, Kt.; Peter Newton; and Wm. Grevyll, Esqr., of Oyer and Termr., & of Array, in North Wales, S. Wales, Salop, Hereford, Glocs., & Worc., & the Marches of Wales. T. R., apud Westm', 18 June.)

4 Hen. 8.—Jeffery Blyth, Bp. of Coventry & Litchfield;

7 Hen. 8.—Jo. Vosy (*Voysey*, *Voiscie*, or *Vesey*), Bp. of Exeter;

27 H. 8.—Roland Lee, Bp. of Coventry and Litchfield;

34 H. 8.—Richard Sampson, Bp. of Chester;

2 E. 6.—John Dudley,[2] Earl of Warwicke (afterwards D. of Northumberland);

4 E. 6.—William, Earl of Pembroke;

1 Mary.—Nicholas Heath,[3] Bp. of Worcester (afterwards Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of England);

3 Mary.—William, Earl of Pembroke;[4]

6 Mary.—Gilbert Browne,[5] Bp. of Bath & Wells;

1 Eliz.—Sr John Williams,[6] Lord Williams of Tame (*sic*), Thame;

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[1] William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln in 1495, was Chancellor of Oxford, and founder of Brasenose College, and died 1513.

[2] John Dudley, seventh Viscount L'Isle, was created Earl of Warwick, 1547, and Duke of Northumberland in 1551. He was attainted, and beheaded in 1553.

[3] Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Worcester, translated from Rochester in 1543; was deprived of his temporalities in 1551, but restored by Queen Mary in 1553, in which year he was translated to the Archbishopric of York.

[4] William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, so created in 1551; married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal in Westmorland.

[5] Gilbert Browne (or Bourn), Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1554; deprived of his temporalities in 1559 (Cot. MS., Vitellius, c. i, f. 173).

[6] John, Lord Williams of Thame, summoned as a Baron 5 and 6 Phil. and Mary, 1558; ob. 1559, and buried at Thame, where is a monument to his memory.

2 Eliz.—Sr Henry Sydney, Kt. of the Garter and Lieut. of Ireland. He was 24 years Lord President of Wales (during which time Joseph (*sic*) Whitgift, John, Bishop of Worcester,[1] and Henry[2] Earl of Pembroke, son-in-law to Sir H. Sidney, were Vice-Presidents).

King James I.—Edward[3] Lord Zouche (1603).

The following are added from other sources:

Lords President of Wales and the Marches thereof.

2-24-25 Eliz.—Sir Henry Sidney (1582-3).
28 Eliz.—Henry, Earl of Pembroke (1586-1601).
1 James I.—Edward Lord Zouche (1602-6), ob. 1652.
4-14 James I.—Ralph, Lord Eure, Baron of Wilton (1607-16).
14-15 James I.—Thomas Gerard, Baron Gerard, of Gerard's Bromley in Staffordshire, ob. 1618 (1616-17).
15-22 James I.—Earl of Northampton[4] (1617-25-30).
9-20 Charles I.—John, Earl of Bridgewater[5] (1633-39-49).
13-23 Charles II.—Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery[6] (1661-66-71).

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[1] This was John Whitgift, Dean of Lincoln, consecrated Bishop of Worcester in 1557, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583.

[2] Henry, Earl of Pembroke succeeded his father, the first Earl, in 1569; was a Knight of the Garter, and ob. 1601.

[3] Edward La Zouche, twelfth Baron Zouche of Haryngworth, succeeded his father, 13 Eliz., 1571.

[4] William Compton, created Earl of Northampton, 1618 (16 Jas. I), ob. 1630.

[5] John Egerton, second Viscount Brackley, created Earl of Bridgewater in 1617. Dr. Johnson, in his *Life* of the poet Milton, states that in 1634, whilst Lord Bridgewater was Lord President of Wales, and resided at Ludlow Castle, the *Comus* of Milton, founded upon a veritable incident which had not long before occurred in the Earl's family, was for the first time brought out and represented at the Castle by his sons and daughter, Lord Brackley, his brother, and Lady Alice Egerton. Lady Alice afterwards became the third wife of the Earl of Carbery, who after the Restoration was made Lord President of Wales. During the Parliamentary war the Earl of Bridgewater defended Ludlow Castle for the King, but it was surrendered in 1645.

[6] Richard Vaughan, second Earl of Carbery, was Lord President of Wales from 1661 to 1671-2. He married, as his third wife, in July 1652, the Lady Alice Egerton. (Hatton Correspondence, Johnson's *Life of Milton*.) The title was created with John, first Earl of Carbery, in 1643, and became extinct in 1712. At Golden Grove, in Carmarthenshire, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, afterwards Bishop of Down and Connor, was harboured by this Earl during the time of Crom-

24 Charles II, 3 James II.—Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, created Duke of Beaufort (1672-87).
1 W. and M.—Charles Gerard, Earl of Macclesfield[1] (1689), last Lord President.

GWYSANEY[2] PAPERS.

THE BRIDGEWATER LETTERS.

No. 1.

To the right Worp'll my very loving Cosen Robert Davies Esq.[3] at Gwyssaney etc.

Good Cosen

Y'r lett'r of the 21te of this pr'sent I have rec'd and the money y'u sent by him my servant Will'm Wilkes hath likewise receaved; but it falleth shorte in waight: I have appointed Wilkes to write to y'u thereof: had it beene presently to have

well; and at Ludlow Castle, Samuel Butler, of whom he was also the patron, composed, after the Restoration, the first cantos of his *Hudibras*. A pamphlet in the Bodleian, by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, Merionethshire, in 1662 (ancestor of the late Sir Robert Vaughan, Bart.), gives Lord Carbery's descent from Blethyn ap Kynven, with his other titles, viz., Viscount Molingar (Mullingar) and Baron of Emlyn. "He beareth", says this writer, "*Or*, a lyon rampant *gules*; the coat of Blethyn ap Kynven, King of North Wales and Prince of Powis." (P. 44.)

[1] Charles Gerard, Viscount Brandon, created Earl of Macclesfield in 1679, Captain General of all His Majesty's Life Guards of Horse, ob. 1693. The title became extinct in 1702, on the death, *s. p.*, of Fitton Gerard, the third Earl. An Act was passed in W. and M., 25th July 1689, for abolishing the Court of the Marches of Wales. The Earl of Macclesfield was the last President who kept his court at Ludlow, at which place all the business of the Marches had up to that time been transacted.

[2] Gwysaney, near Mold, in Flintshire, was the old seat of the Davies family, now (1881) represented by Philip Bryan Davies Cooke, Esq., of Owston, Doncaster, Yorkshire. The house, a large portion of which was unfortunately pulled down in 1829, stood a siege, and was taken by Sir William Brereton, the Parliamentary General, 12 April 1645. The old front door, with date 1640, bears evident marks of the siege.

[3] Robert Davies, Esq., of Gwysaney, co. Flint, born at Chester, and baptised in St. John's Church there, 29 July 1581, served the office of High Sheriff for Flintshire, and was a D.L. and J.P. of that

been paide some prejudice might have come thereby; but it seemeth the worke is not yet done w'ch shoulde have enhabled S'r John North[1] to have receaved it; when the Businesse is dispatched the money God willing shall be safe & safely paide; In the meane time I shall desire y'u to take care for the delivery of the lett'rs w'ch y'r servant will bring unto y'u, & lett me heare from y'u w'th what speede y'u may, at w'ch time I shoulde be gladde to heare of the ceasing of the Plague at Wrexham & in Shropshyre w'ch I shall pray for: And thus in hast w'th remembrance of my loving salutac'ns to y'r self & my Cosen[2] y'r Bedfellowe I bidde y'u farewell & rest

Y'r very loving frend & Cosen

(Signed) J. Bridgewater.[3]

Barbycan 29 July 1631.

The lett're sent unto you from S'r Jno. North I opened at y'r servants desire, & aft'r I had read it I sealed it up & fastened it as y'u may perceave; It appeareth to me to be a very honest & kind lett'r.

county. He was son of Robert Davies, Esq., of Gwysaney, by Catherine, daughter of George Ravenscroft, Esq., of Bretton, co. Flint, and niece of Elizabeth Ravenscroft, wife of Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, Viscount Brackley, Lord High Chancellor of England. Mr. Davies died 27 January 1633; was buried at Mold. He was brother to Colonel Thomas Davies.

[1] Sir John North was probably eldest son of Sir Roger North, second Baron North, who was Ambassador Extraordinary from Queen Elizabeth to Charles IX, King of France, by Winifred, daughter of Robert Lord Rich, Chancellor of England. Sir John married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Valentine Dale, LL.D., Master of the Requests, and dying before his father, left, with other issue, Dudley, who became third Baron North, a man much about the court of Prince Henry, eldest son of James I.

[2] Anne, wife of Robert Davies, Esq., of Gwysanney, and only daughter and heir of John Heynes, Esq., of Salop, Receiver to Queen Elizabeth of her revenues in Wales, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and heir of Lancelot Lowther of Holt, Esq. She died, and was buried at Mold, 31 August 1636.

[3] John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater, C.B., was the son of Sir Thomas Egerton, Viscount Brackley, Lord High Chancellor of England in the time of James I, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft, Esq., of Bretton, co. Flint. His Lordship married Frances, second daughter, and one of the coheiresses of Ferdinando Stanley, Earl of Derby. He, on the 12th May 1633, was appointed Lord President of Wales and the Marches thereof, and as such lived for a time at Ludlow Castle. He died in 1649. He wrote letters Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, with his own hand, and also parts in No. 3.

No. 2.

To my very loving & well respected Cosen[1] Lieutenant Colonell Davies &c. &c.

W'th speede & safety. Leave this letter in his absence w'th his honord frend & Cosen S'r Parish Davies Knight at his house Dublyn.

Gentle Captaine

Upon perusall & consideration of y'r letters & Mr. John Wynne's[2] I have this daye concluded a Bargaine w'th my Nephewe Mr. Henry Hastings, for his parte of the Rectory of Moulde, & I ame to paye foer it fower thousand & five hundred poundes, the one halfe in November next, the other in this monthe come twelve monthes; but he presseth harde upon me that he may receave one thousand poundes the next Terme, w'ch I thinke I must yealde unto; & I ame to enter upon the Tythes to receave all that doth, or shall arise, or accrewe since Candlemas last. If I had not strucke up the Bargaine when I did, & soddainely, I thinke it woulde have beene gone another waye. There was muche discourse between us, too long to write; but I tell y'u truly, I presume I have it as good cheape, or rather cheaper than any man els shoulde. This is all my weake handes will suffer me to write at this time, and I thinke I have written a greate deale, & of a greate Businesse, & so I will conclude, letting you knowe that if I have made too deare a Purchase, I must blame y'u & Mr. John Wynne for misleading me, w'ch I hope I have not. So wishing y'u a speedy & safe returne, I rest

Y'r very assured loving frend & Cosen,

(Signed) J. Bridgewater.

Barbacan,[3] 1 Maij 1638.

[1] Thomas Davies, second son of Robert Davies, Esq., of Gwysaney, co. Flint, by Catherine, daughter of George Ravenscroft, Esq., of Bretton, co. Flint, married his cousin Dorothy, daughter of Robt. Morgan, Esq., of Golden Grove, co. Flint. Colonel Davies (his commission dated at Oxford, 19 July 1643, and signed by King Charles I, is at Owston) was "servant to Prince Henry", eldest son of James I. He was Constable of Hawarden Castle, and at one time had command of a regiment under the Right Hon. Sir Charles Morgan, Kt., Ld. General of the King of Denmark. Colonel Davies was buried at Mold, 7 March 1655. To him are written letters Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

[2] Mr. John Wynne, probably a Wynne of Tower, near Mold, co. Flint.

[3] Of this house in London nothing now remains. "It was burnt down in 1675. Lord Brackley, eldest son of the then Earl, and a younger brother, with their tutor, unfortunately perished in the flames." (Pennant's *London*, vol. iii, p. 170.)

I thanke God wee are all heere in good healthe; but I can not yet gett down the staires, though I praise God I goe every daye to my Chappell.

No. 3.

For his Ma'tyes speciall affaires.

To my very loveinge and well respected frend and Cosen Captaine Thomas Davies att Gwisaney &c. &c.

Hast Hast Post Hast Hast Post.

J. Bridgewater,
Barbacan 7 Ap'le 1640.

Gentle Captaine

I ame sorry you have had so foule a journey, & I assure you you were neither unpittied, nor unremembred (by us here) upon ye day you went from Ashridge,[1] but wee are all glad to knowe y't you are safely come to yo'r journeyes end: for what you write of y'r opinion of the two Lords w'ch you mett w'th at Stony Stratford it is no other then what you & I thought formly; yet sinne y'r letter doth expressely mencion ye Trained Bands, I would first have y't course observed w'ch is herein directed, & I thinke it will not be a misse if some other men may be brought in unto you, w'ch may either helpe ye Trained men for supplies in their places, or els geve ease to yo'r selfe, & ye rest of ye Deputy Lieut'ts, if there be occacon for a fugt, w'ch I imagine & beleeve there wille, in respect there is so much liberty geven unto ye Trained men by the letter.

Thus wishinge you good speede & good health, I comend you to God's direcc'on & p'tecc'on, restinge

Yo' truly lovinge & assured frend & Cosen,
(Signed) *J. Bridgewater.*

Barbacan, 6 Aprill 1640.

I thank God we are well here but my sone John who had his fitt this morninge, but as I ame tould though sooner by 2: or 3: houres then it ordinary time, yet it was not so long nor so violent as his form'r fitt was. Hee & all ye rest here com'end them selves unto you.

My kind commendac'ons to all at Gwissaney, Doddleston,[2] *and*

[1] Ashridge, the beautiful seat of Lord Bridgewater, now of Earl Brownlow, in Bucks., on the border of Herts. and Bucks., not far from Tring.

[2] Doddleston, a mansion of Lord Bridgewater, on the east side of Saltney Marsh, near Chester. The old timbered house was pulled down about the end of the eighteenth century. On the site is a farm known as Gorstella or Gorstelow.

Bretton,[1] *w'th all the rest of my kinde frendes: S'r Tho. Middleton & S'r Edw. Broughton have effected their Bussinesse for Denbighshyre.*

No. 4.

To my very loving frend & well respected Cosen Lieutenant Colonell Davies at Gwissanye.

Gentle Capt'n

I have rec'd y'r lett'r (together w'th a Booke sent by Mr. Reece Griffiths)[2] the 3d of this instant, as also y'r lett'r sent by the post, the 5th of the same, and ame not eable at this time, nor have I lessure to write many lines: onely I have thought fitt to geve y'u notice of the receipt of y'rs. For Mr. Griffiths I have bene willing to doe what in me laye for his despatche out of Towne, & did put him in as right a waye as I coulde thinke of to accomplishe it, but since the time he first came to me I never sawe him untill the writing of this letter. Touching the Business of the Marches y'u may hereafter heare somewhat: in the meane time I ame gladd I was not ou'r credulous to beleeve flying reports concerning S'r R. E.:[3] for I perceave this to be an age wherein fewe men are to be beleeved. For Newes I can send you little, save onely that the E. of Strafforde's[4] Businesse helde so long yesterday, that all were almost as tired ill as him-

[1] Bretton, co. Flint, the seat of the Ravenscroft family. This house was destroyed by the garrison of Chester, to prevent it becoming a shelter to the enemy.

[2] Mr. Reece Griffiths. Perhaps one of the Griffiths family of Rhûal, near Mold, co. Flint.

[3] "Sir R: E:" Query, an Egerton of Ridley?

[4] Earl of Strafford. Sir Thomas Wentworth, second Baronet, created an Earl, and made a K.G., born 1593, on 13 April; married, first, Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of Francis Earl of Cumberland, who had no issue; second, Lady Arabella Holles, daughter of John Earl of Clare, by whom he had five children; third, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Godfrey Rodes, Knt., of Great Houghton, co. York. On the 22nd March 1640-1, this unfortunate nobleman was brought to trial; but his prosecutors were unable to establish their charges according to the laws of the land, and were therefore, after an investigation which lasted eighteen days, in which Strafford deported himself admirably, obliged to resort to the very unusual and unconstitutional mode of proceeding by bill of attainder. Charles I hesitated to sign the doom of his faithful servant and friend. Bishop Juxon pleaded for Lord Strafford; but the Queen and Council advised Charles to sign. The Earl was executed on Tower Hill, 12 May 1641.

selfe, the same continuing from 8. of the clocke in the morning untill neere 6. at night, as my sonne John[1] toulde me, who after he came home from thence was ready & willing to leape at a cruste. I thinke if there be many suche dayes as that was, my Daughter Alice[2] & y'r wife[3] will be content to staye at home, &

[1] "My sonne John". John, second Earl of Bridgewater. The day, according to the date of this letter, must have been the fifteenth of the investigation.

[2] "My daughter Alice", the Lady Alice Egerton. To an event in this lady's life the world is indebted for Milton's celebrated mask of *Comus*. Lord Bridgewater, her father, was Lord President of Wales and the Marches. Warton gives us the following account: "I have been informed, from a MS. of Oldys, that Lord Bridgewater being appointed Lord President of Wales, entered upon his official residence at Ludlow Castle with great solemnity. On this occasion he was attended by a large concourse of neighbouring nobility and gentry. Among the rest came his children; in particular Lord Brackley, Mr. Thomas Egerton, and Lady Alice, to attend their father's state and new intrusted sceptre. They had been on a visit at a house of the Egerton family in Herefordshire, and in passing through Staywood Forest were benighted, and Lady Alice even lost for some time. This accident, which in the end was attended with no bad consequences, furnished the subject for a mask for a Michaelmas festivity, and produced *Comus*." The mask of *Comus* was, it is said, acted in the great hall of Ludlow Castle, when Lady Alice Egerton, Lord Brackley, and Mr. Thomas Egerton, took part in it. Henry, first Duke of Beaufort, visited Ludlow Castle in 1684, and in a MS. at Badminton, entitled "Cambria Britannica", is the following account of it: "5th Augt. 1684.—His Grace went to the Chappel called Prince Arthur's Chappel (on the 6th), where service was read by the Rev ..... In the Chappell you will find that eight Bishopps have been Lord Presidents, ye first whereof was by inscription there Wyllyam Smith, Bishoppe of Lyncoln. The Castle Hall is very faire, having near ye King's arms this inscription in letters of gold, 'Richard, Lord Vaughan, Earle of Carberry, Lord President of Wales and ye Marches', and opposite this is placed ye fire-arms of ye Castell. In a window on ye left hand, ascending to ye chiefe table, are ye armes of England, onely painted, but not quartered with France. Sir Walter Lacy is deemed founder of this Castell. This appears by an inscription in the Chappell, with his armes. The council chamber, where ye judges dine, hath armes and inscriptions of ye Lords Presidents that have been. Next ye great hall, and ye room below stairs, and ye council chamber, ye President's bed-chamber, with a withdrawing-room for privacy. Above stairs is a large dining room, famous for its roof of large tymbers. Near this is Prince Arthur's bed chamber, and was said to have a double heart, according to ye device seen therein painted and gilded

forbeare to become stateswomen. So in hast w'th my loving salutac'ons to y'rselfe, y'r Nephewe, & all the rest of my good frendes in those partes, & the kinde remembrances vnto y'r self from all y'r frendes here, I bidd y'u farewell & rest

Y'r very assured loving frend & Cosen

(Signed) J. Bridgewater.

Barbacan, 6 Ap'el 1641.

I knowe that y'u houlde him an honest man that gave me the information concerning S'r R: E:, & I can hardely persuade myselfe that he woulde wrong either Sir R: E: or my selfe by false informac'ons.

No. 5.

ffor his lieutenant Colonell Tho: Davies.

Good Cosen

Y'rs of 4. instant I have receaved, & am sory for that I hear of Wa: & Wh:,[1] sure there was a fault some where, either T. S. or Lo. C.[2] was too blame, it seems W. B. was more heedefull &c. I knowe no particulars. Wee are here as when I wrote last both at home, & abroade; would God wee might finde amendment every waye, & these times of distraction weere at an end, w'ch shall be, & is, my prayer, as it is my desire to be kindly remembred to my Co: Do:[3] & all the rest of my good frendes w'th you, & in those partes. God keepe us & direct us: in hast I rest

Y'rs after the ould manner as y'u knowe

Ba: 6'o Junij 1643. (Signed) J: B:

I shoulde be gladde to knowe how parson F: F:[4] did speede at Wh:

against ye wainscot. Next above stair to be considered is ye Lord President's Lady's room and her bed chamber, furnished by His Majesty with lemon coloured damask. In ye window is painted an escutcheon, France and England quarterly, a label of three ermine encompassed with a garter."

[3] "Y'r wife", Mrs. Dorothy Davies.

[1] "Wh:" ? Whitchurch.

[2] "Lo. C." Probably Arthur, first Baron Capell, son of Sir Henry Capell by Theodosia, sister of Edward Lord Montagu. He took an active part in the civil war on behalf of Charles I, and falling a victim to his loyalty, was beheaded in Old Palace Yard, London, 9 March 1648-9. He married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Sir Charles Morrison, Knt., of Cashiobury, Herts., and was ancestor of the Earls of Essex.

[3] "Co. Do." is Colonel Davies' wife Dorothy.

[4] "Parson T. F." Probably the clergyman of Whitchurch.

No. 6.

To my very loving & well respected Cosen Colonell Thomas Davies.

Good Cosen

Y'r lett'r w'ch y'u sent my Nephewe Fortescue concerning y'u paim't of £50 to him at Bartholomewetide I delivered to him, & did what I coulde to make him confident that he should not be disappointed; nowe that you have failed, I knowe not what opinion he maye have of us both; but I must learne to be wiser hereafter. I ame sory I confesse for y'r sake; but that I shoulde loose the good opinion that some have formerly had of me, & by no faulte of myne but my credulity I will not deny but it doth muche trouble me. I sende y'u herew'th a lett'r sent by my Nephewe to y'rselfe, & likewise a copy of the lett'r w'ch he wrote to me (wherein y'rs was enclosed) that y'u may thereby the better see what is expected both from y'u & me; & indeede I can not but at his request, & for y'r owne sake desire y'u to be more carefull in making good y'r undertakings, & performing y'r promises; els I doubt both you & myselfe shall sustaine prejudice, & disreputation, & whilest I sollicite for others I must not forgett my selfe, but desire y'u to consider my pressares, & necessityes, (whereof y'u have beene in parte both an eare & an eye wittnesse) and as my Nephewe Fortescue woulde have y'u to remember that he is y'r frend & servant, so I wishe y'u to remember that I ame & ever have beene,

Y'r very affectionate frend & loving Cosen

(Signed) J. Bridgewater.

Barbacan, 31'o Aug. 1647.

I desire to be kindely remembred to my good Cosen y'r wife, & to y'r Nephewe & Neisse.[1]

[1] "Your nephewe & neisse". Robert Davies of Gwysaney, born 19 Feb. 1616; High Sheriff of Flintshire, 1644-46, and 1660. This gentleman, a staunch Cavalier, garrisoned the old mansion of Gwysaney during the civil wars, and defended it until 12 April 1645, when Sir Wm. Brereton compelled it to surrender. At the Restoration his name appears among those deemed qualified for the knighthood of the Royal Oak, "he having an estate of £2,000 per annum." Mr. Davies married, aged fifteen, at Gresford Church, co. Denbigh, 20 July 1631, Anne, daughter and coheiress of Sir Peter Mytton, of Llannerch Park, Knt., Chief Justice of North Wales, and M.P. for Carnarvon (derived from a common ancestor with the Myttons of Halston, co. Salop), by Eleanor, sister of John Williams, D.D., Archbishop of York, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Robert Davies died A.D. 1690, and was buried at Mold, the 19th October; Anne, his wife, was buried at Mold, 14th Oct. 1690. Their portraits are in the possession of P. B. Davies-Cooke, Esq.

No. 7.

To my very loving & much respected Friend & Cosen
Coll: Thomas Davies, these &c. &c.

Good Cosen

I have received your letter concerning ye division of Mould tythes, I hope this my answer will come safe to you, though letters are now much intercepted: I am indeed very willing such a division might be made as you desire, but I doubt this yeere it can not be done, because though ye Towneships be knowen, yet ye rate & value of each Towneship is not yet sufficiently discovered, as without further inquiry to admit of such a division, although I very much desire you had y't share y't lies next you, & most for your convenience; further there is a maine stop w'ch I thought not of, nor I beleeve you, when you & I spake together about this buisinesse in ye Country, & y't is, y't although ye one halfe of those tythes is in me, & a quarter fully in you, yet the other quarter is so left by my Father, y't it is in the hands of S'r Edward Spencer, & S'r Bevis Thelwall, for ye paiment of ye debts they stand ingaged with my Lord for, & so no such division, as you desire, can be made without their consent, I shall therefore againe intreate you, y't for this yeere, you would put to your hand, y't such course may be taken, for ye setting of those tythes, as may be most to ye advantage both of your selfe & me as ye case now stands, hoping y't by ye next yeere such a course may be taken as may be to ye satisfaction of your desire, so w'th my kind remembrance, & my Wife's,[1] to your selfe & your Wife, I rest

Your truly loving Cosen,
(Signed) J. Bridgewater.[2]

Bridgewater-house, Julij 2'do 1650.

No. 8.

For my loving & much respected Cosen, Mrs. Dorothy
Davies,[3] at Guissanny, in Flintshire, these.

Good Cozen

I am very sorry to heare by your letter y't my Cozen your husband is in so ill a Condition of health, & earnestly pray

[1] "My wife". Elizabeth, second daughter of William Duke of Newcastle.

[2] John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgewater, married Elizabeth, second daughter of William Cavendish (then Earl, but subsequently) Duke of Newcastle. He died 26 Dec. 1686. He wrote letters Nos. 7 and 8.

[3] Mrs. Dorothy Davies was wife of Colonel Thomas Davies. She

for his recovery, & hope ye worst of ye disease may be past, & y't notwithstanding his age he may returne to his health againe, at least be troubled w'th no other infirmitie but onely age, w'ch as I have often heard him say, is a sicknesse y't will not be cured, but y't he may enjoy as perfect health as age can permit is my serious prayer. For ye division of ye Parsonage of Mold w'ch you desire in your letter, it hath often beene mentioned to me by my Cozen your husband, & I have ever beene very willing to hearken to his desire in it, & truly it had not beene thus long undone, had it beene in my power to have done it, but my Cozen knowes y't though ye one halfe of y't Parsonage be undoubtedly in me, & one fourth part as undoubtedly in him, yet ye other fourth part is in Sir Edward Spencer, & y't is the cause why no agreement can be made in this businesse as you desire.

I thanke God we are all in very good health here, & my Wife remembers her kind respects to you & your husband, & your welfare is very earnestly wished by

Your very loving Cozen

(Signed) J. Bridgewater.

Ashridge, Maij 14:—53 [1653].

was daughter of Robert Morgan, Esq., of Golden Grove, co. Flint, by Catherine, daughter of Sir William Jones of Castel y March. She died on the 14th, and was buried on the 18th April 1654, at Mold. She is also mentioned in letter No. 4 as having been at the trial of the Earl of Strafford; also in letter as "my Co: Do:"

BASINGWERK ABBEY AND PRIORIES OF DENBIGH AND RHUDDLAN.

PARTICULARS FOR GRANTS, 31 HENRY VIII.

APPARY, HENRY AND PIERS MUTTON.

Scit' nuper Mon' de Basingwerk in Com' Flint' et infra Episcopat' Assaph'.

Nuper Monasterium ibidem De anno regni Henrici octavi Dei gra' Anglie et Franc' R' fidei defensor' Domini Hibernie et in terra supremi capit' ecclesie Anglicane xxxj^{mo} viz.

Scit' nuper Mon' pred' valet in

Redd' et Firm' cum vna parcell' terr' voc' le courte grene dimiss' Hugoni Starkey sub' sigill' Cur' Augment' reuen' Corone Domini R' per annum - - - xiij*s.* viij*d.*

Graung' voc' le Abbey grange in Com' pred' et infra Episcopat' predictum in parochia de Hollywell valet in

Redd' vnius claus' voc' Brinkinock cont' per estimac' xxx acr' terr' arab' alium claus' voc' Kehell cont' per estimac' x acr' pastur' et alium claus' voc' le Cokeshothay cont' xv acr' per estimac' dimiss' Hugoni Starkey sub sigill' Cur' Augmen' reuenc' Corone Domini R' per annum - - - l*s.*

Graung' voc' le Mydle Grange in Com' pred' et infra Episcopat' in parochia predicta valet in

Redd' ij pastur' voc' greneffeld hays et cum alia pastur' voc' le hay aboue the wode cont' per estimac' xx^{ti} acr' alium claus' voc' Whitney hay cont' per estimac' xij acr' alium claus' voc' le Hardey hay cont' per estimac' xl. acr' alium claus' voc' le bro'rie hay cont' per estimac' xij acr' alia pastur' voc' le litle Hardhay cont' per estimac' vj acr' alium claus' terr' arab' voc' Brinarwyn cont' per estimac' vj acr' alium claus' voc' llochan' cont' per estimac' xij acr' alium claus' arab' voc' le Oldeffeld et longffurlonge cont' per estimac' x acr' alium claus' iuxta claus' voc' monthay cont' p' estimac' xij acr' vnum pratum

voc' le Mydle grange medowe cont' per estimac' ij acr' dimiss' Hugoni Starkey sub sigill' Cur' Augmen' reuen' Corone Domini R' per annum - - - . iiij*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*

Graung' voc' le Gelthie grange in Com' pred' et infra Episcopat' pred' in parochia de Whitford. valet in

Redd' vnius parcell' pastur' voc' le Gelthie grange dimiss' Hugoni Starkey sub sigill' Cur' Augmen' reuen' Corone Domini R' vltra xvj*s.* viij*d.* parcell' d'ce grangie in ma'ib' Gr' ap Jevan ap Robert ad volunt' Domini per annum - lxix*s.* viij*d.*

Graung' voc' le hier grange in Com' pred' et infra Episcopat' pred' valet in

Redd' et Firm' dimiss' d'd Marten' per Inden' sub sigill' conuent' nuper Mon' pred' sigill' in parochia de Hollywell' per an' xl*s.*

vnum mes' voc' Stolken in Dom'e de Hollewell in Com' pred' et infra Episcopat' pred' valet in

Redd' et Firm' dimiss' Thome ap P'ice per Inden' sub sigill' conuent' nuper Mon' pred' sigill' per an' - vj*s.* viij*d.*

vnum claus' voc' Greathaye in parochia de Hallewell valet in

Redd' et Firm' iac' infra vill' de Fulbroke al' Greneffelde iuxta llocham' et Coldwell' ex parte vna et Walke mille ex parte altera dimiss' Joh'i penante p' sigill' conuent' nuper Mon' pred' dat' xviij° die Octobr' a° R' pred' xxvij° pro termino iij^xx anno' reddend' per an' - - - vj*s.* viij*d.*

vnum claus' voc' Gesteyhaye in parochia predicta valet in

Redd' et Firm' dimiss' Joh'i Richard ad volunt' Domini per annum - - - - - - vs.

[Summa] xiij*li.* xviij*s.* iiij*d.*

xxiij die Februarij anno xxxi H. viij
pro Henrico Appary.
per Edward Gostwyk Audit'.

Henry Appary.—The some of all the p'myss' together w^t the woods of the same ratyd at one yerly value xiiij*li.* iij*s.* iiij*d.* inde pro x^a xxviij*s.* iiij*d.* & rem' clare xij*li.* xv*s.* wyche after xx^ti year's purchase amontyth to the some cclv*li.* to be payd in forme folowyng y^t ys to sey in hande cxxx*li.* and at xxiij day of September next cxxv*li.*

M'd except a wood callyd the gret copys cont' cxx^{ti} acrez & the same to be reservyd to the Kyng Maister Chaunceler my lorde Russell hathe moved me for this berer w^{t} whom it may please yow to go thorow as ye shall thinke good

Your assuryd ffreend
Thomas Crumwell.

The late Frierhouse of Ruthland.—M'd that ther is abowte the late Frierhousse of Ruthlan' no woods but a few smale asshes growinge before the housse wiche ar but of iiij^{or} yeres groweth to the nomber of xxx^{ti} beinge worth ij*s.* vj*d.*

Edward Gostwyk.

Nuper hospicium Fratrum nigrorum de Ruthlan' in Com' Flint' et infra Episcopat' Assaph' De anno regni Henrici viij^{ui} Dei gra' Anglie et Franc' R' Fidei defensor' Domini Hibernie et in t'ra sup'mi capit' ecclesie Anglicane xxxj^{mo} viz.

Scitus nuper hospicij predicti valet in

Redd' et Firm' cum garn' et pomariis in tenura Pers' Griff' et Pers' Mutton' ad volunt' per annum - - vj*s.* viij*d.*

Firma terr' dominical' valet in

Redd' vnius claus' voc' le Red Closse cont' ij acr' terr' per ann' v*s.*
Redd' alt'ius claus' voc' le Gramande closse cont' ij acr' per an' - - - - - - - v*s.*

Redd' infra villam (sic) *de Ruthlan' valet in*

Redd' vnius aule cum trib' camerijs iac' inter Ecclesiam dicti domus et coquinam eiusdem domus et cum vno stabular' iac' iuxta cameram in qua Petrus Gr' ap D'd ap Ithell' nu'c inhabitat & duabus gardin' iac' inter dictam Aulam et viam ducen' de Ruthlan' versus Denbighe vnacum vno pomario adiac' super clas' dicti domus voc' Kayhiz et ij acr' terr' voc' Kewetkayezunwent ac cimiteriu' dicti domus aceciam vna parua parcell' terr' voc' Ykayman' iac' super viam ducen' de vill' de Ruthlan' uersus Denbighe cum vno gardin' voc' garth Irrin' sic dimiss' pred' Petro Gri' ap D'd ap Ithell per Inden' sub sigill' conuent' pred' nuper hospicij dat' xx^{o} die Septembr' anno r' r' Henr' viij^{ui} xxvj^{o} per annum - - v*s.*

Redd' ij camerarum cum vno paruo pomario eisdem cameris adiac' et vna parua parcell' terr' voc' y Kayhiz iac' iuxta Ypoledych' sic dimiss' Henrico Conwey per sigill' conuent' nuper

hospicij pred' dat' iiij^to die Januar' anno R' pred' xxvij^o per an' - - - - - - - vj*s*. viij*d*.

[Summa] xxviij*s*. iiij*d*.

Per Edward Gostwyk Audit'.
by me Antony Wyngfeld k.

Mr. Chaunceler I am informyd by Sr Antony Wingffeld that Kynges his graces plesure is that this berer Peers Moton sholde bye the premyss'

Your assuryd ffreend Thomas Crumwell.

xxiij^cio die Februarij anno xxxj^mo R' nunc Henr' viij^ui. Henry Appary Piers Mutton.—S'm totall' of all the premyssis aforeseid together with the woods rated att one yerely value amountythe to the sume of xv*li*. xj*s*. ix*d*. ob. wherof deducted for the tenthe xxxj*s*. ij*d*. ob. Et rem' clare xiiij*li*. vij*d*. whiche rated at xx^ti yeres purchase amountythe to the sume of cciiij^xx*li*. xj*s*. viij*d*. to be paid in forme folowinge that is to seye in hand, cxl*li*. xj*s*. viij*d*. and at the xxiij^th daye of September nexte comynge cxl*li*.

Memor^d to excepte a woode callid the greate copis conteynynge cxx acres and the same to be reseruid to the Kings grace.

Rychard Ryche.

Com' Flynte.

The valuacon' of the woodes growinge within the demesnes of the late Monasterye of Basingworke and dyuerse graunges parcells of the pocessions of the seid late Monasterye within the seid countie of Flynte in North Wales.

Basingworke.—Brymkynocke woode conteyneth viij acres Gosteyhey cont' x acres wherof is wast ij acres. Summa acr' xvj. Wherof the vnderwoode ys partely distroyede with cattall, iiij acres of ij yeres grow^t iiij acres of iij yeres grow^t iiij acres of iiij yeres grow^t and iiij acres of v yeres grow^t wherin be growinge ccc okks parte tymber of lx and lxxx yeres growith wherof cc valuid at vj*d*. the tree And one c resydue with the forseid vnderwoode not valuid bycause it will barely suffyce to fynde the fermor of the forseid demesnes fire bote ploughe bote carte bote and house bote accordinge to the couenants of his indenture of the same.

Trees cc. value, c*s*. Nota the grounde not valuid bycause there is no profyte comynge of the vnderwoode.

Item there is a coppies woode called the great woode lyinge in Myddell graunge conteynynge cxx acres whiche is not charged in this value never the lees there most be a specyall excepcōn in the patent of the seid woode bycause it hath byn allways

named to be in the Myddell graunge which is valuid within the partyculers of the demesnes aforseid.

Per me William Cowper.

PARTICULARS FOR GRANTS, HEN. 8. ANDREWS, RICHARD. (SEC. 4.)

North Wallia.

Parcell' possessionum nuper Monast' de Basingwark auctoritate Parliament' suppress' ut inferius sequitur-videlicet.

In Comitat' Cestre.—Redd' vnius placee terr' vocat' Overleigh cum xl acr' terr' cum pertin' iac' per Hunbrige infra libert' Ciuitat' Cestr' in tenur' Ellis ap Dio ap Griffith' per Indentur' sub sigill' conuent' dat' in anno Domini millesimo quatuorgentesimo octogesimo secundo Habend' sibi et assign' suis a fest' Sancti Michaelis Archangeli eodem anno vsque ad terminum centum annorum tunc prox' sequen' vltra vnam plac' terr' vocat' Netherleigh in man' Ricardi Browne per Indentur' Domino Regi reseruat' per annum - - - - liij*s.* iiij*d.*

PARTICULARS FOR GRANTS, HEN. 8. ANDREWS, RICHARD. (SEC. 6.)

Nuper domus siue Priorat' Fratrum predicat' de Denbigh in Northwallia. Per fid'.

Valor omnium et singulorum dominiorum maner' terr' tenement' ac al' possessionum quarumcumque tam Temporal' quam Spiritual' dict' nuper Domui siue Priorat' pertin' sive spectan' ad manus Domini Henr' octaui Dei gra' Anglie Fraunc' et Hibernie Regis fidei defensor' et in terr' Anglican' et Hibernice ecclesie supremi capit' sursum redd' ut inferius sequitur viz'

In Com' Denbigh'. Terr' et possession' quecumque p'd' nuper domui pertin' valet in

Firm' tocius scitus siue domus dict' nuper Priorat' scituat' ex oriental' parte ville de Denbigh' vnacum omnibus et singulis haulis cameris pincernis coquinis stabulis siue alijs edificijs quibuscumque eidem Priorat' pertin' siue spectan' Necnon vno pomario et vno gardino eidem annex'. Ac eciam omnibus et singulis tenement' cotagijs terr' pastur' et prat' cum omnibus et singulis advantagijs proficuis et emolument' eidem similiter spectan' et pertin' sic dimiss' Robert' Episcopo Assaphen' per Inden-

tur' sub sigill' commune dict' nuper Priorat' dat' xij^{mo} die Augusti anno r' r' Henr' viij^{ui} xxix^{no} h'end'eidem Ep'o et successor' suis a die confeccionis presenc' vsque ad t'minum iiij^{xx}xix annorum tunc prox' sequen' et plenar' complend' Redd' inde ann^{tim} dict' Domino Regi pro decima premis' xij*d.* durant' termino pred' et dict' priori et convent' siue eo' succ' x*s.* eodem termino durant' viz. pro premis' Et pred' Episcopus exonerabit dict' nuper priorem et eorum success' de omnibus resolut' reddit' exeunt' de primis quequidem Indent' ac omnia et singula in eadem content' per Cancellar' et Consilium Cur' Domini R' Augmen' revenc' Coron' sue allo^{r} Dat' apud Westm' xxv^{to} die Aprilis anno regni pred' Domini Regis xxxj^{mo} per annum - - - x*s.*

THE STEYNTON INSCRIBED STONE, PEMBROKESHIRE.

To no other member is the Association more indebted for the active interest he takes in the antiquities of the Principality than to Professor Westwood, whose communication to the Journal for October last, on "Some Inscribed Stones in Pembrokeshire", was not only valuable throughout, but added one more to our short list of Ogam inscribed stones known in Wales. Nor is the service he rendered to Welsh epigraphy, in shewing that the St. Florence Stone has no Ogam on it, to be passed over unmentioned.

But I wish to speak more particularly of the stone in the churchyard at Steynton, for so I find the name is written, and not Staynton. It struck me from the first as differing from the majority in having its Ogam inscription standing alone, not accompanied by one in Roman capitals; and as the cross on the stone does not seem to be as old as the Ogam, while Professor Westwood described it as being in relief, it occurred to me that possibly remains of the Roman letters might be found on the cross. So when I happened to be in Pembrokeshire, in December last, I made it a point to visit the old stone, and to my gratification I found that the

Roman inscription was no mere imagination of mine, but that it could be traced along the perpendicular diameter of the cross. I refer to Professor Westwood's drawing at p. 292, premising, however, that somehow his cross has slipped down towards the middle of the stone. It should be close to the top of it. Now at the top of the diameter of the cross, near the top of the stone, the inscription begins with a capital G of the usual reaping-hook form, followed by a faint E. The rest of the diameter cannot be read until one comes near its lower end, where the man's name clearly ends with a horizontal I preceded by L. These letters evidently form parts of the same name which we have in the Ogam; but I noticed that somewhat beneath and behind the L there was something like a horizontal stroke which I could not account for. After leaving the stone it occurred to me that it might be the remains of a previous L, in the bosom of which the one still perfect was cut. Whether this was a happy thought, or the reverse, must be left to somebody else to find out, who will take the trouble to examine the stone again. The name in capitals would then have been Gendilli, and not Gendili, as in the Ogam; and there is reason to suppose it to be the more correct of the two. Of course these letters would not have escaped being erased had they not happened to be just where it suited the later Christian to have the shaft of the cross he wished to make; and I have little doubt that the name Gendilli was merely the beginning of the inscription, the rest of which has been erased lower down on the stone, or between the middle of the cross and the Ogam. But what remains is enough to shew that this stone was no exception to the usual rule, that the Ogam is accompanied by an inscription in Roman letters.

A few words as to the name *Gendilli*. This is probably the genitive of *Gendill*. It is hardly to be doubted that we have a name of the same origin in *Genillin*, which occurs on a font at Patrishow, near Crickhowell, which is said to read, "Menhir me fecit in tempore

Genillin"; and I suspect that we have the identical name in the *Liber Landavensis*, in that of a place called Trefginhill (p. 32) and Tref Ginnhill (p. 247), where the boundary of the townships so called is given thus, "O Elei" (*i.e.*, from Elei) "via custodiente usque ad Abrenan" (in another MS. "Brenann"), "erigens sursum transversum usque dum descendit in Elei." I give this in full as I should be exceedingly glad to learn from somebody who knows the banks of the Eley how the place is now called. One might expect it to be Tre Innill or the like; but if English is the prevailing language, then it may be Tree Innill, Tree Innilt, Tree Indle, or the like; but I should not like to be particular.

The Vicar has very kindly favoured me with a sketch of the stone, which shews on the other face of it, near the ground, a semicircle which I did not notice. It may possibly be a part of a wheel-cross which has been overlooked. The whole should be again closely examined; and I should be delighted if our Secretary, Mr. Robinson of Cardiff, could go so far and give us a careful sketch of the stone, bringing out all that is still visible. Correct and complete readings of inscriptions of this sort can only be arrived at by degrees, and as the result of repeated searching by more than one or two men.

JOHN RHYS.

Postscript.—I paid a second visit to the stone last June, when I failed to find the L suggested above as possibly preceding the L⊢.

PRIVATE PAPERS OF RICHARD VAUGHAN, EARL OF CARBERY.

THIS Indenture tripartite made the fower and twentieth day of June in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred sixty and eight And in the twentieth year of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God of England Scotland Ffraunce and Ireland King defend'r of the ffaith &c Betweene the right Hon'ble S'r Richard Vaughan K'nt of the Hon'ble Order of the Bath Lord President of Wales Earle of Carbery and one of his Ma'ties most Hon'ble Privy Councell and John Lord Vaughan Knight of the Hono'ble Order of the Bath now eldest sonne & heire apparent of the said Earle of the first part Robert Blanchard Cittizen and Goldsmith of London of the second part And George Gwynne of Llanellwith in the county of Radnor esq and William Dickenson of the middle Temple London Esq'e of the third part Witnesseth that whereas the said Richard Earle of Carbery George Gwynne and William Dickenson heretofore namely on or about the eight and twentieth day of September which was in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred sixty and one Together with Ffrancis Lord Vaughan then eldest sonne and heire apparent of the said Earle (but since dec'd) became bound unto the said Robert Blanchard in one bond or obligacon in the penall sume of one thousand pounds (being the proper debt of him the said Earle) condic'oned for payment of five hundred pounds with due interest for the same at a day long since past which said bond or obligac'on hath been lately put in suite in the Court of Comon Pleas at Westminster against the said George Gwynn Walter Vaughan and William Dickenson and prosecuc'on so farr had there upon as that the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson are become outlawed And whereas upon adjusting the principall and interest due upon the said bond or obligac'on and the charges expending in sueing the same as aforesaid including halfe interest to the fower and twentieth day of August next for the five hundred pounds being the principall money originally lent there appears to be due and oweing to the said Robert Blanchard the full and just sum of seaven hundred forty and nine pounds and tenn shillings And whereas tis intended that severall Judgements shall be confessed by the said Earle George Gwynn and William Dickenson to the said Robert Blanchard of the severall sumes of one thousand pounds apeece for the better secureing the payment of the said seaven hundred forty nine

pounds & tenn shillings which said sume of seaven hundred forty nine pounds and tenn shillings and every part thereof is agreed by the said Earle and the rest of the said parties to these presents to be paid to the said Robert Blanchard his execut's or assignes At or in the middle Temple Hall London with the space of five yeares to be accompted from the first day of May last before the date hereof with halfe interest at six per cent per ann for five hundred pounds part of the said seaven hundred forty nine pounds and tenn shillings being the principall money originally lent or without interest in such sort and manner as is hereafter menc'oned and expressed by halfe yearly payments (that is to say) on the Ffeast of St. Bartholomew next ensueing the date hereof the sum of seaventy fower pounds and nineteene shilling and thenceforth on every Michaelmas day and May day dureing the said terme the full and entire sum of seveanty fower pounds and nineteene shillings and soe to continue during the said terme of five yeares to be accompted from the first day of May last And likewise to pay and satisfie interest for the said five hundred pounds principall money in such sort and manner and for such time onely and noe longer then as is hereafter menc'oned and expressed (that is to say) on the said Ffeast of St. Bartholomew next for interest one pepper corne (if demanded) at Michaelmas following being the nine and twentieth day of September the sume of one pound eight shillings and two pence And on the third payment being May day 1669 the sume of seaven pounds And on the fowerth payment being the nine and twentieth day of September 1669 The sume of fower pounds seaven shillings and six pence And on the fifth payment being May day 1670 the sume of five pounds and five shillings And on the sixth payment being the nine and twentieth day of September 1670 the sume of three pounds two shillings and six pence And on the seaventh payment being May day 1671 the sume of three pounds and tenn shillings And on the eighth payment being the nine and twentieth day of September 1671 the sume of one pounds seaventeene shillings and six pence And on the nineth payment being the first day of May 1672 the sum of one pounds fifteene shillings And on the tenth last payment being the nine and twentieth day of September 1672 the sume of twelve shillings and sixpence over and besides the half yearely payments before menc'oned and reserved payable in discharge and satisfaction of the sume of seaven hundred forty and nine pounds and tenn shillings being the debt now adjusted to be due for principall interest and charges reserved payable as is before menc'oned expressed and declared in these p'sents.

And whereas for the better secureing of the said seaven hun-

dred fforty nine pounds and twelve shillings with interest for the same as before expressed to be paid in five years time as aforesaid It is proposed by the said Earle that the said several Judgements upon mutuat usses shall be confessed by him the said Earle George Gwynne and William dickenson in his ma'ties Court of Com'on Pleas at Westminster unto him the said Robert Blanchard of the severall sum'es of one thousand pounds apeice as aforesaid for the better secureing the true payment of the said sum'e of seaven hundred forty nine pounds and twelve shillings as aforesaid which when confessed and entred into and Releases of Errors given and the said John Lord Vaughan having signed and sealed to this present Indenture Tis then the true intent agreement and meaning of all the parties to these presents That from henceforth all payment of interest is totally to cease and determine Anything in these p'sents expressed and conteyned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding Now these presents witnes that the said Earle of Carbery and John Lord Vaughan for and in considerac'on of the sume of five shillings to them in hand paid by the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson the receipt whereof they doe hereby acknowledge As alsoe aswell for the better secureing of the said seaven hundred forty nine pounds and twelve shillings with halfe interest or without interest as aforesaid to be paid within the terme of five yeares in maner and form aforesaid As alsoe for the saveing harmelesse and keeping indempnified of them the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson their Heires Executo's and Administrato's and every of them of and from the said Judgements intended to be confessed together with the outlawries already obteyned against them And all costs and damages which may happen by reason thereof And for divers other good causes and valueable considerac'ons then thereunto especially moving They the said Richard Earle of Carbery and John Lord Vaughan Have demised granted bargained and sold And by these presents doe demise grant bargaine and sell unto the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson their Executo's Administrato's and Assignes All and singular the messuages lands tenements and Hereditaments situate and lying in severall Townshipps parishes and places within the said county of Carmarthen perticuler specified and expressed in a schedule to these presents annexed To have and to hold the said Demised p'misses and every parte and parcell thereof to the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson their Executo's Administrato's and Assignes from the first day of May last past before the date of these p'sents for and during the full time and unto the full ende and terme of five whole yeares then next and imediately

following and fully to be compleate and ended Yielding and paying therefore yearely dureing the said terme the yearely rent of one pepper corne at the Ffeast of St. Michaell the Archangell onely (if it be lawfully demanded) In trust neverthelesse that they the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson their Executo's Administrato's and Assignes shall and will out of the rents issues and profitts of the messuages lands tenements and Hereditaments menc'oned and conteyned in the schedule to these presents annexed well and truely pay or cause to be paid unto the said Robert Blanchard his Executo's Administrato's or Assigns At or in the Middle Temple Hall London upon the Feast of St. Bartholomew next ensueing the date hereof the sume of seaventy Fower pounds and nineteene shillings and thenceforth upon every nine and twentieth day of September and upon every first day of May which shall yearly happen and fall out dureing the terme of five yeares hereby granted or within thirty daies after the said nine and twentieth day of September and first day of May the sume of seaventy fower pounds and nineteene shillings of lawfull money of England togeather with interest for the said five hundred pounds principall money in such sort and manner and after such rates and proporc'ons as in and by these presents before is agreed to be paid and as the case may fall out to be at or upon every nine and twentieth day of September and first day of May during the said Terme of five yeres and all the before menc'oned payments to be made without any deducc'on or defaulcac'on And the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson for themselves their Executo's Administrato's and every of them doe coven' promise and grant to and with the said Robert Blanchard his Executo's Administrato's and every of them that they the said George Gwynn William Dickenson their Executo's Administrato's and Assignes shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said Robert Blanchard his Executo's or Assignes the said half yearely sum'es or payments of seveanty fower pounds & nineteene shillings together with such interest and in such sort and manner as the same shall become due and as is herein before menc'oned and expressed at the place & on the several times herein before limitted for payment thereof without any deducc'on or defalcac'on whatsoever And the said Robert Blanchard for himself his Executo's & Administrato's & every of them doth covent promise & grant to and with the said Richard Earle of Carbury George Gwynne & William Dickenson their heires Executo's & Admi's & every of them that till failer of payment of the said halfe yerely sum's of seaventy fower pounds & nineteene shillings w' interest in such sort and manner as aforesaid or some

part thereof at the place and times hereinbefore limitted for payment thereof shall happen to be made he the said Robert Blanchard his Exec's or Adm's of them or any other person or persons in his or their name or names shall not and will not sue forth and presente any extent or extents execuc'on or execuc'ons ag'st the said Richard Earle of Carbery and the said George Gwynne & William Dickenson their heires Executo's or Administ' or any of them or cause or procure any other proceedings to be had upon the said intended Judgments or the outlawries allready obteyned or any former security given for the said debt or any of them or against their or any of their estate or estates reall or personall And further that in case the said Richard Earle of Carbery George Gwynne and William Dickenson their Exec'rs Adm's or assignes or any of them doe and shall well and truely pay and satisfie unto, the said Robert Blanchard his Exec'rs or Assignes the said halfe yearely sumes of seaventy fower pounds and nineteene shillings with interest as aforesaid in manner and forme aforesaid during the said terme of five yeares without defalcac'on or abatement for taxes or other impositions whatsoever to commence and be accompted from the first day of May last in manner and sort aforesaid Hee the said Robert Blanchard his Exc'rs and Adm'rs shall and will at the costs and charges of the said Richard Earle of Carbery the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson their Exec'rs or Adm'rs or any of them upon releases of errors first given acknowledge satisfacc'on upon records of the said intended Judgements and every of them if any such be hereafter entred and likewise to give upp and discharge the said bond or obligac'on together with all outlawries allreddy obteyned thereupon the same to be done at the proper costs and charges of the said Richard Earle of Carbery George Gwynn and William Dickenson their Exe'rs or Assignes or some of them As by the said Richard Earle of Carbery the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson their heires Exec'rs or Administ'rs or by his or their Counsell learned in the Law shall be reasonably divised advised or required And if Judgem'ts shall be confessed as is hereinbefore agreed and releases of errors thereupon given Then it is agreed that the said Robert Blanchard shall deliver upp the said recited bond to be cancelled And for the better enabling of the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson to pay the said seaventy fower pounds and nineteene shillings to the said Robert Blanchard and his Assignes upon the Feast of St. Bartholomew next ensueing the date hereof Hee the said Earle doth hereby agree that the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson their Executors and Assignes shall have and receive all such rents and

arrearages of rents as were payable to the said Earle out of the p'misses upon the first day of May last and if any part thereof shall be paid ..... to the said Earle he the said Earle will repay the same to the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson upon request the better to enable them to make payment as aforesaid And the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson for themselves their Executo's and Admi's and every of them doe coven't promise and grant to and with the said Richard Earle of Carbery and John Lord Vaughan their Executo's and Assignes that in case the said George Gwynn and Willlam Dickenson their Exec'rs or Assignes shall during the said terme raise out of and by the rents issues and profitts of the said messuages lands tenem'ts and hereditam'ts menc'oned and expressed in the schedule annexed more moneys than shall be sufficient for payment of the said sume of seaven hundred forty nine pounds and twelve shillings principall money debt with interest as aforesaid to the said Robert Blanchard his Ex'rs or Assignes togeather w'th necessary charges in doeing thereof they the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson their Exec'rs and Assignes shall and will at the end and expirac'on of the said terme pay the overplus of the said moneyes if any happen to be to the said Richard Earle of Carbery if he shall be then liveing And in case he shall be then dead to the said John Lord Vaughan or to the Exec'rs or Assignes of the said Earle or some of them And the said Richard Earle of Carbery for himselfe his Heires Exec'rs and Admi'rs and every of them doth coven't and promise to and w'th the said George Gwynne and William Dickenson their Execut'rs Adm'rs and Assignes and every of them that the said messuages Lands and Tenem'ts specified and expressed in the schedule to these p'sents annexed now are and soe shall continue and be dureing the said terme of five yeares of the full and cleare yearely value of one hundred fforty & nyne pounds & eighteene shillings over and above all interest money that may happen to be paid and over and above all charges repaires and other expences whatsoever And in case it shall happen that the said demised premises shall at any time dureing the said terme happen by any meanes or sort whatsoever to be of lesser value then the sume of one hundred fforty and nyne pounds and eighteene shillings (pound) by the yeare over and besides the interest and charges as aforesaid that then the said Richard Earle of Carbery his executo's or Assignes shall and will upon request to him or them made or left in writeing at the now dwelling house of the said Earle called Golden Grove in the said County of Carmarthen by the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson their Exec'rs or Assignes or any of them within the

space of thirty dayes after such request made or left as aforesaid well and truely pay or cause to be paid unto the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson their Executors or Assignes soe much money as the said demised p'misses shall fall short of the said halfe yearely sume of seaventy fower pounds and nineteene shillings togeather with interest and charges as aforesaid Provided allwaies And it is mutually agreed by and betweene all and every of the said parties to these p'sents their Exec'rs Adm'rs or Assignes respectively that if the said Earle of Carbery George Gwynn and William Dickenson their Executors or Assignes or some of them shall not well and truely pay or cause to be paid unto the said Robert Blanchard his Exec'rs or Assignes or some of them the aforesaid cleere halfe yearely sum'es or payments of seaventy fower pounds and nineteene shillings at the respective daies as aforesaid with interest in such sort and manner as aforesaid w'thout making any deducc'on out of the same for any taxes or any other thing whatsoever for and dureing all the aforesaid terme of five yeares com'enceing as aforesaid That then and in such case It shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Robert Blanchard his Exec'rs or Assignes or any of them to sue forth all or any writt or writts of Execuc'on or execuc'ons or any other proceeding or proceedings upon the aforesaid intended Judgement or Judgements if any such Judgement or Judgements shall be soe obteyned as aforesaid or in default thereof upon any or every of the Outlawries aforesaid allready had and obteyned against the said George Gwynn and William Dickenson or either of them or may proceede at Law upon the said bond for the recovery of such sume or sumes of money with interest and damages for the same as at the time of such failer of payment as aforesaid shall remaine due and unpaid of the aforesaid principall money due and oweing to him the said Robert Blanchard as aforesaid togeather with such further costs and charges as the said Robert Blanchard his Exec'rs or Assignes shall or may be put unto for the levying and the recovery of the remainder of the said debt and damages unpaid and remayneing due to him as aforesaid And that in case such failer of payment shall be made of all or any the sum'es hereby intended to be secured to the said Robert Blanchard that then and in such case it is intended and declared to be the true intent and meaning of all the parties to these present That the said Robert Blanchard his Executo'rs and Assignes shall not in any wise be bound or concluded by any agreement recitall or clause in these presents conteyned but be at full liberty for recovery of his debt damages and charges to all intents and purposes as if these presents had not been made any thing in these

presents conteyned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding and from thenceforth this present demise and grant to bee of noe effect In witnesse whereof the said parties to these presents their hands and seales interchangeably have sett the day and yeare first above written.

Carbery.	Unsigned.	Robert Blanchard.
(Seal.)	(No seal.)	(Seal.)

The above deed is endorsed, "Sealed and delivered by the within written Richard Earle of Carbery and Robert Blanchard", after the words, "present demise and grant to bee of noe effect", interlined in the last line, "in the presence of W. B. Jervis, D. Vaughan, Tho. Pyott."

The seal of the Earl is quarterly, 1 and 4, a lion rampant; 2, three roses, two and one; 3, a chevron between three pheons pointing to the fess-point; all surmounted by the Earl's coronet. The second place was intended for the signature and seal of Lord Vaughan; and the seal under Blanchard's signature is an angel holding a wreath, and is not heraldic.

The document itself is a large sheet of parchment with three slips attached for receiving the seals, the signatures being on the parchment itself. But though it is evident that it was intended that Lord Vaughan should also sign it (a memorandum to that effect being on the slip destined to receive his seal), yet he never did so. From the date, 20 June 1668, as also from the name of the Earl, it was evidently executed by Richard Vaughan, the second who bore the title of Earl of Carbery, and was also a Knight of the Bath. He is further well known from the kindly protection and patronage which he extended to Jeremy Taylor, subsequently Bishop of Down and Connor,—a man of deep learning and piety, and who, in grateful remembrance of the time spent at the Earl's residence of Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire, entitled one of his works of devotion *The Golden Grove*. It will be remembered that Dr. Taylor was one of those who strongly upheld the cause of Charles I and of the Church of England, being,

indeed, a *protégé* of Archbishop Laud, and a sufferer for his principles, his living of Uppingham having probably been taken from him on that account. While in retirement in South Wales he maintained himself and family by keeping a school, assisted, of course, very largely by Lord Carbery and others.

The above deed is probably one of the consequences of Lord Carbery's adherence to the cause of the Stuarts, for though he did not suffer so much as others by sequestration, etc., yet he spent large sums of money, and the times were so unsettled that it took many years after the restoration of peace for gentlemen of estates and influence to put their affairs into proper order.

This family of Vaughan is descended from Eignion, the twin son, with Cynric, of Madoc ab Meredydd, Prince of Powys. They were, from the circumstance of their birth, ordinarily called Eignion Evell and Cynric Evell, and were illegitimate. The arms borne by Eignion Evell are, party per fess, *sable* and *argent*, a lion rampant counterchanged, armed and langued *gules*. They are evidently a variation of the black lion on the *argent* shield, the cognizance of the old Princes of Powys. Eeignion Evell was lord of Cynllaith, and in Yorke's *Royal Tribes* is said to have resided at Llwynymaen, and to have died in 1196. His wife, according to Harl. MS. 1241, was Arddyn, daughter of Meredydd Vychan ab Madoc ab Urien ab Einion ab Lles ab Iorwerth Benvras. Harl. MS. 6153 says she was Aethyn, daughter of Madoc Vaughan of Chirkland,—*argent*, a cross flory engrailed inter four choughs *sable*, legged and beaked *gules*. *The Golden Grove Book* makes her to be Ardhyn, daughter of Madoc ap Alo of Powys. Vaughan of Hengwrt calls her daughter of Madoc Vychan ap Eynon Hael ab Yryen of Maen Gwynedd. Rhyn, the eldest son of Eignion Evell, married Jonnet, the daughter of John Lord Strange of Knockin, who bore as arms, *gules*, two lions passant guardant *argent;* and they had issue, Cuhelyn, living in 1233, who married Eva, daughter and heiress of Grono ab Cadrod (or Cadwgan, Harl. MS.

1241) of Henvach yn Mochnant. *Argent*, a chevron *gules* inter three pheons *sable*, the points turned to the centre of the escutcheon. This is the third quartering on the Earl's seal. Their son and heir, Ieuan, married Eva, the daughter of Adda ab Awr of Trevor. Harl. MS. 6153 calls her Evach, daughter of Adam Trevor. Per bend sinister, *ermine* and *ermines*, a lion rampant *or*. The mother of this Eva was Tanglwyst, daughter of Yarth ap Ednived; and her grandfather, Awr, was son of Ieuaf (who gave as arms those of Tudor Trefor, as before, in a bordure) ab Cyhelyn ab Cynwrig ab Rhiwallon ab Tudor Trefor. The descent of this Efa is in another place differently given, she being called the daughter of Adda ab Awr, by Myfanwy, daughter of Madoc ab Cynwrig Vychan ab Cynwrig ab Hoedliew of Christionydd, an estate near Ruabon, ab Cynwrig ab Rhiwallon. This last Cynwrig bore *ermine*, a lion rampant *sable*, armed *gules*, and was slain in 1074, his mother being Letitia, daughter of Cadwaldr ab Peredyr Goch of Mon. Rhiwallon, his father, died in 1040, being the son of Dingad ab Tudor Trefor by Cecilia, daughter of Severus ab Cadifor ab Gwenwynwyn. *Az.* three open crowns in pale *or*. Ieuan ab Cyhelyn had issue by Eva, his wife, a son and successor.

Madoc Goch, *i.e.*, the "Red", who, according to *The Golden Grove Book* and also Harl. MS. 1982, married Lleuci, daughter and heir of Hoel Vychan ab Meredydd Vychan ab Meredydd Hen ab Hoel ab Meredydd ab Bleddyn ab Cynfyn. *Or*, a lion rampant *gules*. She is called in Harl. MS. 6153, Gwervyll, daughter and heir of Howell, lord of Powys. They had issue a son and heir,

Madoc Cyffin, so called from having been nursed at Kyffin, and to distinguish him from his father. The name Kyffin signifies a boundary. He married twice, according to Harl. MS. 1982, one of his wives being Alice, daughter of Gruffudd ap Richard, descended from Ririd Vlaidd, by whom he was father of the David below; the other being Tangwystl, daughter and heir

of Ieuan Voel of Penkelli. *Az.*, a chevron between three birds *arg.* This wife has been made by some the mother of David. She was the mother of Ieuan Gethin of Abertanat. Ieuan Voel was son of Iorwerth ab Gwrgeneu ab Uchtred ab Aleth, lord of Dyved. *Az.*, three cocks *arg.*, crested, etc., *gules*,—some say *or*. It will be observed that so far the Vaughans of Golden Grove have a common descent with the families of Kyffin of Oswestry and other places, the Tanats of Abertanat, etc.

David, the son of Madoc Kyffin or Cyffin, and Alice or Alson his wife, married Catherine, daughter of Morgan ab Davyd ab Madoc. *Az.*, a lion rampant *or* inter four olive branches slipped proper. This Madoc was the son of Davyd Vaughan ab Davyd ab Griffith (or Grono) ab Iorwerth ab Howel ab Moreiddig ab Sandde Hardd, who came to help the Princes of Powys against the English, and had Trefortyn or Burton given him, and also Llai. His armorial bearings were, *vert*, semée of broomslips, a lion rampant *or*; and it would appear not improbable that in the previous coat the broomslips have been mistaken for olive-branches. His wife was Angharad, only daughter and heiress of Gruffudd ab Cadwgan of Nannau, near Dolgelley (*or*, a lion rampant *az.*); and her mother was Angharad, only daughter and heiress of Prince Davyd ab Owain Gwynedd and Emma his wife, sister of Henry Plantagenet, King of England; whence, perhaps, the broomslips. Davyd was succeeded by his son,

Davyd Vychan or Vaughan, of Gartheyrn, who married Agnes (or Gwervyl, Harl. MS. 1969 and 1982), daughter of Griffith ap Rhys ab Griffith ab Madoc ab Iorwerth ab Madoc ab Ririd Vlaidd, a man of considerable eminence, who lived (*Eminent Welshmen*) at Rhiwaedog, near Bala, and was lord of Penllyn. *Vert*, a chevron between three wolves' heads erased *arg.* By this match Davyd Vaughan had a son and successor,

Griffith Vaughan, who married, according to some (Harl. MS. 1969), Margaret, daughter of Owain of Meifod, ab Dio ab Llewelyn ab Eignion ab Celynyn; but

according to *The Golden Grove Book*, Tybot, daughter of Meredydd ab Tudor ab Grono ab Howel y Gaddir, third son of Griffith, descended, as given above, from Ryryd Vlaidd. They had issue a son and successor,

Hugh Vaughan of Kidwelly, a gentleman of some note, who held the office of gentleman usher to King Henry VII, and in a tournament held before that monarch at Richmond, near London, killed Sir James Parker. He married Jane, the heiress of Maurice Bowen, Esq., of Llechdwnney, who, according to a note in *The Golden Grove Book*, was a descendant, and, as some say, of the oldest branch, of the house of Newtown. This match seems to have brought the Golden Grove property into the Vaughan family in the reign of Henry VIII. Since this alliance so materially conduced to the temporal prosperity of the Vaughans, it may be well to go a little into the history of the Bowen family.

Urien Rheged is stated to have been King of Cumbria and also lord of Gwyn Yscennen, Carwillion, and Kidwelly, in Wales. He was the founder of the Castle of Carreg Cenneu, and bore for his arms, *argent*, a chevron *sable* between three ravens proper; and by his wife Margaret, daughter and heir of Gwrlais, Duke of Cornwall (to whom are assigned the same arms, changing only the ravens into choughs), he had issue a son Owen, Knight of the Round Table of King Arthur, who married Dennis, daughter of Lot, King of the Picts. From another place we learn that the wife of Loth or Lot ab Cynvarch, King of the Picts, was Anna, daughter of Uther Pendragon, and so sister of King Arthur. Owen had issue Pasken, father of More, father of Ryryd, father of Llewarch, father of Einion Vawr, father of Grono, lord of Iscennen, who married Llywelydd, daughter of Einion Glyd, lord of Elvael, and had issue, Rhys, who married Margaret, daughter of Gruffudd ab Cydrich, lord of Gwynvey, and son of Gwaithvoed. This Rhys and his wife Margaret had issue a son, Elyder, who married Gladys, daughter of Philip ab Bach, lord

of Skenfrith; though others say she was daughter of Cadwgan ab Idnerth ab Llywarch ab Bran. Y Bach, lord of Skenfrith, was brother of Kydric, lord of Gwinvey, according to Harl. MS. 2288. Elider had a son, Sir Elider, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, who lived at Crûg in Llandeilo Vawr, and married Sissil, daughter of Seissylt ab Llewelyn ab Moreiddig Warwyn, lord of Cantref Selyf, a descendant of Caradog Vreichvras. By this marriage he had issue, Philip of Crûg, who by Gladys, daughter of David Vras of Cidwelly (a descendant of Cadivor Vawr), had issue, Nicholas, father, by Janet, daughter of Gruffydd ab Llewelyn Voythys, of Gruffudd of Newtown, Esq., living in the time of Henry VI. This Gruffudd was a man of no mean importance in his day, as is shewn by the bardic allusions to him. He found himself surrounded by the contending factions of the White and Red Roses, and allied himself to the Yorkist party, which he ably supported by a large body of followers, and in whose cause he lost his life, being fatally wounded at the battle of Mortimer's Cross. By his first wife, Mably, daughter of Meredydd ab Henry Donne of Cidwelly, he had issue, 1st, an eldest son, Thomas ab Gruffydd, of whom we shall speak later; and 2ndly, Owen, who bore the ancient arms of his forefathers slightly differenced, viz., *argent*, a chevron *ermine* between three ravens proper. By his wife Alice, daughter and coheir of Henry Malophant of Upton, co. Pembroke, Esq., Owen had, with other issue, a son Morris, surnamed, from his father, Bowen of Llechdonney, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lewis of St. Pierre, by whom he had issue, Jane, the wife of Hugh Vaughan of Kidwelly. The eldest son and successor of Hugh Vaughan, Esq., and Jane his wife, was

John Vaughan of Golden Grove, co. Carmarthen. He married Catherine, the daughter of Henry Morgan of Muddlescombe,—an estate which seems to have descended to him from his mother Jennet, who was the daughter and coheir of Henry Done of Picton. The

mother of Catherine was Margaret, daughter of Henry Wogan of Milton. The Morgan family deduce their descent from Cadivor Vawr, lord of Dyvet, who died in 1089, and bore *argent*, a lion rampant guardant *sable*. He married Elen, the daughter and heir of Llwchllawen Vawr, lord of Cilsant, one of the peers of Wales, and had a son Bledrey, lord of Gwidigada and Elvet, buried at Llangadoc, 1119, who bore as arms, *argent*, three bulls' heads caboshed *sable*, armed *or*; and married Clydwen, daughter and coheir of Gruffudd ab Cydrich, lord of Gwinvey, mentioned above. By her he was progenitor of the family of Morgan.

Catherine, the wife of Sir John Vaughan of Golden Grove, was living in 1552. They had issue, besides Henry Vaughan of Cilsant, a son and successor, Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, living 4 Mary; who by his second wife, Lettice, daughter of Sir John Perrot, Knt., of Heroldstone, had issue, Jane, wife of Sir Adam Loftus of Ireland, and Elizabeth, wife of, 1st, Sir Edward ..... and 2ndly, Sir Henry Salisbury of Llewenny, Knt. The first wife of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove was, according to *The Golden Grove Book*, Mary, daughter of Griffith Rice of Newtown, Mayor of Carmarthen in 1574 and 1580. Other writers have named her Catherine, probably through a confusion with her mother's name.

It will be remembered that Griffith ab Nicolas of Newtown, *temp.* Henry VI, previously mentioned, had had two sons. From Owen was descended Jane, the wife of Hugh Vaughan of Kidwelly. His son, Thomas Hynaf, who was of Newtown, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir James Griffith of Abermarlais, a descendant of Ednyvet Vychan, and had (with a daughter Margaret, wife of Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrooke) a son, Rhys ap Thomas of Newtown, a famous man in his time. From Williams' *Eminent Welshmen* many particulars may be learned of him. He was born in 1451, and possessed of great estates in South Wales, so that he was able to bring some five thousand men

into the field with him. He was instrumental in bringing over Henry VII, and contributed greatly towards his success at the battle of Bosworth. He was present also at the battle of Stoke, against the partizans of Lambert Simnel; and at that of Blackheath, where he took Lord Audley prisoner. He also pursued Perkin Warbeck, as he was called, to Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire, whither he had retired for sanctuary. In 1506 Sir Rhys was made Knight of the Garter; and after many other exploits, and the receipt of many other favours, he died in 1527, aged seventy-six, and lies buried in Carmarthen.

By his wife Efa, the daughter and coheir of Henry ap Gwillim of Court Henry, co. Carmarthen (a descendant of Elystan Glodrydd), Sir Rhys was father of Sir Griffith ap Rhys of Newtown, who was created a Knight of the Bath. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletsho, Knt., and had issue a daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Sir Charles Herbert of Troy; and a son Rhys or Rice Griffith of Newtown, who married Lady Catherine Howard, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk. In a copy of the Howard pedigree, kindly obtained for the writer by Lord Edmund Howard (now Talbot) from his brother the Duke of Norfolk, mention is made of Catherine, wife, first of Sir Rice ap Thomas, 2ndly of Henry Daubeny. She was the daughter of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, *obt.* 1524, by his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Sir Philip Tilney of Boston, and granddaughter of John Howard, created Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal (slain at Bosworth), by his first wife, Catherine, daughter of William Lord Molines. The dukedom of Norfolk came to him through his mother, he being the son of Robert Howard by Margaret, eldest daughter of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

Rhys Griffith had issue by the Lady Catherine, his wife, a son, Griffith Rhys of Newtown, whose wife, Eleanor, was daughter of Sir Thomas Jones of Abermarlais (1567) by his second wife, Mary, daughter and co-

heir of Sir James Berkeley, Knt. Sir Thomas Jones was son of John and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Vaughan of Bradwardine, co. Hereford, and grandson of the above mentioned Thomas Hynaf by his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of James de Burgoyne, second son of Philip Duke of Burgundy and Brabant, and Earl of Flanders.

It will be seen from the foregoing account that the family of Vaughan of Golden Grove was at this time connected with some of the principal houses of England; and it is, perhaps, not unworthy of remark, that Mary, the wife of Walter Vaughan, as the grandchild of Catherine, was related to the royal line, since Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, was father, by his first wife (Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Frederick Tilney of Ashwelthorpe), of Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, and mother of Anne Boleyn, who herself was mother of Queen Elizabeth. Further, the family had also the advantage of wealth, being at this time one of the largest (if not the largest) landowners in the county of Carmarthen; and thus, with everything in their favour, it is not wonderful that they speedily rose to greater distinction.

By his first wife, Mary, daughter of Griffith Rice of Newtown, Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove had issue three sons,—1, John; 2, William; and 3, Walter; concerning each of whom it will be necessary to say a few words, and we will take them in inverse order.

The third son, Walter Vaughan, was of Llanelly, having married Anne, daughter and heir of Thomas Lewis of Llanelly; and it would seem that to his youngest son, Sir Henry Vaughan of Derwydd, the following vicious passages from the State Papers are intended to apply: "Harry Vaughan, John Vaughan, and John Vaughan of Derllys, are principled and actuated by their kinsman, the Earl of Carberry, who ought to bear the blame or glory of their actions." "Harry Vaughan, anything for money, a proselyte and favourite to all the changes of times: a sheriff for his late Majesty, after-

wards for Cromwell, justice of peace under each; tyrant in power, mischievous by deceit. His motto, 'Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit vivere.'" These excellent specimens of splenetic writing are not the only ones with which this family of Vaughan has been honoured. However, Henry Vaughan was not the successor to his father at Llanelly, which came to his eldest brother; and upon his death, without issue, passed to the second son, John Vaughan, who married Margaret, the daughter of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd of Maesyfelyn. This family of Lloyd was descended through Cadifor ab Dinwall of Castell Hoel (who distinguished himself in taking Cardigan Castle from the Flemings, for which he received the arms, *sable*, a spear's head imbrued, inter three scaling-ladders *argent*, on a chief *gules* a castle triple towered proper), from Tudwal Gloff (*i.e.*, the lame), being so named from a wound he received in his knee in a battle near Conway in 878, who was a son of Rhodri Mawr, King of all Wales. The great-grandfather of Sir Marmaduke was Llewelyn of Castle Hoel, who married Margaret (some say Lleucy), daughter of Thomas ab Withen (*az.*, a wolf salient *arg*), her mother being Amabil, daughter of Owain ab Piers of Llanarth in Cemmaes. By this wife he had issue, Hugh of Llanllyr, who by his wife Joan, daughter and heir of Griffith ab Henry, a descendant of Gwaithvoed, had issue, Thomas Lloyd, Clerk and Treasurer of St. David's, who gave as his arms, gyrony of eight, *or* and *sable*, on a cross quarterly, pierced, five crescents counterchanged. He married Frances, daughter of Marmaduke Midleton, and by her was the father of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, who was educated for the law at the Middle Temple, and by his integrity and learning rose to be a judge. He settled at Maesyfelyn, and built a mansion there, where he kept up a state befitting his position. He is called in *The Golden Grove Book* "one of ye Judges for ye severall counties of Glamorgan, Brecon, and Radnor", and seems to have delighted in having about him persons of devout life and strict morals, one of his great friends

being the Rev. Mr. Prichard of Llandovery, a man much esteemed in that country. It is sad to think that from this intimacy probably sprang the "curse of Maesyfelyn", which, according to popular belief, has been sufficiently powerful to overthrow the family of Lloyd, and lay their mansion even with the ground.

The intimacy between the families of Mr. Prichard and the Judge, Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, was so close that the son of the former was constantly at the mansion of the latter; and according to the popular tradition, young Samuel Prichard formed an attachment to one of the daughters of the house. His suit was not looked upon with favour by the family, and it is supposed that after visiting Maesyfelin one evening a quarrel ensued. From words they came to blows, and in the turmoil young Prichard (the only son of his father) lost his life. Next day his body was found, as it is said, brutally murdered, and thrown into the river Teivy, and was conveyed home. Upon learning the disaster which had befallen him, the old man exclaimed, in the bitterness of his grief, "May the curse of Almighty God fall upon Maesyfelin! May it light upon the trees, withering them to the root, and upon the stones within the wall, for the young son of Llandovery has been cruelly drowned in the Teivy!" These words, or at least words to this effect, certainly came from the vicar Prichard; and he seems to have connected the house of Maesyfelin with the death of his son,—whether reasonably or not, cannot now be well known. However, the curse in subsequent years worked its way according to popular tradition. The name of Lloyd passed away from Maesyfelin; the place was neglected, then became an absolute ruin, and finally, at the present day all traces of the mansion are gone. Two things seem certain: 1st, that young Prichard was drowned in the Teivy; 2ndly, that the vicar connected his fate with the house of Maesyfelin; but that any murder was committed has never been shown. The young man may have fallen accidentally into the river in returning from the Lloyds,

or it is possible that his despair at the ill success of his suit may have driven him to the rash act of throwing himself into the river.

(To be continued.)

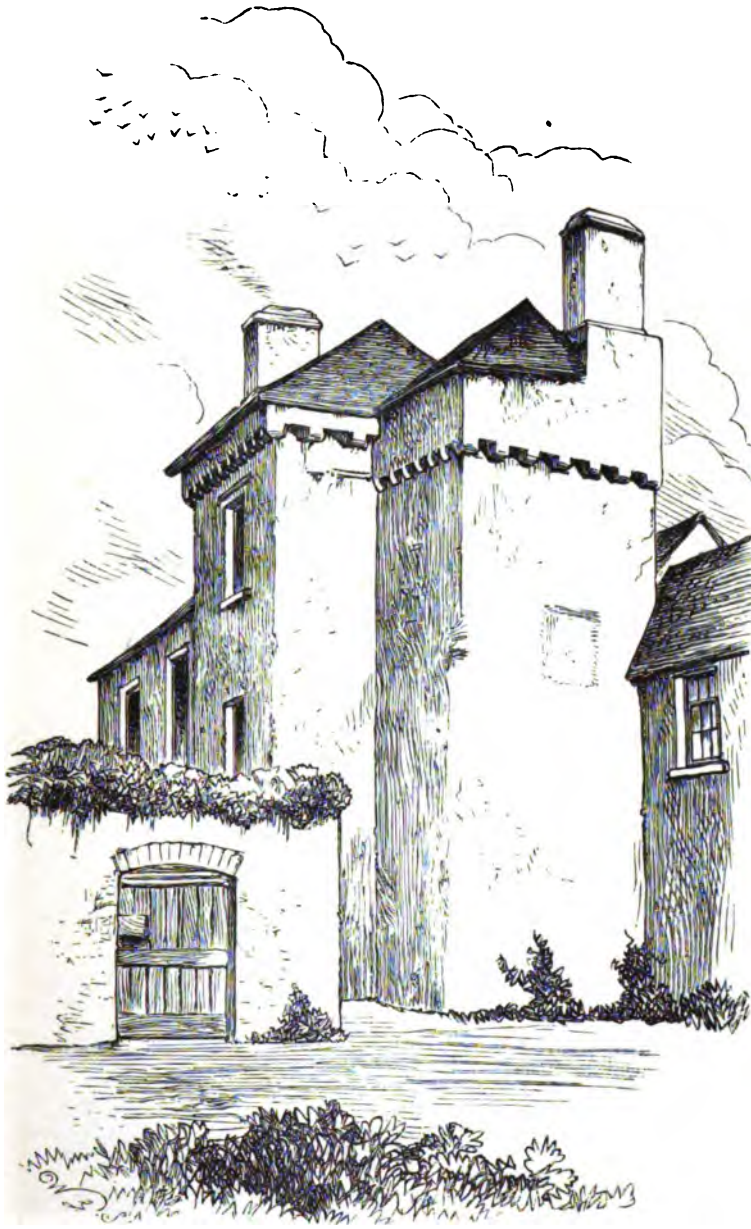
PEMBROKESHIRE ANTIQUITIES.

CAREW, HODGESTON, UPTON.

CAREW.

THE fortified rectory of Angle, in Pembrokeshire, is well known as one of the most interesting relics of former times. In the state of society in remote and unprotected districts it was necessary to provide strongly secured residences, and hence such a building as that of the Angle Rectory. If the Rectory of Carew, visited during the Pembroke Meeting, does not present the same defensive character, the difference may be accounted for on two grounds, one of which is the comparatively later date of the present building; the other, and probably the more influential one, is its proximity to the Castle, which protected it from sudden attack from the sea. Still, however, the older part of the present building, now used as a farmhouse, clearly shows that the builder had some idea that a rectory was also, in some sense, a castle. The upper story is reached by a newel-staircase. Unfortunately the representation of it here given does not show that portion of the building which is concealed by a low wall. High walls are said formerly to have surrounded the grounds, only fragments of which remain.

From Fenton's account of it, it is evident that considerable alterations must have taken place since his time. He tells us that a handsome gateway leads to the rectorial residence, and adds that "the house is of a singular appearance, having a square tower on one



OLD RECTORY HOUSE, CAREW.

side, through an arched opening, which (now stopped) was once the principal entrance." It is a large, irregular building, a great part of it of considerable antiquity, unroofed, and in ruins, and seems to have stood on an elevated spot in the middle of a paddock enclosed with a wall, a large portion of which, very high and embattled, still remains on each side, and connected with the principal gateway-residence. At present it is the property of a member of a family as numerous in Pembrokeshire as respectable. We refer to that of which the present Dean of St. David's is a member.

Fenton was evidently puzzled to account for the "consequential appearance of this rectorial mansion and its walled precinct", unless on the supposition that David Fitzgerald, previous to his advancement to the bishopric, commenced his clerical career by building a residence suitable to his rank and pretensions; and that on his promotion he annexed it to the see, making it an episcopal sinecure. As David Fitzgerald was consecrated in 1147, the building, or rather the remains that Fenton saw, could not have been his work; nor could such a speculation have been hazarded by that antiquary had he any idea of what a clergyman's residence was in the twelfth century.

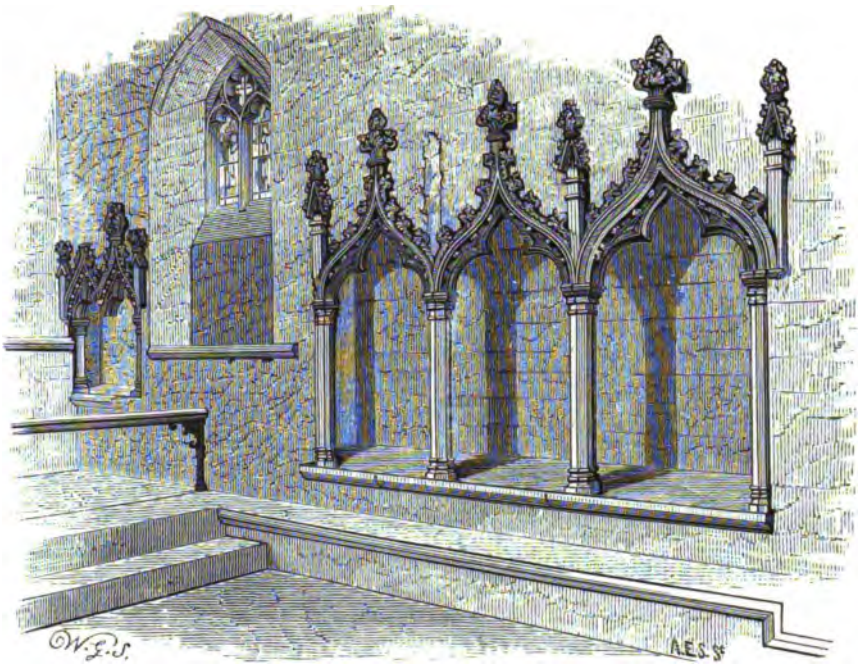
On what authority Fenton relies as to David Fitzgerald having held the rectory of Carew, and his making it over to the Bishops of St. David's, is uncertain; but his character was certainly not that of a liberal benefactor, if the anonymous writer of his life can be trusted, for he is described as a most violent and outrageous dilapidator, and shutting up his Cathedral during the greater part of his episcopate. (See Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, p. 279.) It is certainly true that his nephew, Giraldus de Barry, gives a character the reverse of that bequeathed to us by the anonymous writer above mentioned; but even he admits that his uncle impoverished his church, although in a less flagrant manner than some of his predecessors. It is not, therefore, likely that he enriched the see by

the gift of the rectory of Carew and its important residence. The nephew was a great pluralist, holding the churches of Llanwnda, Tenby, and Nangle, of Chesterton in Herefordshire, with a prebendal stall in the Cathedral of Hereford, and subsequently the archdeaconry and Prebend of Brecon. Had he also held the church of Carew, he might have done what Fenton thinks that his uncle did; although there is no record that he ever did hold it.

The existence of this interesting building, for it is interesting as the remains of an ancient rectory, is not mentioned in the ordinary guide-books, and consequently the numerous visitors to the Castle, Church, and Cross, are not aware that there is another object in Carew deserving notice, although they may not feel much interest in the subject of ancient Welsh rectories.

HODGESTON CHURCH.

The most remarkable object in this church is the canopied sedilia and double piscina, shewn in the accompanying illustration, for which we are indebted to the skilful draughtsman of the Association. Mr. Freeman, in his *Architectural Antiquities of South Wales*, has, in his notice of this church, observed that the sedilia are placed at an unusual distance from the east wall, as is also the case at Monkton; but in this instance a window intervenes between the piscina and sedilia. "These portions", says Mr. Freeman, "present a general resemblance to the peculiar style of Bishop Gower; but some differences may be detected, especially in the profuse use of the ball-flower. This ornament does not occur in his best ascertained works, his favourite enrichment being the open flower with four leaves." The church itself is, in the opinion of the same high authority, one of the three abnormal churches in the neighbourhood, namely, those of Monkton, Carew, and Hodgeston, which last may be almost considered a miniature



SEDILIA AND PISCINA, HODGESTON.

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Monkton. Although the church is a small local one, consisting of a nave and western tower, yet it has attached to it a Decorated chancel of great beauty. Fenton visited the church, but does not allude to this most interesting feature of it. He spells the name *Hoggeston*, apparently on the authority of an ancient deed he saw, which one John Stackpool, who styles himself *capellanus*, dates at *Oggeston*. This man was, in all probability, chaplain to the episcopal palace at Lamphey, and also rector of this parish, the duties of which could be easily performed from Lamphey. There appears, moreover, to have existed some religious house, from the considerable ruins which were mentioned by a dignitary of St. David's to Browne Willis in 1717. Of this religious house there are not the least remains, not even a traditional history. The ruins mentioned to Browne Willis may have been those of an ancient rectory, probably fortified.

UPTON MONUMENTS.

Of the original castle little remains but the entrance-gateway flanked by two round towers, a view of which will be found in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1852, p. 196, other portions having been more or less converted

into apartments and offices of the present mansion. The ancient chapel has been long disused as such; but it contains monuments of interest. One of these is a stone hand, here represented, 4 inches in breadth, and 6 in length. It projects from the north wall. Fenton

thinks it was intended to hold a taper, for the maintenance of which funds may have been provided by the friends of the deceased, over whose monument it may have been placed. He had never seen or heard of a similar instance. Mr. Vaughan believes it to be unique. It is certainly so as regards Wales but not England, as in Evington Church, in Leicestershire, there is another example, a description of which will be given in the forthcoming edition (the eleventh) of *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 65, by that Nestor of antiquaries, M. H. Bloxam, Esq., who has, with his usual courtesy, forwarded the following extract:—"In the south wall of Evington Church, Leicestershire, projecting from the north wall near the east end is a stone bracket, in which an image formerly stood, and in front of this is a smaller bracket projecting from the larger one, on which is sunk an orifice or socket for a taper or light to be set in. This is a singular example now remaining." "Projecting from the north wall of the little chapel of Upton Castle, Pembrokeshire, is a man's fist sculptured in stone, with a perforation for a light or taper to be placed in." Mr. Bloxam has no doubt that these two are what Mr. Fenton suggested the Upton hand or fist to be. But although the Evington bracket and the fist at Upton were intended for the same purpose, yet the latter is still most probably unique, as Mr. Vaughan thinks.

On the visit of the members in 1880, Mr. Halford Vaughan kindly pointed out the details of the armour of a knight, which was partly mail and partly plate, which mixture was customary from the middle of the fourteenth to about the middle of the next century, when, by degrees, mail-armour was entirely superseded. As the Malefants were owners of Upton for some generations, the effigy, no doubt, is that of one of the family, which was extinct in the male line in the time of Henry VII, when Henry, the last of the Pembrokeshire branch, left a daughter Alice, who married Owen, second son of Griffith ap Nicholas

of Newton or Dynevawr. As this powerful Welshman was slain at the battle of Mortimer's Cross (1461), the date of Henry Malefant may be approximately fixed. Mr. Halford Vaughan states that William Earl of Pembroke, beheaded after the battle of Banbury (1469), made his will on the day of his execution, wishing his daughter Jane to be married to Edmund Malefant. From Lewys Dwnn (p. 164) it appears that the eldest son of Sir Thomas Malefant of Upton, who died 8th May 1438 (*Arch. Camb.*, 1862, p. 210), was named Edmund, and that his son also bore the same name. The Edmund mentioned was probably the grandson, not the son, of Sir Thomas Malefant. Fenton says that Henry was the last of the Upton Malefants, and that his only child Alice married, as stated above, Owen, second son of Gruffydd ap Nicholas, whence the estate passed to the Bowens, the grandson Owen ap Nicholas being the first to assume that name. If he is correct, this Henry must have been brother of Edmund the younger, whom he succeeded, as he could hardly have been his son, as being contemporary with Gruffydd ap Nicholas. But there appears to be an error on the part of Fenton, as according to the Pembrokeshire pedigrees printed by the late Sir Thomas Phillips, Alice is called the daughter and coheiress of Stephen (not Henry) Malefant of Upton, her mother being a daughter of Stephen Perrot, whose sister Margaret was the second wife of Gruff. ap Nicholas. To which of the family this effigy is to be assigned it is impossible to decide; but it is apparently of the time of Gruff. ap Nicholas or that of his father.

Who this knight was is now impossible to discover. That he was an owner of Upton is probable; and if one of the Malefants, he may well have been, as Fenton thinks, the first of that ancient family who carved out for himself so pleasant and fertile a spot as the peninsula of Upton.

There is another object of interest in this chapel, namely, an effigy of a female lying on the north side,

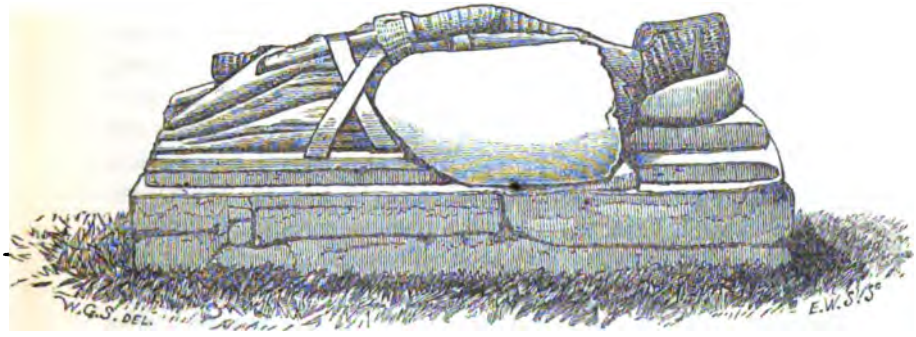
within the rails of the altar, where it was in Fenton's time. He has given an engraving of it in his *Tour* (p. 249). The arrangement of the hair is different from what was customary in the fourteenth century, when the hair was braided at the sides of the face, and sometimes continued to the top of the shoulders. The effigy at Cheriton (also given by Fenton, p. 249) has the hair so represented, but is not carried so low down as the shoulders. Towards the latter end of this century it was customary to place it on the top only of the head, sometimes confined in gold or silver network ornamented with jewels at the intersections. The Upton effigy seems to be a still later modification, as far as can be ascertained from Fenton's representation; but the following description of it, kindly given by Mr. Vaughan, renders the accuracy of the drawing a less important matter. "The dress seems to consist of a close-fitting habit with tight sleeves, over which is worn a sleeveless, and down to the waist, sideless gown, so cut as to disclose a tight habit underneath it, in the form of a rather graceful jacket with a curvilinear outline, this not being the shape of the tight habit itself. A mantle covers the shoulders, and depending from them flows down the side of the figure. A golden caul, I believe, contains and confines the hair. Two cushions support the head, guarded by two now mutilated figures beside it."

From the above description the effigy may be referred to a period from 1380 to 1420. A similar headdress of a lady in Long Melford, Suffolk, is assigned to 1420; another, dated 1415, is at Waltham in Lincolnshire.

There is a third effigy connected with Upton, now lying under the north wall of Nash Church, a short distance from the Castle. It is a mutilated effigy, and for at least seventy or eighty years has been lying amid weeds. Fenton tells us all that is known about it, which is little beyond the fact that it was originally on a bench at the north end of an aisle taken down a few years

previously to his visit by the rector and patron of the living. At the time Fenton saw it it was lying among the rubbish of the demolished aisle. The workmanship of these remains is good; but the face has been broken off. He does not mention that the legs were also broken just below the knee; so that their mutilation may have been made subsequently to his visit.

This monument is the oldest of its kind in Pembrokeshire. It is of the same period as the Butler one in St. Bride's, Glamorganshire, visited by the Association from Swansea in 1861, namely, the thirteenth century. The position of arm and sword, however, is different, but is like that of the De Barri effigy in Manorbier Church. The De Barri monument is, however, later, as shewn by the mixture of plate and mail, which was not adopted until the latter half of the century. The Nash effigy is, therefore, the oldest, or one of the oldest, examples in Wales, and in spite of its mutilated state and neglected condition among the rubbish and nettles, would it not be advisable to remove it within the church, where it would be protected from bad weather and mischievous boys?



Fenton seems to assume that it is the effigy of a Crusader, his reason probably being the crossing of the legs, a position which was formerly thought to prove that the knight had joined the Crusaders; but this error has

been long since disproved. He also conjectures that he was the first owner of Upton Castle, and was the founder and builder of Nash Church. There was a tradition that he died abroad, and that his body was landed at Cosherton Pill, a little below the church, and that he was an admiral and a giant; which latter tradition Fenton thinks confirmed by the size of the effigy. The left hand holds a triangular shield, and the right hand a sword slightly inclining.

It need not be stated to whose skill the Society is indebted for the faithful illustration of these antiquities.

E. L. BARNWELL.

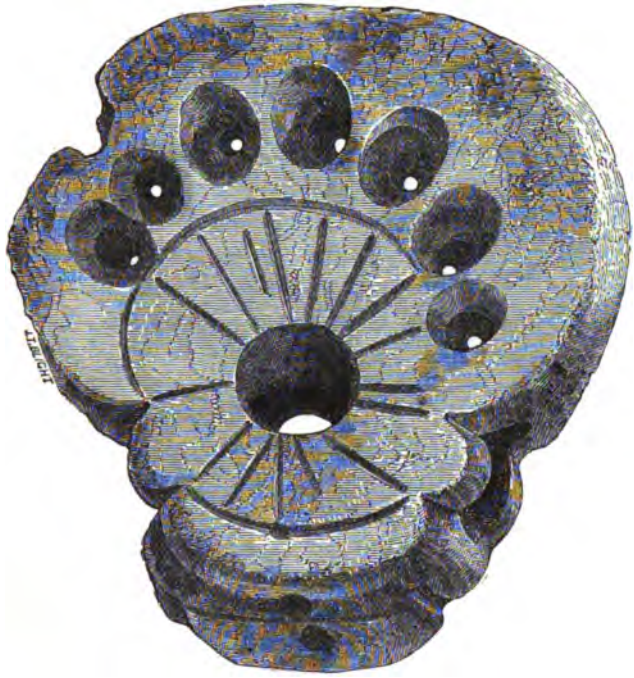
1881.

UNEXPLAINED STONE ARTICLES.

WHEN I first saw the print of the stone article found at Cleobury Mortimer, it occurred to me that it was the handle of a musical instrument, chiefly on account of the number and form of the smaller holes in the stone; but as I felt that the number might be one of convenience or mere accident, I thought no more about it, until I saw the stone in the glass case in Stokesay Castle, with its centre hole, and its seven smaller holes, when I was satisfied that the number was not an accident; and as the stone, though differing in outward appearance, in all other respects supported the notion I had previously formed of the Cleobury Mortimer stone, I now venture to state the reasons why I think that these stones formed part of a musical instrument.

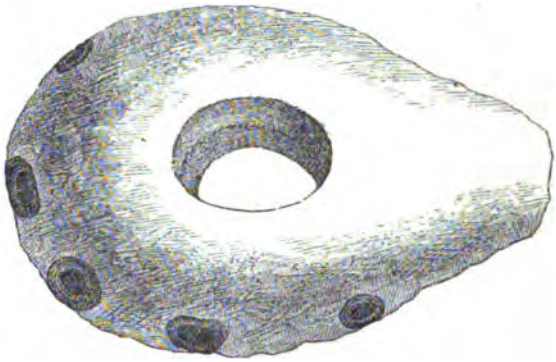
First as to the Cleobury Mortimer stone. It will be seen that there is a large straight hole through the centre, with seven smaller holes round the upper part of the stone. These smaller holes are not made like the larger one, but are of a cup-like shape; the cup part being so formed (as it seems to me) for the purpose of receiving a knot to confine a string, and that

the strings would then be brought through the centre hole, and drawn down to the body of the instrument; and as the number of these cup-shaped holes corresponds with the number of the notes in music (seven), I cannot but think that the instrument must have been a musical one.



The stone in Stokesay Castle in its general appearance has little resemblance (beyond the centre hole) to the Cleobury Mortimer stone, but when closely examined, it appears singularly adapted for the purposes I have suggested with regard to that stone. There is the large centre hole, and the seven cup-like holes, not, however, upon the face of the stone, but on the edge; and the large hole does not appear to be cut through, like the other stone, but about the middle of it there appears to be what Mr. Barnwell, in his interesting paper on this subject, calls a groove; and I

cannot but think that if the seven small holes were probed it would be found that they opened upon this groove, so that the strings might be drawn down to the body of the instrument. Unfortunately, the glass case in which this stone is kept was screwed down so tightly that it could not be opened, and I was, therefore, unable to satisfy myself upon this point.



Found in Moat of Stokesay Castle.

It may perhaps be thought that the centre hole in the Cleobury Mortimer stone was for the purpose of receiving a stick, to which the strings would be attached; but the rough state of the lower portion of the stone suggests the notion that it has been fixed to another body, and there appears to be some holes suitable for fastening it to such body.

The shape of the Stokesay stone, though differing from the other, is not at all inconsistent with the object of the other stone, as the pointed end is as well, if not better adapted for insertion in another body than the other stone.

The only objection that occurs to me with regard to my theory is that, though we hear of music produced by stones, we never see a stone handle to a musical instrument; but we are now considering a mediæval article, and not a modern instrument, and one found in a musical country, but in a district where the choicest

and more delicate instruments of Southern Europe may have been heard of, but not seen. A wooden handle, pierced with so many holes, might have been thought too weak to bear the strain that would be put upon it, and therefore stone would have seemed more suitable for the purpose; and it appears from Mr. Barnwell's paper that the stone is soft, and not suitable for a hammer. It could, therefore, be worked, probably, as easily as wood. That the body to which these articles were attached was wood, or some other perishable material, may, I think, be admitted, as nothing appears to have been found in connection with them.

If I am right in my notion of the use of these stones, a most interesting enquiry suggests itself, and which I am not aware has ever engaged the attention of this Society. It is the early history of the musical stringed instruments of Wales. In such a musical country as this is, there must have been many strange instruments formed and thrown away before they settled down into the present beautiful harp.

The stones are engraved in the vol. 1873, pp. 349, 354.

ARTHUR GORE.

Melksham.

We think it as well to reproduce the cuts of these very singular stones as some members may not have seen them. Mr. John Evans has seen Mr. W. G. Smith's drawing of the Stokesay Stone, and confesses he is unable to make anything of it.—EDITOR.

HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(*Continued from p.* 170, *Vol. xii.*)

1580-1, Jan. 31. Draft of "An Act touching Henry Vernon and John Vernon", to make void a false return or certificate made by Sir John Throckmorton, Knight, upon a writ of error sued by Henry and John Vernon, concerning the barony of Powys, etc. This bill, or a similar one, was brought forward several times, but finally rejected.

1621, April 28. Draft of "An Act touching several court leets and court barons to be kept within the manor, barony lordship, and fee of Malpas, in the county of Chester", to authorise Sir Wm. Brereton, his heirs and assigns to hold a court leet, etc. Read 1ª and rejected. (C. J., i, 595.)

1621, May. Report of a conference between Edward Leigh and Mr. Dodd, touching a complaint made to the Parliament by Leigh and Edward Vadrey against the Court of Exchequer of Chester and Lord Derby. Annexed:

1. Petition of Edward Vawdrey, a suitor in the Exchequer Court of Chester [to H. C.]; complains of the conduct of Edward Dodd, registrar of that Court, for threatening and menacing petitioner, and for taking bribes from suitors in the Court. Prays that Dodd may be called upon to answer. (Undated.)

2. Direction for examination of witnesses respecting the abuses and corruptions of the officers in the Exchequer Court of Chester.

3. Deposition of Edward Leigh, that Edward Dodd, Baron of the Court of Exchequer of Chester, told him that if he clamoured against the said Court in Parliament, he would do nothing, and that it would some day be remembered against him.

1641-2, Feb. 22. Answer of Sir Edward Herbert,[1] Knight, His Majesty's Attorney-General, to the impeachment exhibited against him by the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled. (L. J., 603.) *In extenso.*

1641-2, Feb. 26. Petition of James Lord Strange, Lieutenant of the county of Chester. Peter Heywood (against

[1] Sir Edward Herbert, Knight, son of Charles Herbert, Esq., of Aston, in the County of Montgomery, and cousin-german to Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

whom petitioner has a suit), has printed and published a declaration against petitioner, and caused several bundles of papers to be printed here in London in the form of petitions in the name of the county of Lancaster, full of scandal against petitioner as unfit for his place, and reflecting upon Parliament for appointing him. Prays for vindication of his honour. (L. J., iv.) Annexed:

1. Printed copy of declaration referred to in preceding.

2. The answer of Peter Heywood, gent., to the charge contained in the petition of James Lord Strange. March 22, 1641-2.

3. Petition of Peter Heywood. Prays that he may be dismissed from any further attendance, and be discharged of the pretended scandal.

1641-2, March 2. Petition of His Majesty's Attorney-General touching the Counsel assigned to him. (L. J., iv, 623.) *In extenso.*

1641-2, March 4. Letter from the King to Lord Keeper Littleton concerning the Attorney-General. This letter was read in the House on the 8th of March. (L. J., iv, 634.) *In extenso.* Annexed:

1. Copy of the articles of high treason and other high misdemeanours against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzill Holles, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode. Enclosed in preceding. (L. J., iv, 501.) *In extenso.*

1642, April 6. Petition of Thomas Bushell: petitioner by His Majesty's command, adventured his fortune in the recovery of the deserted mines of Cardiganshire, but, being much molested in the work by Sir Richard Price and others, obtained an order from their Lordships for securing his quiet possession; in spite of this order, Sir Richard Price and the others have destroyed petitioner's engines and works, and refused him turf "to make into charke" by a method of his own invention for the saving of wood, and in other ways molested him; prays that they may be convented to answer for their misdoings. (L. J., iv, 700.) Annexed:

1. Affidavit of Walter Barsbee, "Saye-master" of His Majesty's Mint, county of Cardigan. 5 April, 1642.

2. Affidavit of John Huson. When Mr. Nevell, who formerly worked the mines, heard that Bushell had bought the lease of them, he hired deponent and others to pull up the pumps, and inundated the mines, and stopped them up with rubbish.

3. Copy of the order referred to in Bushell's petition. 14 August, 1641. (L. J., iv, 364.)

4. Another copy.

5. Letter from Sir Richard Price to Mr. Hevitoe. Understands that he will interrupt the writer's workmen on the hills; would have him know that his interest is better there than that of any other.

1642, April 6. Copy of order made on Bushell's petition for his protection. (L. J., iv, 700.) *In extenso.*

1642, April 6. Charge presented by Thomas Bushell, Esq., against Sir Thomas Price and others.

1642, April 19. Petition of John, Archbishop of York. Has remained fifteen weeks a prisoner in the Tower, and all that while, in a manner, continually sick; prays for leave to go out with his keeper, returning to prison every night. (L. J., v, 6.)

1642, April 23. Draft preamble to the judgment against Sir Edward Herbert, Attorney-General, for impeaching the five members. (L. J., v, 11.) *In extenso.*

1642, April 30. Petition of parishioners of Pennard, in the county of Glamorgan to H. C. Have never had more than four sermons a year in their parish church, and those by a man of a very scandalous life; pray for the nomination of Ambrose Mosten, as lecturer, a man of godly sort, and one who can preach in the Welsh and English tongues. (C. J., ii, 551.)

1642, May 5. Petition of John, Archbishop of York, praying that he may be bailed. (L. J., v, 44.) *In extenso.*

1642, May 2. Engrossment of the Bill for the forfeiture of the lands and estates, and for the punishment of John, Archbishop of York, and the other impeached bishops. Brought from H. C., and read first this day. No further proceeding. (L. J., v, 42, 43.)

1642, April 6. Petition of Sir Edward Herbert, His Majesty's Attorney-General. Prays for enlargement from the Fleet, not so much on account of his health (wherein he is not free from suffering), as on account of the King's service, and his own sorrow to have incurred their Lordships' displeasure. (See L. J., v, 58.)

1642, May 7. Petition of Sir Richard Price, Richard Newell, Thomas Lloyd, James Vaughan, and John Fox: have been in custody since the 18th of April last; were yesterday brought up to appear before their Lordships, but could not be admitted because of the more weighty matters in hand. Pray to be dismissed from custody on bail. (L. J., v, 53.) Annexed:

1. Petition of Richard Newell and Thomas Lloyd, gentlemen; and John Fox: were, with Sir Richard Price, apprehended by a messenger, and brought from their homes, 160 miles away, to answer a supposed contempt of an order of their Lordships pro-

cured by Thomas Bushell; petitioners were cleared of all such contempt on examination of the charge, but Newell and Lloyd have since been apprehended and detained until they should pay £35 a piece for the messenger's fees; Newell has paid the fees, but Lloyd is still in custody. Pray for redress, and that Bushell may be ordered to satisfy the messenger. (Undated.)

1642, May 11. Petition of Sir Edward Herbert, His Majesty's Attorney-General. Prays for enlargement on the ground of growing ill-health. (L. J., v. 58.)

1642, May 21. Petition of Edward Herbert, Baron of Cherbury and Castle Islands. Prays for a benign interpretation of those words of his which gave offence, and for release. (L. J., v. 77.) *In extenso.*

1642, May 23. Petition of Thomas Bushell, farmer of his Majesty's mines royal, in the county of Cardigan. Is unable to fulfil his contracts with merchants for supply of lead, in consequence of the interference of Sir Richard Price; petitioner prays the House to mediate between him and the merchants; that they would give him further time for completion of his contracts, and for prosecuting his suit. (L. J., v, 78.)

1642, May 23. Petition of John,[1] Bishop of Asaph. Prays that the time for his appearance before the House after notice given may be enlarged, as the present period of three days prevents his visiting his charge.

1642, May 23. Petition of Morgan,[2] Bishop of Llandaff. Similar to that of the Bishop of St. Asaph.

1642, June 14. Instructions for Sir William Brereton and the Deputy-Lieutenants for Chester. (L. J., v, 134.) *In extenso.*

1642, June 18. Petition of Morgan, Bishop of Llandaff. Petitioner's charge and place of residence are distant about 130 miles; he has been absent a long time and cannot go thither, whilst he is bound to appear before their Lordships within three days after notice. Prays that this time may be extended.

1643, June 24. Letter from Sir William Brereton, at Chester, to the Speaker of the House of Commons. Since his coming into these parts he has distributed the deputations and instruc-

[1] John Owen, eldest son of Owen Owen, Archdeacon of Anglesey.

[2] Morgan Owen was a native of Caermarthenshire. He enclosed the south yard of St. Mary's Church, Oxford, and built a beautiful porch on the same side of the Church. Among the other carvings of this porch was an image of the Blessed Virgin with a babe in her arms, which occasioned one of the articles against his patron Archbishop Laud. He was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff in 1639.

tions to the several deputy-lieutenants, and appointed them to meet on Monday next; meantime hears that the King is expected shortly; that he has issued a Commission of Array to Lord Strange and others, which they will attempt to put in execution at the same time as the ordinance for the Militia; desires more ample instructions, as any attempt to apprehend persons persisting after warning in executing the Commission of Array, cannot be effected without violence, which once begun may not be easily composed, and cannot easily be made good whilst the powder is in the hands of the other side; he will use his best endeavours for Parliament. This letter was read in the House on the 27th of June. (L. J., v, 167.)

1642, July 7. Petition of Captain John Poyntz. Petitioner, being recommended out of Ireland for raising a company in England, took ship at Dublin and landed at Minehead. On his passage he seized upon the body of Roger, Bishop of St. David's, in a disguised habit, and took him before Thomas Luttrell, who committed him to the custody of a constable of Minehead, where he now remains. Petitioner, who has been put to great charge in the matter, prays some reward for the great services he has done, not only against the rebels in Ireland, but also in the taking of the said Bishop. (L. J., v, 189.) Annexed:

1. Examinations of Captain Poyntz and the Bishop of St. David's. Taken the 14 June 1642.

2. Petition of Captain Poyntz to the Earl of Holland, praying his Lordship to move the House to send for and examine the Bishop, and to take petitioner's services into their favourable consideration.

1642, July 8. Copy of Warrant to the Gentleman Usher for the arrest of Thomas Awbrey, Chancellor of St. David's, and others. Annexed:

1. Petition of Edward Vaughan, clerk. By an order of the 25th of August, 1641, the temporalities of Dr. Manwaringe, Bishop of St. David's, were seized into the King's hands. The vicarage of Llangafelach, Glamorganshire, in the donation of the Bishop, having become vacant in November last, petitioner was presented thereunto by the Lord Keeper. Thomas Awbrey, chancellor of the diocese, having sole power of institution, utterly refused to institute petitioner, and by unlawful combination with Walter Thomas and others, admitted Isaac Griffith into the said church. Petitioner prays that he may be instituted to the vicarage, and that the parties complained of may be called upon to answer for their contempt.

2. Statement of petitioner's grievances.

3. Copy of order referred to in petition. 25 August 1641. (L. J., iv, 376.)

4. Affidavit of Vaughan, that on the 21st of January last, he tendered a presentation to the vicarage under the great seal to Awbrey, and that he utterly refused to institute him. 9 May 1642.

5. List of persons to be sent for. 9 July 1642.

1642, July 16. Petition of divers of the Aldermen and others of the town of Shrewsbury, to H. C. Many volunteers of Shrewsbury having entered themselves to be exercised in military discipline under the command of Thomas Hunt, the High Sheriff of the county sent for Hunt and persuaded him to desist from that exercise, and discouraged the inhabitants from further training. Pray that the Mayor may be enjoined to encourage such exercises, and to join with petitioners for the better guarding of the town, by warding, watching, and providing the arms necessary for its defence. (C. J., ii, 675.)

1642, July 26. Order for the Judge of Assize for the county of Hereford to see who will avow the paper intituled "A Declaration or Resolution of the county of Hereford." (L. J., v, 242.) *In extenso.*

1642, July 30. Draft Order for the Earl of Pembroke to be Lieutenant for the counties of Monmouth, Brecon, and Glamorgan. (L. J., v, 248.)

1642, Aug. 10. Order for Henry Herbert, Esq., a Member of the House of Commons, to repair to Monmouth, and publish the declaration concerning the illegality of the Commission of Array. (L. J., v, 280.) *In extenso.*

1642, Sept. 17. Letter from John Prowde, at Shrewsbury, to Humfry Mackworth, Esq., in London: "I received your letter by Mr. Walsh, the post came not long after, but the Mayor sent to stop him at the gates, and examined the letters in the Town Hall before they were delivered, and I doubt not would have opened any that he thought suspicious. We sent Mr. Walsh to Stafford to enquire after His Majesty, who heard there that the gentry and trained bands attended him at Uttoxeter on Thursday last; he was supposed to be then going to Newcastle, thence, perhaps, to Chester; no doubt he has had many invitations from Sir James Palmer and others in these parts; Sir Henry Jones has promised to bring much aid from Wales, but is not likely to do it; Mr. Barber, Mr. Charlton, and others have drawn towards Bristol; Mr. Charlton is thought to be there; Mr. Barber was detained at Bridgnorth by the sheriff. Sir James Palmer has taken some lodgings here, in case the King should come. Part of Lord Falkland's carriage is come with a direction that it should be placed near the King's lodging. Lord Northampton was at Bridgnorth yesterday, and the latest news is that the King is expected to set up his standard here."

1642, Sept. 20. Petition of Owen George, John Betton, and Edward Davies, gent.; Richard Owen and Richard Betton were, by order of 30th August last, sent for as delinquents. Owen was attached at Shrewsbury by an officer of the House on the 7th instant, but Richard Gibbons, Mayor of Shrewsbury, with others to the number of about 200, rescued him, and refused to obey their Lordships' order, saying that Owen was a Commissioner of Array, and must attend the Commission the next morning at Bridgnorth; while the officer was informed that Betton, the other delinquent, was gone to the King at Nottingham. Pray that the rescuers may be sent for as delinquents, and that Thomas Hunt, captain of the Militia in Shrewsbury, and his company may assist the officer to attach them. (L. J., v, 364.)

1642, Nov. 4. Petition of Rice Williams, prays that certain plate, etc., belonging to the Archbishop of York, left with him as security for some engagements he is under for the Archbishop, now seized by order of the House, may be re-delivered to him. (L. J., v, 432.)

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR 1880.

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Printing	145	10	0	By balance	60	8	10
Engraving	61	19	0	Books sold	17	10	0
W. G. Smith, Esq.	5	5	0	Subscriptions	157	10	0
Editor	40	0	0	Donation from Stanley Leighton, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
G. E. Robinson, Esq., for postages	2	14	6	Balance from Pembroke Meeting	37	12	6
Rev. R. Trevor Owen, ditto	2	2	0				
Balance	20	10	10				
	£278	1	4		£278	1	4

Examined and found correct,
(Signed) ARTHUR GORE, CHARLES C. BABINGTON } *Auditors.*

Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FOURTH SERIES.—VOL. XII, NO. XLVIII.

OCTOBER 1881.

A COMPARISON OF CELTIC WORDS FOUND IN OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE AND ENGLISH DIALECTS WITH MODERN CELTIC FORMS.

PART II.

In the first part of this inquiry, some examples were given of Celtic words in the English language that are, for the most part, the same in consonantal and vowel sounds as their equivalents in modern Celtic tongues. It was stated, however, that many of these Anglo-Celtic words vary from the present Celtic forms, and that they present generally a more archaic type, which is probably that which prevailed in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. Some instances of this kind will now be given; and the vowel sounds will properly come first under discussion.

This part of our subject is, however, surrounded by many difficulties. The representation of these sounds by letters varies so much in the English and Welsh systems, and also in the Welsh, as compared with the Irish or Gaelic, that a mere comparison of one letter, as of English *u*, with Welsh *u*, would only mislead the reader who is not, in some degree, conversant with both languages. There are also in English many differences of pronunciation of the same vowel forms,

as in *foot* and *root*, *blow* and *cow*; but this is not all. There are many niceties of pronunciation which require an elaborate system of forms to represent them with perfect accuracy. Mr. A. J. Ellis has formed such a system in his work *On Early English Pronunciation*; but it is much too extensive to be produced in this inquiry; nor can I assume that my readers are so generally acquainted with it as to make an explanation of it unnecessary, if it were adopted.

There is also this difficulty in treating of English archaic words, that the vowel forms represent now, in some instances, different sounds from those which prevailed a thousand years ago, and that in this drifting from an original position, the Celtic words in our compound English tongue may have drifted also. The vowel *i*, for instance, in such words as *bright*, *light*, etc., represents a sound which differs from that which was formerly denoted by it, and is still retained in some of our dialects. In Lancashire, the words *bright*, *light*, etc., are still pronounced by the common people as *breeht*, *leeht*, etc. The Welsh *y* also represents two different sounds. The English *a*, which was probably pronounced more uniformly by our ancestors, is now the sign of at least four distinct sounds, as in *bat*, *father*, *ball*, and *fate*.

In the course of this investigation, I shall refer very slightly to any theories of the formation of the vowel-system in the Celtic languages, or in any other language. Those who may wish to examine these theories may consult the works of Schleicher, Brugmann, and De Saussure. My chief object, or, rather, my only object, is to present some facts with regard to the vowel and consonantal sounds of related words that may throw light upon the course which the Celtic languages have taken since the Saxon conquest of England.

I propose to mark some of the more common vowel sounds in English as follows:—

The short vowels, as *a* in *cat*, *e* in *dell*, *i* in *pit*, *o* in *cot*, and *u* in *hut*, by the several vowel forms.

The sound of *a* in *father* by *â*; of *a* in *ball*, or *au* in *caught*, by *à*; of *a* in *dale* by *ê*; of *ea* in *peat* by *î*; of *o* in *core* by *ô*; of *oo* in *boot* by *ou*; of *ou* in *foul* by *ò*.

(1). *ă* (as *a* in *bat*). This vowel sound prevails more extensively in Anglo-Celtic words than in the corresponding terms in modern Celtic languages; showing a more ancient type, and favouring, in some degree, the theory of some modern philologists; that in the primitive Aryan tongue, before the formation of the present Indo-European classes, this was the only vowel sound. It is often represented in the Celtic languages, especially in Welsh, by *e*,[1] as in Greek compared with Sanskrit. Cf. Sans. *bhar-a-mas* with Gr. (Doric) φερ-ο-μες, Sans. *ganas*, Gr. γένος, etc.

Anglo-Celt. *ă*.	Mod. Celt. *e*.
Arns, *arnest*, earnest money (Lanc.)	W. *ern*, *ernes*, money given in pledge of an agreement (arrha, arrhabo Dav.). Arm. *arres* and *erres*, argent donné pour l'exécution d'un marché; Ir. *earnas* (*ernas*), a bond, a tie. I would connect W. *ern* and Ir. *ernas* with Sans. *rina* = *arna*, debt, obligation, engagement
Brassicks, runch or wild mustard (Whitby) *Brassocks*, id. (Holderness)	W. *bresych yr yd*, wild mustard; sinapi sylvestre (Dav.); Ir. *praiseach* (O'Reilly); Manx, *brashlagh*,[2] id.; Lat. *brassica*, cabbage
Cad, to nap or felt together (Cumb.)	W. *ceden*, shaggy hair, nap of cloth; Ir. *caitin*; Gael. *caitean* (pron. *katyan*) id.; Sans. *kata*, a mat
Cadlock, wild mustard (Nhampton)	W. *cedw*, mustard; *llys* (for *llych*) an herb; Gael. *luigh*, id.; Sans. *katu* (1) of a pungent flavour; (2) n. f. mustard[3]
Capel, *capul*, a horse	W. *ceffyl*, a horse; Ir. Gael. *capall*; Slav. *kobyla*; Lat. *caballus*

[1] Cf. O. W. *celmed*, gl. efficax (Cod. Juv.) with Ir. *calma*, brave, strong. In the same Codex is found *centhliat*, from a root, *can*. Cf. also *Emrys*, the W. form of *Ambrosius*.

[2] The Manx *brash-lagh*, means large or thick plant; W. *bras*.

[3] The Sans. *katu* is a name given to different plants of a pungent kind, and among these to the *Sinapis ramosa* of Roxburgh. The W. *cedw* has lost its primitive meaning. The Sans. *katu*, sharp, biting (in taste), is referred by Grassman to a root, *kart*, to cut.

"Then Conscience upon his *capul* carieth forth faste,
And Reson with hym ryt rownynge togideres."
Piers Ploughman, p. 66. (Wright's ed.)

Farr, to ache; generally, I believe, from cold (N.)	W. *fferu*, to freeze, to be benumbed, to perish with cold; *fferru*, algere, rigere (Dav.); Ir. Gael. *fuar*, cold; Manx, *feayr*, cold, starved
Garr, to cry, to chirp	W. *geran*, to cry, to squeak; vagire, ejulare (Dav.); Ir. Gael. *gearan* (geran) complaint; Sans. *gri=gār*, to sing, to cry out

"*Garryng* and fliyng of briddus (birds)."
Apol. Loll., p. 95.

Hack, to hop on one leg (W.)	W. *hecian*, to hop, to limp; *hegl*, a leg
Hask, a basket made of rushes *Hassock*, a reed, rush, tuft[1] of rushes or grass, a mat	W. *hesg*, rushes, sedge; *hesor*, a hassock; Arm. *hesk*, sorte de flaieul ou roseau; Ir. Gael. *seasg*, sedge or bur-reed
Ka (for *kan*?) to see (E.)	O. W. *cenio*, to see. "*Cen* et *Cennis* pro *canfu*, vidit, aspexit" (Dav.); Sans. *kan*, to shine; *kan-ana*, a one-eyed man
Kaxes, *cashes*, the dry hollow stalks of umbelliferous plants. (Plant-names, Britten); *kecks*, *kex*, plants with hollow stems, chiefly hemlock and meadow parsnep	W. *cecys*, plants with hollow stems, hemlock; *cegid* hemlock; Corn. *cegas*; Arm. *kegit*, id.; Sans. *kaksha*, an herb, a climbing plant, a dry plant

"The even mead that erst brought sweetly forth
The freckled cowslip, burnet and green clover
.....nothing teems
But hateful docks, rough thistles, *kecksies*, burs."
Hen. V, v, 2.

"Canon de suls, a *kex*, or elder sticke" (Cotgrave).

Mag, an old cant word for a penny (Dekker) (Nhamp.), a gratuity to a servant (Scot.); *meg*, a halfpenny (Leeds)	Gael *meachain* (*mech*), a luck-penny, an abatement of rent; Ir. *meachain*, an abatement; *meacan* (mecan), hire, reward; Fr. *mahon*, cuivre, médaille de cuivre (Roquefort)

The terminational form *-an* has also been retained, where in the modern representative we find *e* or *i*, as in

The different species of Sinapis are found only in the temperate regions of Europe and Asia. The original Aryan race must have been located, therefore, in a country where the climate was neither very hot nor very cold.

[1] "*Hassok*, ulphus" (sea grass, or a kind that grows in moist places). *Promp. Parv.*

Organs, pigs; "Sarve *organs*, *i.e.*, feed the pigs, a humorous designation, probably from their discordant voices" (Holderness, E. D. S.)	Gael, *uirchean* (*urcen*), a pig; *uirchin* (*urcin*), a pig; Gael. *oircean*, id.; Ir. *orc*, "*orc i. muc*", a pig (O. Ir. *Glosses*, p. 109)
Patherish, restless, ever turning round as if without sense; applied to sheep that have water on the brain (Sussex)	W. *petrus*, apt to start, hesitating; Arm. *bader*, étourdi (dizzy, mazed, stupid)?
Quart, joy, mirth *Quert*, joyful, in good spirits (Hall)	W. *chwerthin*, ridere, risus (Dav.); Arm. *choarz*, laughter; Corn. *wharth*, id.; W. *chwardd*, *chwarth*, a laugh, laughter; *chwarddedig*, laughing, joyous; Sans. *krath*, to be merry, to cause laughter

"Quyll thou art quene, in thy *quart*
Hold these wurdus in thi herte."
Anturs of Arthur, p. 10.

Raq, to scold, to abuse (Hall). O. Norse, *hrekia*, pellere, amare increpare (Haldorson)	W. *rhegu*, to curse; imprecari, execrari (Dav.)
Scan, to look at keenly	Gael, *sgeann* (*skena*), to gaze, stare, glare at; Ir. Gael, *sgean*, a wild look; O. W. *cenio*, to see
Wharre, crabs; the crab-tree (Ches. Lanc.) "as sour as *wharre*" (Ray)	W. *chwerw*, bitter; amarus, acerbus (Dav.); Arm. *chouero*, amer, qui a une saveur rude et désagréable. Corn. *wherow*, bitter

An Anglo-Celtic *ă* is represented, however, more frequently by a Mod.-Celtic *o*, probably due in some instances to a final *u*, which has disappeared.

Amabyr, *amvabyr*[1], the old custom or price which was paid to the lord of the manor on the marriage of a tenant's daughter (Cowell, Blount)	W. *amobrwy*, which denotes the same custom or fee; said by Dr. Pugh to be compounded of *am*, here meaning exchange or commutation, and *gwobrwy*, a reward, a fee; W. *Gwobryn*, a recompense
Bannack, *bannock*, an oaten cake (N.)	Ir. Gael. *bonnach*; Manx, *bonnag*, an oaten cake; Gael. *bannach*, id.

"Their bread and drink I had almost forgotten; indeed, it was not rusk, as the Spaniards use, or oaten cakes or *bannacks*, as in N. Britain." (Taylor's Works, 1630.)

[1] The Anglo-Celtic *amvabyr* deserves notice as presenting an archaic form. The fee was common in England. (Spelman s. v. *Marchet*). "Omnes tenentes de Tynemouth, cum contigerit, solvent layrewite [a fine for fornication] filiabus vel ancillis suis et etiam *merchet* pro filiabus suis maritandis."—Rentale de Tynemouth, A.D. 1378. (Brand, *Pop. Antiq.*, ii, 116.)

Brannigan, a fat, puffy infant boy (Cumb.)	O. Ir. Gael. *bronn*; W. *bron*, a breast, a protuberance;[1] Gael. *bronnach*, big-bellied, corpulent; *bronnag*, a gudgeon, a little bulky female. Arm. *bronnegen*, a lump of fat. Sans. *vrinda* = *barnda*, a round mass, a heap (?), *vrinta*, a breast, a round lump (mamelon)
Brat, filth *Bratty*, filthy, nasty (Lincoln)	Ir. Gael. *brod*, a blemish, filth; *brodach*, filthy, nasty; Manx, *broghe*, dirty; W. *brwnt*, foul, dirty
Calk, *calkin*, a sharp-pointed iron on the shoe of a horse	W. *còl*, a peak, a sting, the awn of corn; aculeus, arista (Dav.); O. W. *colginn*, arista (Cod. Juv.); Arm. *kōlō*, *kōlōen*, l'épi des différents grains; Ir. Gael. *calg*, a sting, a prickle
Canakin, the plague (Bailey)	Ir. Gael. *conach*, murrain
Craddy, a daring feat (Lanc.,Linc.) *Craddins*, mischievous tricks (N.)	Ir. Gael. *crodha*, brave, daring; *crodhachd*, bravery, prowess, hardihood; Ir. *crodachd*, id. (O. Ir. *Gloss.*, p. 63); Sans. *kratu*, power, might, a work accomplished; Gr. κράτος
Damkalla (for *dam-kallat ?*) irrecoverably lost (Lanc.)	W. *coll*, loss. O. W. *collet*[2] (?); Arm. *koll*, loss; *kolla*, to lose, *kollet*, lost; Sans. *chal*, to depart (?); Cf. W. *dam-dreulio*, to be wearing away; *dam-borthi*, to uphold
Darnock, a hedger's glove. O. N. *dornikur*, stiff boots for wading	Ir. Gael. *dornog*, a glove, a gauntlet; *dorn*, a fist; Manx, *dornaig*, a covering for the hand against thorns; *doarnage*, a mitten, a glove of raw skin; Arm. *douarn*, the hand; W. *dwrn*; Corn. *dorn*, a hand or fist
Galore, plenty, plentifully (common in Eng. dialects)	Ir. Gael. *go-leir*, *gu-leor*, in abundance, plentifully; Ir. *loure*, sufficientia (Ir. *Gloss.*, p. 108, Z[1]. 30); *lōr*, *lour* (Ir. *Gloss.*, p. 108); *go* or *gu* gives an adverbial force

"To feasting they went, and to merriment,
And tippled strong liquor *galore*."
Ritson's *Robin Hood*.

Hack, to cough faintly and frequently (Hall.)	W. *hochi*, to throw up phlegm, to hawk. A borrowed word (?) Cf. Arm. *hak*, mouvement convulsif du

[1] "Bullo i *bronnced*" (Old W. Glosses, *Phil. S.*, 1861).

[2] "Participii præteriti passivi forma Cambrica vetusta *etic* (addita ad term. *et*, quæ sufficit ceteris dialectis amplius derivatione *ic*): dometic (gl. domitus.)" Z.[1] 528.

diaphragme et de l'estomac, avec une explosion sonore par la bouche; difficulté de parler; Sans. *kāça*, cough (the palatal sibilant representing an older guttural); *kāçū*, a faltering or difficult speech

with many others.[1]

ă is also found in Anglo-Celt. words, where *y* appears in modern Welsh, or *u* in Irish, but not so often as it is represented by modern *o*.

Basse, a kiss; also *buss*	Ir. *bus*, the mouth; *busog*, a kiss; Gael. *bus*, a mouth, a lip, a kiss; Manx, *pus*, *bus*, the cheek

"Then of my mouth come take a *basse*,
For other goodes have I none."
MS. Rawl. (Hall.)

Cagged, offended (Dev.)	W. *gygus*, frowning, angry; *gwg*, a frowning, anger; *cuch*, a frown
Crannock, an old measure of corn (Bailey)[2]	W. *crynog*, a measure equal to ten bushels; corus mensura (Dav.) Ir. Gael. *crannog*, a basket, a hamper. Manx. *cronnog*, a circle, a barrow
Cranny, lusty, jovial, brisk (Bailey, Ches.)	W. *cryno*, compact, trim, well-set; concinnus, compactus (Dav.); Arm. *kren*, fort, robuste, impétueux
Franion, luxuriant, thriving (Nhamp.) *Frim* (N.), *frum* (W.), thick, rank, vigorous, thriving	W. *ffrymio*, to become luxuriant; *ffrymiol*, vigorous, thriving; *ffrwm*, luxuriant, rank

ă also often appears where now the diphthong *ai* is found, as in the following words:—

Cat, the penis (Som.)	Ir. Gael. *caith*,[3] id.; Sans. *kati*, a haunch, a hip

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[1] The Yorkshire word *paragoad*, to talk in a domineering or overbearing style (Hold. *Gloss.*), seems to be an instance of this change of *a* into *o*. I would connect this word with Sans. *pari*, around, and also excess, and *gad*, to speak; Ir. Gael, *guth*, voice, word, speech. Cf. Sans. *kath*, to speak, to tell, *parikathā* (a roundabout story), a fable, a legend. May we not also compare the W. *pregawthen*, prattle, rigmarole?

[2] Called a *cornock* in the seventeenth cent. "The bushell in many places is two bushells, but then is that bushell called a strike, and in some places half a quarter is called a *cornocke*." Robert Recorde's *Ground of Arts*, Ed. 1646, p. 138.

[3] The Ir. *caith* represents an ancient *cati*. In Pali, *kato* denotes the pudendum muliebre.

Crag, a rock, a rugged rock	W. *craig*, a rock; Ir. *craig*, id.; Arm. *karrek*, a rock in, or by, the sea; Sans. *grāvan*, a rock (?)

"Ne nathyng sal growe than, gresse ne tre,
Ne *cragges* ne roches sal nan than be."
Hampole's *Prick of Conscience*, 14th cent.

Danch, dainty, nice (Cleveland)[1]	W. *dain*, delicate, nice; Ir. Gael. *dein*, clean, neat. Formed probably as *harddus*, from *hardd*
Fac, a name for soil or earth covering stone or coal; also *faigh* (Sal. and Ches.)	Ir. *faigh*, *faiche*, a field, a plain; Manx, *faaigh*, a grass plat
Fag, the fringe at the end of a piece of cloth or rope (Ash); also in the hybrid, *fag-end*; Cf. *ganny-wedge*, a kind of wedge (W.)	W. *ffaig*, an end, an extremity; Ir. *foige*, the topmost part

This diphthong is explained by a fanciful rule that prevails in the written forms of Irish and Gaelic words, which is thus explained by Dr. Donovan: "Every consonant, or combination of consonants, must always stand between two broad vowels or two slender vowels; *molaid*, they praise, not *molid*". (Ir. Gram., p. 3.) The broad vowels are *a*, *o*, *u*; the slender, *e* and *i*. The Ir. *fagh*, prim. *fage*, becomes *faige* and *faighe*. This rule may probably explain the W. *ffaig*=*fagi* and the *a* sound in such English words as *table*, *fate*, etc., the prim. *a* being affected by a following *e* or *i*.[2]

A primary *a* long (ā) is often changed in Celtic words into *au* or *aw*,[3] as W. *brawd*, Sans. *bhrātri*, Lat. *frāter*. "In the Irish language," says Dr. Donovan, "*a* when

[1] Mr. Atkinson (*Cleve. Gloss.*) thinks that this word is equal to Danish, but the Danes were not, in the eighth or ninth cent., either dainty or nice.

[2] Cf. Ir. *mas*, comely, graceful; *maise*, beauty, grace; *maiseach*, beautiful; and Eng., *mace* (slang), "a dressy swindler who victimises tradesmen"; probably, an imported word.

[3] W. Salesbury (1567) says, "*A* in the British in euery word hath ye true pronunciation of *a* in Latine. And it is never sounded like the diphthong *au*, as the Frenchmen sounde it commyng before *m* or *n* in theyr tongue.....neyther yet as it is pronounced in English whan it commeth before ge, ll, sh, tch." (*Welsh Pronunciation*, Ellis, iii, 746.) But *ā* must have often had in old time the sound of *au* or *aw*. See Professor Rhys, *Lect. on. W. Phil.* p. 215, first edition.

long sounds like *a* in the English words *call, fall*" (*Ir. Gram.*, p. 8); "but in Meath and Ulster as *a* in Eng. *father*", which he thinks is not the true original sound. In Gaelic, the *a* long is pronounced as *a* in Eng. *partner* or Italian *amo* (Armstrong, p. 1), and in Manx as *a* in Eng. *fame, pale, ale* (Kelly's *Gr.*, p. 3). In many Anglo-Celtic words *au* appears as the representative of Celtic *a*, approaching more nearly the Ir. *a* or the W. *aw*. Examples: *Auld*, great, the highest mark in games, N.; Ir. *alt*, great, noble. *Caush*, a sudden declivity, N.; Ir. Gael. *cas*, abrupt, steep. *Cawm*, to curvet; W. *camu*, to bend, to curve. *Caule*, a landing-place (Linc.); Ir. Gael., *caladh* (dh silent), a port. *Claud*, a ditch, a fence (also *Claw*), N.; Ir. Gael., *cladh*, a dyke, trench, embankment; pron. *claw* in the N. of Ireland; O. W., *claud* (Ir. *Glosses*, p. 59); Mod. W., *clawdd*. *Gaun*, a pail (Glouc.), a tub (Heref.); Ir. Gael., *gann*, a jug. *Gaunt, Gant*, thin, slender, Ir. Gael., *gann* for *gant*, scarce, short, little; *Launde*, an open space between woods (*Prom. Parv.*); *lawn*, a smooth plot of land, W. *llan*, a clear, open space; Corn., *lawn*, clear, open; with other words of the same kind.

The short e (ĕ) in Anglo-Celtic words sometimes represents a Celtic *i*, as in

Ben, the truth (Dev.)	Ir. *binn*, true
Clever, a tuft of coarse grass (E.)	Ir. Gael. *clib*, a bushy lock of hair, anything hanging loosely
Fell, to return periodically (Essex)	Ir. Gael *fill*, to turn, return, fold, involve
Kebbel, a sweetheart, a darling	W. *cibli*, a favourite, a toast

"My *kebbel* sweet, in whom I trust,
Have now respect and do not fayle
Thy faithful frend, who ys most just,
And will not in hys frendshyp quayle."
Ballads and Songs of Lancashire, p. 40.

Pell, a hole of water below a waterfall (Sussex)	W. *pil*, a sea-ditch or trench filled at high water
Pelham, dust (Som.); *pilm* in Dors. and Dev.	Corn. *pilm*, flying dust; W. *pylor*, dust, powder

This *e* seems to be due to a broad vowel in the

auslaut or final sound (taking the Irish arrangement of vowel sounds), as in Sanskrit we have *veda* (knowledge) from the root *vid*, the course being *vida*, *vaida*, *vēda*.[1]

Sometimes this short *e* represents a modern *y*, as in *Glen* (valley), W. *glyn*; Ir. *gleann*; *Greg*, to vex, to annoy (Cumb.), W. *gryg*, harshness; *cryg*, harsh, rough; *Hella*, the nightmare, W. *hyll*, gloomy, horrid; *Hespall*, *Hespel*, to worry, to harass (Heref. Sal.), W. *yspeilio*, to spoil, to ravage.

The Anglo-Celtic short *i* frequently represents *y* in Welsh, and from this fact it would appear that the sound of English *u* had not been given to this letter in the fifth or sixth century.[2] The following words are instances :—

Dilse, *dillisk*, a kind of sea-weed; *Iridea edulis*; also *Dulse*	W. *dylusg*, a kind of alga; Ir. Gael. *duilleasg*, id.
Flick, to pull out suddenly (Som.); to give a jerk (Wright)	W. *flychio*, to break out abruptly
Kilketh, an old servile kind of payment (Coles)[3]. Probably a bondman's tax for his house, or for permission to labour for some other than his lord	W. *cyllid*, income, tax, rent; reditus census, proventus (Dav.); Corn. *ceth*, the common people; Ir. *caeth*, a servant, a bondman
Kinsing, cauterising	W. *cynnhesu*, to warm; calefacere (Dav.); Corn. *cinnis*, fuel

"I askt physitions what their counsell was
For a mad dogge or for a mankind asse.
They told me,
The dog was best cured by cutting and *kinsing*."
Hall's *Epigrams*.

Lidden, long (Som.)	W. *llydan*, broad
Livery, sticky, slimy (S.)	W. *llyfi*, slimy, mucus; *llyfiol*, slimy

"The soil, being *livery*, dries into hard compact clods."—*Annals of Agriculture* (Sussex).

[1] Windisch infers a pre-historic *viras* from Ir. *fer* (man) by this process. (*Rev. Celt.*, iii, 325.)

[2] Cf "monile, i, *minci*", now *mynci*; "acumine, *gilbin*", now *gylfin* (Cod. Juv.) and "*echitrauc*, lege *escithrauc*, i, cum dentibus", now *ysgythrawg* (Ir. *Glosses*, *Phil. Soc.*, 1860, pp. 213, 221, 249.)

[3] "*Kilketh*, servilis quædam solutio, nam in MS. quodam sic lego, *Kilketh* pro qualibet husbandrea, 2 denar." (Spelman, *Gloss. Archæologicum.*)

Mickle, to choke (Dev.)	W. *mygu;* Corn. *megi*, to stifle, to choke ; Arm. *mouga*, étouffer
Nicky, a small short fagot of wood (W.)	W. *cnycyn*, a little lump or ball, a knob, a hillock
Nix, the signal word of schoolboys, lo! look out !	W. *nycha*, lo, behold ! look out ; en, ecce ! (Dav.)
Prin, to take ; *prinit*, take it (Wilts.)	W. *prynu*, to take hold, to buy ; Corn. *prenne*, id. ; Arm. *prena*, to acquire, to buy ; Sans. *prich*, to touch, join, give
Rit, to swallow greedily (N.)	W. *rhythu*, to be greedy or gluttonous, to open wide
Whinnock, a milk-pail (N. Ash)	W. *cynnog*, a small pail ; Ir. Gael. *cuinneog*, *cuinneag*, a pail, a bucket
Will, the sea-gull (S.)	W. *gwylan*, the sea-gull

The Anglo-Celtic *ĭ* sometimes stands for the Welsh *u* (Eng. *i*) ; as in *Grig* (heath), W. *Grug ; Iggan*, twenty (Craven), W. *ugain ; Isher* high, W. *uchel*, and some others. There are not many words of this class, and they belong to districts where the Cymric race apparently remained long upon the soil as a separate class.

One Anglo-Celtic word of this class, *pimp* (five, W. *pump*,) deserves a more extensive notice, because it enables us to trace a Cymric population in the districts where it is found. In Allendale (S. Northumberland), in Swaledale (Yorkshire), in Furness (N. Lancashire), in the dales of Cumberland, the form is *pimp ;* in the district of Knaresborough, and in Teesdale (Durham), it is *pip ;* in Westmoreland *fip*, and in the Wolds near Pocklington (Yorkshire) it is *pimpi ;* this last form retaining the equivalent for the Sans. *a* in *panchan* (five). But in the central and southern parts of England, the proper Loegria, the Anglo-Celtic form was *pomp*. In Grose's *Classical Dict. of the Vulgar Tongue* it appears as a term used by whist-players. "*Pomp ;* to save one's *pomp* at whist is to score five before the adversaries are up, or win the game : originally derived from *pimp*, which is Welsh for five, and should be, I have saved my pimp." But the word in use was *pomp*, and this form indicates a nearer connection with the Sans. *pancha* or *panchan;* for the Sans. short *a* is pronounced

as Eng. *u;* the Sans. *pandita* (a learned man, a savant) becoming naturalised among us, with the Indian pronunciation, as *pundit;* and the Anglo-Celtic *pomp* requires an original *pumpa*; the process of change being, probably, *pumpa, paumpa, pompa, pomp.* There is ample evidence that *p* in the anlaut is an inheritance from the original Indo-European, or Aryan, tongue. The primitive form is assumed by Fick (*Wort.*[3] i, 363) to be *pancan.* It is found in the Zend *pañcan,* Gr. πέντε, Lith. *penki,* and the O. Slav. *peti* (Curtius, *Grundz,*[2] 363).

As instances of change of sounds or of "phonetic decay", I submit the Sanskrit, Welsh, and Northumberland numerals as far as ten :—

SANSKRIT	WELSH	ALLENDALE.
eka	un	eën
dwi	dau	tean
tri, nom. trāyas	tri	tether
chatur, chatwar	pedwar, petwar	mether
panchan, pancha	pump	pimp
shash, nom. shat	chwech	cĭtr (kitr)
saptan, sapta	saith	lĭtr
ashtan, ashta	wyth, oith	ōva
navan, nava	naw	dōva (for ndova ?)
daçan, daça	deg	dic (dik)

The corresponding words for 15 are Sans. *panchadaçan;* W. *pymtheg* (for *pump ar ddeg*?); Allendale, *bumfit.* The latter is put as the equivalent for 20, and *figget* for 15; but this is a mistake. In the Cumberland and Westmoreland dales the form is *bumfit,* which is the form in Teesdale (Yorkshire); but in the neighbourhood of Pocklington it is *pimpits* or *pumpits,* and in Swaledale *pumfit.* (Ellis, *The Anglo-Cymric Score,* pp. 34-41.)

The Anglo-Celtic *ŏ* sometimes represents a modern Welsh *w;* as *Hog,* a pig; W. *hwch,* a sow; *Mollock,* refuse, dirt, dung, W. *mwlwch,* refuse; *Tolmen,* a perforated stone, W. *twll,* Corn. *tol,* a hole, and W. *maen,* stone; *Tottle* (also *Totle*), an idle, slow person, W. *twtial,* to loiter; but more commonly this Welsh vowel is represented by Anglo-Celtic *ŭ,* as in *Bug,* a goblin, W.

bwg. *Bullion*, a boss, *Bullace*, the wild plum, W. *bwl*, a rotundity; *bwlas*, winter sloes; Arm. *bolos*, the wild plum. *Butt*, a kind of cart, W. *bwt*, a dung-cart, Corn. *butt*, a cart. *Cullow*, pale, wan, dejected, W. *cwla*. *Cusk*, the wild poppy, W. *cwsg-lys* (?). *Frum* (also *Froom*), thick, rank, luxuriant, W. *ffrwm*; Arm. *fromm*. *Fud*, the tail of a hare, W. *ffwtog*, a short tail; and others.

The Anglo-Celtic *ŭ* is often represented by a Celtic *o* or *ou*, as in the following words:—

Bludgeon, a thick stick with a knob	Corn. *blogon*, a little block (W. Stokes); Ir. *bloc*, round; Manx, *bluchan*, a ball
Buddle, to suffocate (Som.), to cleanse ore by washing	W. *boddi*, to drown, to immerse; Corn. *budhy*, to drown; *buddal*, to buddle; Arm. *beuzi*, to drown
Bugan, the devil (W.) *Bug-bear*, a hobgoblin	W. *bwg*, *bwci*, a hobgoblin, a bugbear
Chuckle, round *Cuckle-button*, the burr of the burdock	Ir. Gael. *cochal*, *cochol*, a cowl, a husk, a pod, a shell, the pericranium

"I choose to buy (in a bull) the most taper-headed than too much upon the *chuckle* or round." (*Mod. Husb.* 1750.) Cf. Sans. *kosha*, a bud, globe, egg, testicle, etc., and *kucha*, the female breast.

Cudgel, a thick stick	W. *cogel*, a distaff; Corn. *cigel*; Arm. *kegel*, id.
Curnock, a measure containing four bushels (Coles)	W. *cornogyn*, a pail; *crynog*, a measure containing ten bushels
Curr, the bull-head. *Cottus gobio*; with many others.	W. *corr*, short, squat, a dwarf; *crothell*, the bull-head; Ir. *cor*, a lump; Sans. *kharba*, short, a dwarf

In such a word as Ir. *cor* we may infer that a more primitive form was *cura*, and that the *o* was formed by the reflex action of the auslaut or final sound.

Sometimes the Anglo-Celtic *ŭ* expresses the primary sound of the Welsh *y*, but as in the Eng. Celtic *i* (Welsh *u*), this is apparently due to the long residence of a Cymric population in the district. Some examples of this unity of sounds are: *Bruttle*, furious, W. *brythol*; *Bumfit*, fifteen (Yorks. Dales), W. *pymtheg*; *buzon*, a finger-ring, W. *byson*, etc.; but in other in-

stances the Welsh *ŭ* (Eng. *i* sound) is represented by English *u*, indicating a change in the pronunciation of this vowel sign on the part of the Cymric race.

Bun, a term of endearment	W. *bun*,[1] a woman, a fair one; Ir. Gael. *ban*, a woman
Duff, a dark-coloured clay	W. *du*, black; Ir. Gael. *dubh*
Luche, to dart, to fling	W. *lluchio*, to cast, to throw
Nuch, to tremble (Nhumb.)	W. *nugio*, to shake, to tremble
Ruggle, to move about (Kent)	W. *rhuglo*, to clear away briskly; *rhugl*, handy, ready
Rule (*rhûl*) tumultuous frolicksome conduct (W.)	W. *rhull*, frank, rash, hasty; "mihi videtur significare temerarium, alacrem, præpetem" (Dav.)

The diphthongs in Anglo-Celtic words sometimes denote sounds like those of the corresponding vowel forms in Mod. Celtic; as *Creany* (*Crîny*) very small (Lanc.); Ir. Gael. *crion*, *criona* (pron. *crîn*, *crina*), W. *crīn*, dry, withered, small. *Claud* (*clòd*), a ditch, pronounced a little more broadly than *ou* in *Cloud*, represents very nearly the O. W. *claud*, Mod. W. *clawdd*, a ditch, or dyke, and *baw*, dirt, ordure, the W. *baw*. *Boodle*, the corn-marigold (Suff.) (*oo* as in Fr. *bout*), and *Booin*, the plant rag-wort (Cumb.) have partly the same sound as Ir. Gael. *buidhe* and Ir. *buine*, with which they are connected. But in the slang word *Fawney* (*fàny*), a ring; Ir. *fainne*, a digammated form of *ainne* (*anne*), a circle, eye, ring (Lat. *annus*, *annulus*), a common sound of the Irish *a* has been retained, which must be referred to the simpler form *fanne*.

On the other hand, we sometimes find a diphthong, as *ai*, where in Mod. Celtic a simple vowel has been retained.

Gain (*Gên*), the beveled shoulder of a binding joist (Webster). This word is connected by Mahn, the etymological editor of Webster's *Dictionary*, with W. *gàn*, a mortise. This, however, seems to be a mistake, for the mortise is the hollow in which the tenon is inserted. More probably we may connect the word with Arm. *genn*, coin, pièce de bois ou de fer taillée en angle aigu; W. *gaing*; Ir. Gael. *geinn*, a wedge.

[1] *Bun* in Pryse's ed. of Pugh's *Dict.*; *bûn* in the *Dict.* of Dr. Davies.

Straith (*strêth*) a valley (N.)	W. *ystrad* (*strad*), a valley; Manx, *strah* (for *strad* ?), id.; but the Ir. Gael. *sraith*, for *straith*, has the diphthong

In O. Eng. the form is *stroth*, a variation of *strad*.

"At the last bi a littel dich he (the fox) lepes ouer a spenne
Steles out full stilly bi a *strothe* rand.[1]
Sir Gawayne, 1710.

Tayme (*têm*) to separate into parts, to divide	W. *tam*, a bit, a piece; *tamiad*, a forming into pieces; Arm. *tamm*, morceau, piece; *tamma*, couper par morceaux; Ir. *taom*, a morsel
Tam, id.	

"In the time of famine he is the Joseph of his country. Then he *tameth* his stacks of corn, which not his covetousness but providence hath reserved for time of need." (*Fuller.*)

"*Tayme* that crabbe." (*Babees Boke*, p. 265.)

The W. diphthong *ew* is represented by *ay* (*ê*) in

Ray, frost (Linc.)	W. *rhew*; Arm. *reo*; Corn. *reu* (Z[1] 164); Ir. Gael. *reodh*, *reo*, id.

This sound of *ai* (*ê*) is sometimes due apparently to the Irish and Gaelic rule, mentioned in p. 12: as in

Caimt (*kêmet*) crooked (Lanc.)	Arm. *kamma*, to curve; *kammet*, curved

Halliwell has *cemmed*, twisted, without reference to any particular county. In the *Promp. Parv.* the form is *cammyd*, "*Cammyd*, short-nosyd, simus".

Cained, having a white surface, used of liquors	W. Ir. *can*, white
Cairn, a pile of stones	W. *carn* (for carni ?) id.
Dairns, small, refuse fish	W. *darn*, a piece, a fragment
Faigh, the soil covering stone or coal	Ir. Gael. *fagh*, *faiche*, a field
Haips, a slattern (Lanc.)[2]	W. *hafr*, a slattern

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[1] The editor of this work, Dr. Morris, supposes that by "a strothe rand" is meant a rugged path. The meaning is that the fox crept along the edge of a valley.

[2] This word *haips* is a contracted form of *haip-es*, corresponding to *-es* in W. *brenhin-es*, a queen, and Arm. *-ez* in *barz-ez*, a female poet. C. Fr. *princesse*; and Gr. *βασίλισσα*. The late Sir G. Cornewall Lewis maintained that the Fr. suffix *-esse* was derived from the Latin *-itia* in *justitia* (*Romance Languages*, p. 130.) It was more

There are also many variations in the forms of our Anglo-Celtic words implying dialectic varieties among the original Celtic tribes, as :—

Cleck, a hook ; to catch with a hook (N.) ; *cleche*, a hook, a crook (*Ancren Riwle*, p. 102) ; *click*, to catch ; M. E. *cloche*, a claw ; *clucchen*, to claw	Ir. Gael. *clioc* (*clica*), a hook, to catch with a hook ; Gael. *clichd*, a hook, a trick ; *cliuchd*, a trick, a stratagem

This seems to be the origin of the Eng. *clutch*, to grasp with the curved hand, though Prof. Skeat connects with A. S. *gelæccan*, to catch, to seize.

I have now presented some of the main facts connected with the vowel systems in the Anglo-Celtic and Mod.-Celtic classes of words ; very imperfectly, I am aware, but I hope the facts recorded will enable some more competent Celtic scholar to make a better use of them.

The only inferences which I venture to draw from these facts are :—

(1.) That the vowel systems in the different Celtic languages approached each other more nearly in the fifth and sixth centuries than at the present time.

(2.) That in this period the primitive vowel *ă* was more extensively used than in modern Celtic tongues, indicating a more archaic form than that which now exists.

(3.) That the vowel *e* has often been produced, as in Sanskrit, by the reflex action of *a* in auslaut.

(4.) In the same manner the vowel *o* has been formed by the union of *a* with *u*.

(5.) That in the Welsh language the signs *u* and *y* now represent sounds differing from those which they denoted at the time of the Saxon conquest.

(6.) That the vowel *a* is frequently diverted to an obscure sound (as in Sanskrit), which is represented by *u* in such words as *bun* or *sun*.

J. DAVIES.

probably from a Celtic source. Was the W. *-es* in *brenhin-es*, taken from the Latin ?

PRIVATE PAPERS OF RICHARD VAUGHAN, EARL OF CARBERY.

(*Continued from p.* 238.)

SIR MARMADUKE LLOYD married Mary, daughter of John Stedman of Strata Florida Abbey. The Stedmans deduce their line from a certain Stidmon, son of Calcarba, a Duke of Arabia. But we need not ascend to the higher part of the pedigree; let it suffice that John Stedman, son of Thomas, was of Staffordshire, and married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Stafford (*or*, a chevron *gules*, and a canton *ermine*). They had a son, Harry Stedman, who married Margaret, daughter of Andrew Cotton (*sable*, a chevron inter three griffins' heads erased *argent*), and had issue, Humphrey, who married Catherine, daughter and coheir of William Hill of Bickley, co. Salop (*ermine*, on a fess *sable* a castle triple-towered *argent*); and from this match all the Stedmans of Berks, Stafford, and Salop, are said to descend. Their second son, John, married Joan or Janet, daughter of John Lewis (*gules*, a chevron between three trefoils slipped *argent*), and was father of John Moel Stedman of Strata Florida, according to the *Golden Grove Book*. He married Anne, daughter of William Phillips of Pentrepark, a descendant of Cadivor Vawr, and had issue, John Gwin Stedman, who married Margaret, daughter and coheir of Davyd Lloyd ab John of Porth y Crwys, descended from Elystan; and their daughter Mary was wife of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd. By looking a little further it is quite possible we may find the true cause of the destruction of the Lloyds and Maesyfelin.

Sir Marmaduke Lloyd was succeeded by his son, Sir Francis Lloyd, who was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles II, and one favoured by that monarch as being, no doubt, a participator in his pleasures and

principles, or want of principle. Sir Francis married twice, his first wife being Mary, daughter of John, first Earl of Carbery; and his second, Bridget Leigh, by whom he had previously had two natural sons, Lucius and Charles, the latter of whom succeeded him at Maesyvelin, and married Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Cornwallis of Abermarlais, co. Carmarthen, by whom he had issue Charles and Lucius. This Sir Francis Cornwallis was a descendant of the old Suffolk family of Cornwallis of Broome Hall, near Eye, many of whom are buried under sumptuous tombs in the church there. It is now the property of Sir Edward Kerrison, Bart.

From this somewhat lengthy digression we must return to Margaret, the daughter of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd and Mary his wife. She married, as before stated, John Vaughan of Llanelly, and left issue, coheirs, the eldest of whom, Jemima, married Sir Richard Vaughan of Tyrracoed; and this brings us to the descendants of Sir William, second son of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove.

This Sir William was a man of great mental vigour and enterprise. Born at Golden Grove in 1577, he at an early age distinguished himself in learning, first entering at Jesus College, Oxford, then going on to the Continent to continue his studies at foreign universities. He was the author of several works, one of which takes its name from Golden Grove. At a subsequent period of his life he became a traveller in the West, and spent much energy and money in founding a colony called Cambriol, in the south of Newfoundland. By his first wife he had no issue; but he subsequently married Anne, daughter and heir of John Christmas of Colchester, co. Essex. She died 15 August 1672. In the *Heraldic Visitation of Essex* for 1612 we find an entry of the marriage of Sibell, daughter of John Browne, with John Christmas of Colchester, Essex. Sir William left issue, besides his son and heir Sir Edward, five daughters,—1, Margaret, wife of Walter Jones; 2, Jane, wife of Owen Brigstock of Llechdoney; 3, Mary, wife

of Francis Lloyd of Glyn Gwinf; 4, Dorothy, wife, firstly, of ... Bradling of Yorkshire; secondly, of Walter Rice; and 5, Anne, wife of Robert Barnadiston of co. Bedford.

The son and heir, Edward Vaughan (afterwards created a Knight at Oxford, 24th Nov. 1643) married, for his first wife, Jemima, daughter of Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland Hall, near Ipswich, co. Suffolk. Notwithstanding the eminence of some of its members, the pedigree of the Bacon family is very confused. Their chief power seems to have been mental rather than bodily, for we find them distinguished for their talents principally in philosophy, natural science, and law. Robert Bacon of Drinkston, co. Suffolk (son of John Bacon and Agnes, daughter of Thomas Cokefield), married Isabel, daughter of John Gage of Pakenham, and had issue, with others, the celebrated Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of Elizabeth. He was born at Chislehurst in Kent, in 1510, and becoming known for his learning in the law, was by Henry VIII appointed Solicitor to the Court of Augmentations, thus having a chief position in the distribution of the property taken by the King from the monasteries. He himself received a grant of the manors of Bottesdale, Ellingham, and Redgrave, in Suffolk. Few men have held a difficult position in more trying times than Sir Nicholas Bacon, living, as he did, under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. As a lawyer of position he was constantly consulted on difficult questions respecting the changes consequent upon the denial of the Pope's supremacy over England; and there is no fact in the life of Sir Nicholas which has afforded a greater handle for the objurgation of his opponents than his conformity to the religious changes of his day. It must be remembered that he was a lawyer well skilled in estimating the different views and opinions of men, and capable of throwing himself into their different mental attitudes. It must also be remembered that the Reformation, as it is called, in this country is an entirely

different matter from that on the Continent. Here the change was much more gradual, and began by taking from certain ecclesiastical officers a mass of prerogatives which they had gradually assumed or congregated round themselves, and which constantly impeded the exercise of the royal power. In all these matters of royal prerogative few were better qualified to judge than Sir Nicholas Bacon, and his consummate prudence and moderation made him valued by the sovereigns of either way of thinking. Being a lawyer he took care to keep within the law. There are, however, several instances on record of his kindness to poor men who sought his assistance in legal matters, or on whom the law seemed to press heavily. It is reported that the Queen Elizabeth visited him at Gorhambury, and remarked that his house was too small for him, upon which he replied, "Not so. But your Majesty has made me too great for my house." Over the hall door was the following inscription containing Sir Nicholas' favourite motto in the last line :

"Hæc cum perfecit Nicholaus tecta Baconus
Elizabeth regni lustra fuere duo
Factus Eques, Magni Custos erat ipse Sigilli
Gloria sit solo tota tributa Deo.
Mediocria firma."

Sir Nicholas Bacon was much hated by the Scotch nation, probably because he as well as Cecil, his brother-in-law, opposed the Stuart succession to the throne, and favoured that of the Hertfords. He was twice married: firstly to Jane, daughter of William Fernley of West Creding, co. Suffolk, by whom he had three sons and three daughters; secondly to Anne, daughter of Anthony Cooke of Giddy Hall, co. Essex, by whom he had two sons, Sir Anthony and Francis, afterwards the celebrated Lord Verulam and Viscount of St. Albans. His death is said to have been caused by the negligence of a barber who was shaving him, during which operation he fell asleep, and was left thus in a violent draught. Upon awaking he felt quite chilled and exceedingly ill,

and after a few days died. His body was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. His character has been well expressed by Hayward: "A man of greate diligence and ability in his place, whose goodnesse preserved his greatnesse from suspicion, envye, and hate."

Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland Hall, whose daughter Jemima was wife of Edward Vaughan of Terracoyd, was descended from the Lord Keeper through his third son by the first wife, viz., Edward Bacon, who married Helen, daughter and heiress of Thomas Littel of Shrubland Hall, co. Suffolk, and Bray, co. Berks., by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheiress of Sir Robert Litton of Knebworth, co. Herts.

The Bacons were much connected with families in their own county who retained the old religion as it was called, and it may be for that reason that they were so little moved by bigotry against it. We find them thus related to the Jerninghams (then spelt Jernegan) and the Suliards, and intermarrying with the same families as the Walpoles and Cornwallises. The following entries shew this: "1562-3, the —— day of Feby. was christened, at St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, George Bacon, the son of Master Bacon, Esq., some time Serjeant of the Acatry, by Queen Mary's days. His godfathers were young Master George Blackwell and Master Walpole." Mr. George Bacon had married one of the daughters of Mr. Blackwell, and Walpole another. In his will Blackwell mentions "my son Edward Blackwell, my son Bacon, my son Draper, my son Walpole, and my brother Campion." The Walpole to whom reference is here made was William Walpole, who married Mary, youngest daughter of Mr. Blackwell, by whom, however, he had no issue, his heir being his cousin Edward Walpole, born 1560, son of John Walpole of Houghton, ob. 1588, by Catherine Calibut, and grandson of Edward Walpole of Houghton, ob. 1559, by Lucy, daughter of Sir Terry Robsart of Siderston, co. Norfolk, who was aunt of Amy Robsart, Countess of Leicester.

The above Catherine Calibut was eldest daughter and coheiress of William Calibut, a rigid Puritan. The second daughter and coheiress, Elen, married Henry Russell of West Rudham; and the third daughter and coheiress, Anna, also a Puritan, married firstly Thomas Gardiner of Cambridgeshire; and secondly, Henry, brother of Sir Thomas Cornwallis of Broome Hall, co. Suffolk. By the former husband she had two sons and two daughters, of whom Bernard became a Jesuit priest, and Katherine married Thomas Cromwell, brother of Henry Lord Cromwell. By the latter she had Richard Cornwallis and others. Calibut Walpole, the ancestor of the future family of that name, married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Bacon of Hesset, co. Suffolk.

The above data, which have been culled from an exceedingly interesting account of the Walpole family by Dr. Jessop of Norwich, will serve to shew a connection between the several families mentioned.

Sir Edward Vaughan of Terracoyd, Knt., had issue by his wife Jemima, daughter of Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland Hall, two sons and three daughters, of whom Mary married ... Green, and Frances married ... Stinton. Christmas, the second son, of Pentoyngwyn, co. Carmarthen, died without issue; and Richard, the eldest son, became his father's heir.

The writer has to thank Mr. Scott Gatty (Rouge Dragon) for kindly giving him much valuable information from the College of Arms, the Record Office, and other sources where he had collected it, by which much light is thrown on the later descendants of the Vaughans of Terracoed. Richard Vaughan, as previously observed, succeeded his father, Sir Edward Vaughan, and according to *The Golden Grove Book* was knighted. He married twice, and in right of his second wife became of Shenfield, Essex, as well as Terracoed; and dying, was buried at the former place, 20 July 1728. His first wife was Jemima, daughter and coheiress of John Vaughan of Llanelly, previously mentioned; and by her he had a son, Edw. Vaughan, and three daughters, Margaret, Dorothy,

and Rachel. The son Edward was of age in 1698, and according to *The Golden Grove Book* married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Walter Jones of Llwyn y Fortune; but died before 1704, leaving no issue, or no surviving issue, since the son by the second wife succeeded to the estates. One of the daughters married Thomas (baptised 11 Oct. 1688), younger son of William Jones of Chilton, co. Salop, and had issue a son William, and apparently another son George; the former of whom married Mary, daughter of Thomas Kyffin of Oswestry, whose mother was the daughter of Edward Lloyd of Llanvorda, and Frances (*née* Trevor) his wife; and whose grandfather, Thomas Kyffin, was of Oswestry in 1600, being son of Roger and Ermine (Kynaston) his wife. The above Thomas Kyffin, father of Mary, was agent to Lord Bridgewater, a title with which we shall meet again when speaking of the Earls of Carbery.

William Jones had by Mary his wife two sons, the elder of whom, Thomas Jones, died without issue; the second, John Jones, for whom there was but a slender provision, married, 2 Feb. 1779, Eleanor, only daughter and heiress of William Adams of Broseley, an old family possessing an estate at Cleeton in South Shropshire, which had been sold some generations previously by Charles, son of Francis Adams of Broseley, and Anne his wife, daughter and heiress of William Adams of Cleeton. She was a widow at Broseley in 1637.

It is, perhaps, worthy of remark here, that William Jones of Chilton, the great-grandfather of John Jones of Broseley, in his will, which is dated 12 Feby. 1717, and proved 29 Oct. 1729, mentions only two of his sons, namely, the eldest, William (baptised 16 Sept. 1684), and who married Mary, daughter of Joseph Muckleston, Esq., of Shrewsbury (the Mucklestons were related to the Lloyds and Kyffins), to whom he leaves all his estate; and his youngest son, John Jones (baptised 24th April 1694), to whom was owing the sum of £30, being the balance of a legacy due to him under his grandfather Calcott's will. He also mentions his daughters,

Mary Jones, baptised March 18th, 1695, and Martha Atkis, baptised 16th Sept. 1686. Besides these, however, he had two other sons, Thomas, baptised 11 Oct. 1688, and Isaac, baptised 17 Dec. 1691; and a daughter Eleanor, baptised 9 May 1682, who was buried 24 Dec. 1691. It will be evident upon consideration, that these sons were men at the time of their father making his will, and were probably already settled in life.

John Jones of Broseley had by Eleanor his wife (whose mother, Eleanor, was only child of Henry Fermor and Elizabeth Brooke, whose father was a younger son of Brooke of Madeley, Salop), two sons, to the elder of whom, Daniel, he left all he had to leave; the younger, George, having a provision otherwise.[1] This John was an eccentric man in his way, and left all he possessed to his elder son, from whom some coins, etc., and books, chiefly of travels or on legal subjects (his forefathers having been connected with the legal profession), afterwards came into possession of his nephew, he himself dying without heirs.

The second son, George, born 28 March 1781, as previously remarked, gained great wealth from his mineral estates in Staffordshire and South Wales. He married, in 1802, Catherine, the eldest daughter and coheir of Daniel Turner of the Brownhills, near Walsall, Stafford, by Sarah, only child of Robert Hanbury. The father of Daniel Turner (*i.e.*, Henry Turner) had married Catherine, the elder coheir of Thomas Jordan of Great Barr and Birmingham, by Catherine his wife, sister and coheir of Ferdinando Lea, Lord Dudley. The Turners were an old family in the neighbourhood of Great Barr and Sutton Coldfield. In the time of Henry Turner there were still in the family lands at Lyndon derived from the

[1] The family of Adams was connected previously with that of Brooke through the Gowers of Worcestershire, of whom John Gower of Colmers married Mary, daughter of William Fitzherbert of Swinnerton, by Anne, daughter of Sir Basil Brooke of Madeley; and Ursula, daughter and coheir of William Gower of Ridmarley married William Adams. Henry Fermor was younger son of Henry Fermor of Tusmore, co. Oxon., who died 3 Feb. 1683.

Mortons; and it is singular that his grandfather, Edward Turner, is said to have married the daughter of Thomas Leigh of Sutton Coldfield, co. Stafford, whose mother was Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas Cornwallis, son of Sir Charles Cornwallis of Brome Hall, co. Suffolk.

At the death of John Jones of Chilton (the last male heir) without issue, on the 5th of October 1815, the representation of the family vested in his distant cousin, George Jones above mentioned; but the old Chilton estate, which had descended to them from the Conways of Bodrhyddan, was sold, and so passed into the possession of the Burtons of Longner. George Jones left issue, by Catherine his wife, a son John, born 1805, and a daughter Theodosia; a younger daughter, Eleanor, died unmarried.

But to return to Richard Vaughan of Terracoed. He married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir William Appleton, Bart., of Shenfield, co. Essex (17 Nov. 1688), who died in 1727, and was buried at Shenfield. By her he had issue,—John Vaughan, baptised 1 June 1693, ob. 1765; Richard Vaughan, bapt. 21st July 1694, and died the same year; William Vaughan, bapt. 19 Sept. 1691, *ob. s. p.*; Elizabeth, bapt. 18 Feb. 1695, died young; Elizabeth, born Feby. 1700, died aged one month; Sophia, bapt. 11 March 1696, buried 1765 (will dated 29 Dec. 1764, wherein she mentions her nieces Barnwell and Comyn, and appoints her brother John Vaughan and *Mr. George Jones* her executors; she died unmarried); Jane, who, in a Chancery case, Barnwell *versus* Lord Cawdor (1808), was found heiress of the *whole* blood to her brother John Vaughan. She married a gentleman named Reynolds, and had issue, two daughters and coheiresses of the whole blood; of whom Elizabeth, the elder, married Captain Nicolas Comyn of Rotherhithe and Cork, who in his will mentions £500 left by Sophia Vaughan to her niece, his wife. They left issue two daughters, coheiresses, of whom Jane Comyn, the elder, married Lieut. Robert

Scott, R.N., and so was ancestress of Mr. Scott-Gatty of the College of Arms; and Anne Comyn the younger married Matthew Moran, and left issue. Sophia, the second coheiress of Jane Vaughan and Mr. Reynolds, married Capt. Silvester Barnwell, and left issue.

It may be worthy of remark that Jane and Anne Comyn had a brother, John Comyn, drowned off the sloop of war *Pegasus* in 1774. There was apparently an older son than John Vaughan, named William, born at Shenfield, 10 Sept. 1691, who died during his father's lifetime, so that John became heir; and having so many brothers and sisters of his own, it is not surprising if the former family (his half-sisters on the father's side) were left somewhat in the background. This John Vaughan has been considered a fortunate man, since his kinswoman Anne, Duchess of Bolton, by her will, dated 1 Feby. 1749, left him the Golden Grove estates, which had descended to her, as will be seen hereafter. He married twice, and died 27th January 1765, at Shenfield, where he is buried. By his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of John Vaughan of Court Derylls, and widow of Thomas Lloyd of Danyrallt, who died 20 Jany. 1754, he had no issue; and by his first wife, Ellen, daughter and coheiress of Nicholas Partridge of Doddinghurst, co. Essex (buried at Shenfield, 19 Sept. 1730), he had issue one son, Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, Shenfield, and Terracoed; baptised at Shenfield, 22 Nov. 1726, and who died at the same place in 1781. This Richard married twice, his second wife being Susannah, daughter of John Warner of Swansea, whom he married at Clapham in 1767, and by whom he had an only daughter, Susanna Eleanora Vaughan, baptised 21 Dec. 1768; married at Marylebone, 1795, Rev. Thos. Watkins of Pennoyre, co. Brecon, by whom she had issue two sons,—Pennoyre, lost at sea, *s. p.*, 1812, and John Lloyd Vaughan, who succeeded to Pennoyre, but died *s. p.*,—and five daughters. In the above mentioned lawsuit, Susanna Eleanora Vaughan was found to have *no* claim to John Vaughan's estates, being only of the half blood.

The first wife of Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, etc., was Elizabeth Phillipps, daughter of Charles Phillips of Llanelly, which place came to them as follows: Anne, daughter and heiress of John Vaughan of Llanelly, married Charles, son of Thomas Vaughan, descended from the Vaughans of Bredwardine; but he dying without issue, she married, secondly, Griffith Lloyd of Llanarthney, who outlived his wife, and left away the property to his own nephew, Grismond Phillips. By this wife, Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove had issue two sons, of whom the younger, Charles Richard Vaughan, died without issue, and was buried at Shenfield, 28th August 1786. The elder, John Vaughan, succeeded to the estates of Golden Grove, Shenfield, Terracoed, etc. He was Lord Lieutenant and Member for the county of Carmarthen for several years; and having married Elizabeth Letitia Jane, daughter of Cornwallis Maude, Lord Hawarden of Ireland, died without issue at Golden Grove, March 1804.

It has been remarked of the Vaughans that they all have some eccentricity; and one which shewed itself in John, the last of this line, was an intense affection for one of the Campbell family, afterwards created Lord Cawdor, to whom, at his death, he bequeathed the Golden Grove estate; and he, believing himself possessed of everything, proceeded to administer to all the property, whereupon arose the lawsuit previously mentioned, which ended in Elizabeth Comyn and Sophia Barnwell being found heiresses of the whole blood; when all the other estates were ordered to be sold by auction in 1822, and the proceeds divided between these two. It would appear, however, that the properties thus sold could not have been very large, since Elizabeth Comyn sold her share to Lord Cawdor for the sum of £4,000 and a life-annuity of £50. This was the end of the Vaughans as large landowners in Carmarthenshire.

We must now, however, again look back to the eldest son of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove and Mary his

wife, before mentioned. John Vaughan, Mayor of Carmarthen in 1603, was created by Charles I Baron Vaughan of Mullingar in Ireland, and Earl of Carbery; the first by letters patent, 29th July 1621, and the second by the same, 5th August 1628. He died at Golden Grove, and was buried at Llandilo Fawr, co. Carmarthen, having married twice,—firstly, Margaret, daughter of Sir Gelly Meyrick, by whom he had issue one son and one daughter, Mary, wife, as previously stated, of Sir Francis Lloyd of Maesyfelin. He married secondly, Jane, daughter of Sir Thos. Palmer of Wingham, co. Kent, but by her had no issue.

Richard Vaughan, second Earl of Carbery, whose signature is appended to the above deed, the only son of the first Earl by his first wife, succeeded to the dignities and estates of his father, and on 25th of October 1643 was created Baron Vaughan of Emlyn, co. Carmarthen, in the peerage of England. Lord Carbery has been amply abused, principally for his politics. He was a powerful advocate of the King's cause, but acted with moderation and common sense, so that when the opposite party came into power he was able to retain his estates, and even so far rose in the good graces of Cromwell that the latter sent him a present of some deer from London to furnish the park at Golden Grove. But that he was a great friend of the Parliamentarians in general is disproved by a tract full of abuse, written by one of that body, and entitled *The Earle of Carberry's Pedigree*, 1646. His friendship with Cromwell, if it may be called by such a name, was probably personal and also politic. It will be remembered that the original name of the family of the Lord Protector was Williams, and that he was descended from Gwaithvoed Vawr, a common ancestor with the Vaughans. It was also an act of good policy to give an opportunity of favourable reception to one of the largest and most powerful landowners in South Wales. Moreover, it is possible, since the Vaughans all gathered round the head of the house, that their connection with the Lords

Cromwell, through the Bacons, was not unknown to the Lord Protector. Most people will at least allow that the use he made of his being on good terms with the ruling party, in protecting Dr. Jeremy Taylor, a fierce Royalist, was praiseworthy; and further, the position which we find him occupying subsequently to the Restoration may be looked upon as a testimony to the high esteem in which he was held by Charles II. It would seem, then, that he was a man of great moderaation, which obtained for him the hatred and abuse of the extreme men of either party. The deed itself is probably an attempt to make a final settlement of all kinds of claims which had arisen during the troublous times of the civil war; for it must not be supposed that even that calamity was not made use of by some for pushing their own fortunes, especially since documents were lost or destroyed, witnesses died or were killed, and circumstances so changed that it was often no easy matter to understand how justice should be administered.

It will be noticed that among his other offices, Lord Carbery held that of President of the Council of the Marches, a position which gave him great power; and doubtless many of the legal profession would become acquainted with him and his relatives in this capacity.

It is also, perhaps, not unworthy of remark that the Kyffin family were of kindred descent with the Vaughans, being, like them, descended from Madoc Cyffin, or *Anglicè* Kyffin. *The Golden Grove Book* makes their respective forefathers children of the same parents; but it is more probable that the Harleian MS. 1982 is more correct in this matter, which makes David the son of Madoc Cyffin by Alise or Alson, daughter of Gruffudd, etc., as above; and Ieuan Gethin his son by Tangwystl, daughter and heir of Ieuan Voel of Penkelli (*az.*, a chevron inter three birds *argt.*). The great-great-grandson of this Ieuan Gethin was the first to bear the family name of Kyffin, and from his place of abode was called John Kyffin of Oswestry. His son Robert married Mar-

garet, daughter of Ieuan Lloyd, of Abertanat, by Elizabeth, daughter of Roger Thornes of Shropshire, whose wife was a Kynaston; and his grandson Roger is the Roger Kyffin of Oswestry mentioned before, who married Ermyn, daughter of Roger Kynaston, by whom he was father of Thomas Kyffin of Oswestry, etc.

Both the Abertanat family and the Kyffins were descended from Ieuan Gethin by his wife Margaret, daughter of Robert ap Iorwerth of the line of Ednowain Bendew. She was hence sister of Cunric ab Robert ab Iorwerth, the direct male ancestor of the family of Jones of Chilton. By his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Ieuan ab Madoc ab Cadwgan Wenwis, a descendant of Brochwell, Ieuan Gethin was grandfather of Sir Geoffrey Kyffin, who, by a daughter of Lord Strange of Knockyn, had two coheirs,—Jane, wife of Sir Peter Newton; and Anne, wife of Edward Trevor of Brynkiwalt, great-great-great-grandfather of Frances Trevor, wife of Edward Lloyd of Llanvorda. This may give some idea of the way in which the connection between these families ramified, and point out their interest in North Wales and Shropshire.

Richard, second Earl of Carbery, married, firstly, Bridget, daughter of Thomas Lloyd of Llanllyr, and *The Golden Grove Book* says that he had many children by her; who, however, did not live long. He married, secondly, Frances, daughter and coheir of Sir John Altham, Knt., of Oreby, co. Herts., one of the Barons of the Exchequer, by whom he had issue, two sons and two daughters. He married, thirdly, Lady Alice Egerton, daughter of John Earl of Bridgewater; by whom, however, he left no issue. His Lordship died on the 3rd of December, and was buried on the 15th of the same month, in the year 1686. All his surviving issue was by his second wife, and consisted of the two daughters, Lady Frances and Lady Althamia, and two sons: first, Francis Lord Vaughan, who married Lady Rachel, daughter and coheir of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who subsequently became so well

known as the wife of Lord William Russell; but by Lord Vaughan she had no issue, he dying, without issue surviving him, 2 March 1667, when his younger brother John, who is mentioned in the deed, became Lord Vaughan, and (upon the death of his father) the third and last Earl of Carbery. He was for some time Governor of Jamaica, and married twice, firstly, Mary, daughter and heiress of George (others say Humphrey) Browne of Greene Castle, co. Carmarthen, the ruins of which still exist near the road to Llanstephan; by her, however, he had no issue, and upon her death married, secondly, Lady Anne Montague, daughter of George Marquess of Halifax, by whom he had issue an only daughter and heiress, Lady Anne Vaughan.

The last Earl died on 12 January 1712-13. His daughter and heiress, Lady Anne, married, in 1713, Charles Paulet, third Duke of Bolton and Marquess of Winchester; but died without issue, 20 Sept. 1751, leaving the Golden Grove and other Vaughan estates to her kinsman before mentioned, John, son of Richard Vaughan of Terracoed, by his second wife Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of Sir William Appleton, thus leaving a good example to his descendants, of assisting the family and keeping the estates in the old name; which, however, the next John, grandson of the above, failed to follow.

The Earls of Carbery seem to have used the arms attributed to the old Princes of Powys, *or*, a lion rampant *gules*, instead of the later modification used by their ancestor Einion Evell. The same arms have been assigned to their ancestor, Gwaithvoed of Powys. We might, however, rather consider the arms of Einion Evell to have been taken from the black lion of the Princes of Powys; but there is a curious note in *The Golden Grove Book*, which says that Gwerystan ab Gwaithvoed "gave, as an old chart intimates, *or*, a lion rampant per fess *gules* and *argent*."

It would be useless here to go into the question of the two Gwaithvoeds, and the confusion between them;

but it may be remarked that the cradle of this family of Vaughan was the confines of Shropshire and Wales; and they seem to have become connected with South Wales chiefly through the marriage of Hugh Vaughan (who is celebrated for his duelling propensities) with Jane, daughter of Morris Bowen.

It is not always easy, or even possible, when tracing out the several branches and connections of families, as those experienced in the work must know, to avoid errors of Christian names, and in some cases to distinguish between families bearing the same name; but this difficulty is increased in the case of Welsh families by the comparatively small number of surnames. It is hoped, however, that the foregoing account of the family of Vaughan of Golden Grove, though by no means devoid of faults, will be found sufficiently full and substantially correct to form a slight offering to the memory of those who once held high position and wealth in Wales, and who, though, perhaps, their estates are now in the hands of a wiser race, ought not to pass away entirely unnoticed in the page of history.

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Kensington. August 1880.

Note.—We have a more detailed statement of the descent of Isabel, wife of Sir Giles Capel, in Harleian MS. 1041, where she is recorded as the second daughter and coheiress of Thomas Cradoc or Newton by his second wife Elianor, daughter of Lord Daubeny. The father of Thomas was Sir John; and his mother, Isabel, daughter and heiress of Sir John Cheddar, Knt.; Sir John being son of Sir Richard by Emma, daughter of Thomas Perrot of Haroldstone, son of John by Margaret, daughter of Howel Moythe, son of John Cradoc, of Newton, by Nest, daughter of Sir Peter Russell, Knt., son of Robert by Margery, daughter of Sir Nicholas Sherbewell, Knt., of Mangle (*erm.*, three lozenges *sa.*), son of John by Joane, daughter of Elidr Ddy, son of William, son of Sir Wilcock of Newton, son of Cradog, son of Howel, by Gwenllian Gethin, daughter of Lord Rhys gryg, son of Gronwy ab Rhytherch ab Criadog ab Jestyn ab Owen ab Howel Ddha.

STOKESAY.

At the northern entrance of the valley, through which the river Onny winds its way, stands the ancient fortified mansion of Stokesay. To the east rises a steep hill, on the summit of which may be traced the remains of an extensive and very perfect Saxon or British camp; and to the west, a corresponding cliff, called Weo Edge, the lower slopes of which are covered with a holly forest of great age; while the crest, composed of the rock known to geologists as the Aymestry Limestone, presents the appearance of a line of rugged time-worn battlements.

The lover of the picturesque will not easily find a fairer scene than that presented by the grey old ruin, especially when the sun setting over the Holly Park lights up its moss grown tower and gables. But to the antiquary, it is replete with suggestive thoughts and instruction as to the life and habits of the middle ages. For here was the home of one of those lords of the marches, who, in the time of the first Edward, held this border land under a stern feudal rule; and who had frequently to repel the attacks of the as yet unconquered Welsh.

And yet, that this building was originally intended to be a castle or stronghold is not at once apparent. Its site at the foot of high hills would have rendered it insecure even in times of more imperfect engines of warfare than we now possess; besides, the gables and mullioned windows of the principal hall are more suggestive of domestic life than of war. On the other hand, the tower and the moat bespeak a troubled time, when its owners found it expedient to strengthen their dwelling against attack. A further examination of its different parts, as well as what can be ascertained of its history, tends to confirm this view of its composite nature. Stokesay is an almost unique specimen of a

mansion of the thirteenth century, fortified subsequently to the erection of the domestic portion of it. It combines in itself associations not only of the peaceful daily life of its inmates, but of that eventful time when this border land was the scene of forays and bloodshed; and, happily, preserved with very little alteration through the chances and changes which have levelled so many other similar structures of that early date, it presents to the archæologist and historian many features of peculiar interest.

The first objects which will arrest attention on visiting Stokesay Castle, are the gatehouse and the moat. The latter surrounds the whole building, and has a depth of six feet, and an average breadth of twenty-two feet. There can be little doubt that it was once much deeper. A few years ago, the rubbish with which it was partly filled was carefully examined, and a few curiosities were discovered.[1] The moat was supplied from a pool which still exists on the west of the building; and this, by a small stream which ultimately flows into the Onny.

The gatehouse, which has probably replaced the original drawbridge, is a fine example of a Tudor

[1] These are now to be seen in a case in one of the rooms of the Castle; they consist of a few coins of Nuremburg, one of Henry III, the token of a London spectacle maker, a fragment of fine china, a broken falcon's bell, and lastly, a stone implement the use of which is by no means easy to determine; in shape it resembles a hammer, in the centre is a large hole, with a groove deeply cut in its interior, and round the edge are six holes; though a seventh, less distinctly marked than the others, may also be observed. A somewhat similar instrument, in a more perfect state, was not long ago discovered near Cleobury Mortimer. In a memoir on Yorkshire dials, recently published by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, the author, referring to the oval stone found at Stokesay, considered it to have been a portable dial, of which the six holes in the margin answer to the Saxon divisions of time, *uhta*, *morgen*, *undern*, *nón*, *án*, and *œfen*, and that the central hole received the gnomon. Mr. A. Gore, however, suggests that if the seventh hole be included in the number of those found in the Stokesay stone, both of them may rather have been used in the construction of a musical instrument, since they would thus represent the seven strings required for that purpose.

"black and white" building. Its timbers, hoary with age and stained by the rains of three hundred winters, are still in excellent preservation, and in many parts are richly carved. Over the ample archway which runs through its centre are displayed the figures of Adam and Eve, the serpent and the forbidden fruit; while at each corner of the house are massive oaken corbels, of which the carving is very bold and masterly, each of the four being different in design. In the last century this gatehouse was often the resort of an outlaw, who, when forgery was a capital crime, successfully eluded capture by secreting himself in a small room entered by a trap door.

On the side of the hall next the courtyard are three lofty and well-proportioned windows, mullioned and transomed, finished with trefoils above, with a circular aperture between the heads; excellent specimens of Early English tracery. Grooves running round the upper part were evidently intended for the insertion of permanent sashes. The lower divisions have, instead of grooves, holes sunk in the stone to admit iron bars, and were supplied with shutters or moveable sashes. Before the twelfth century, glass was a luxury only known to the wealthiest persons and on exceptional occasions; and at other times it was the custom to stow away the window-frames for future use. A similar arrangement to the above may be seen in the windows of the fine Abbot's Refectory at Haughmon Abbey.

To the left, a short flight of stone steps leads to the solar or withdrawing room; and parallel with them, overhead, an original ledge projecting from the wall indicates that there was a covered way to protect those who passed from the hall to the solar.

The courtyard was, evidently, once surrounded by a strong parapet, pierced for crossbows or fire-arms, of which the only portion remaining is a few feet abutting on the tower; in the upper part of this may be seen an embrasure, similar to those above.

On entering the hall, the eye is at once struck by its

excellent proportions and its height. Its length is 53 feet 4 inches, its breadth 31 feet 5 inches, and its height to the roof-tree 34 feet. The massive beams or sweeps which support the roof are arched, springing from brackets of unusual length, which rest on Early English stone corbels, not more than 7 feet from the floor. On each side of the hall are the windows of which the tracery has been already described. Five of these have seats, while those at the northern end are of only half length, and that over the principal entrance has been built up. There is no appearance that the upper part of the hall, as was usually the case, was provided with a raised platform or daïs, and the fact that an original doorway at this end is on a level with the rest of the floor is inconsistent with such a structure. There may, of course, have been a temporary one. At 14 feet from the southern end, and midway between the sides, is an octagonal pavement, on which stood a brazier, the only provision for a fire in this apartment. The beams of the roof above are blackened with smoke, for which no chimney was provided. Everything about the place recalls the mediæval baronial hall, its rude banquets and wassail; and we seem almost to hear the voices of those long passed away, with which these old walls resounded.

At the northern end of the hall, a short flight of steps leads downward into an apartment, which is probably the most ancient part of the building. The very narrow loopholes show that it was intended for defence. In a projection of this is a well, which was until a few years ago nearly filled up, but has since been cleared out. The rubbish which it contained yielded but few objects of interest; and seemed to consist largely of the debris of countless dinners, including among other bones, a boar's head and deer's skull, and a pair of roebuck's horns. It is 15 feet deep, and has two lateral openings at the bottom, terminating in the moat. On its walls are traces of some rude arabesque ornamentations in a red colour, with, in two places, the Tudor rose

and portcullis. Around the top ran a design in which birds appear in various attitudes. But little of this now remains, and these details are taken from some sketches made several years ago by Mrs. Stackhouse Acton.

Returning up the steps into the hall, we next observe an original staircase, constructed of solid baulk, cut through diagonally. This leads, on the first floor, to an apartment which again opens into another. These go by the name of the priest's rooms. The floor of the innermost is laid with a number of ancient tiles, arranged, however, without plan; many of them were evidently portions of coats of arms. On several the device of a centaur and an archer with a long bow figures. But little change seems to have been made in these rooms from their original state, except in the insertion of an ogee window, the others being of a lancet form.

Ascending the staircase to the upper storey, we enter an irregularly shaped, well-lighted apartment of about 25 by 30 feet, which was at one time divided into several rooms. In this is a fine example of an early English fireplace with side pillars, down each of which runs a rib. A wooden frame, resting on corbels, which once supported a hood, still remains, though the upper part of the structure has disappeared. The floor of this room partly rests on brackets projecting from the walls, and it is thus of greater size than those below.

Descending the staircase, we pass from the hall at its southern end, through a square-headed trefoil doorway, characteristic of Edwardian architecture, into two small apartments, wainscoted and furnished with cupboards, which would seem to have been store-rooms. From these, steps lead to a cellar below, and a passage terminating in the wall of the tower. Above these rooms, and approached by an external flight of stone steps, over which was the awning already referred to, is the handsome solar. It is remarkable that a somewhat similar arrangement of steps, protecting roof, and door, with flat trefoiled arch, is found at Aydon Castle in North-

umberland. The tracery of the windows of the room in which we suppose ourselves now to stand is similar to those of the hall, and they are furnished with seats. The lower part of that next the court is cut off below to correspond to the covered way which was outside. A small lancet window at its side is now walled up, while an ogee was added, probably to obtain a view of the gateway, which was lost when the others were closed. Two very small windows furnished with shutters open into the great hall, evidently to enable its occupants to keep an eye on the proceedings of those who were carousing there.

The remains of elaborate wainscoting still line the walls of this room; and even some of the colour and gilding with which it was enriched may be seen. But the chief object which will command attention is the magnificent chimney-piece of oak. This is probably of the time of James I or Charles I, and is an excellent specimen of the style of carving then in vogue. Five pilasters, formed of grotesque figures, three female and two male, enclose four compartments, in the innermost of which are two masks of very quaint design. The strap scroll work surrounding them is extremely rich and florid. The whole rests on a plain but massive stone arch, and, curiously enough, this heavy structure is entirely supported by beams of wood beneath, which has led to the suspicion that a fireplace did not form part of the original design. A narrow passage, corresponding to the store-rooms below, extends from this room to the wall of the tower, where it terminates.

This apartment was doubtless the chief resort of the later tenants of the castle, one of whom was Sir Samuel Baldwyn. He held the house on a long lease from Lord Craven, and seems to have been a gentleman of cultivation. Dugdale, in his diary, gives a letter from Sir Symon Archer, in which he mentions that his son-in-law, Mr. Younge, "lying at Stoke as he rod the circuit", saw "a book of armes of the gentlemen of Shropshire finely tricked out", which Mr. Baldwyn was

copying—perhaps in this very drawing-room, which not improbably owes its decoration to his taste. An account in a curious old MS. of a visit to Stoke about 1730 mentions this room, hung with several pictures. "Theodoric Vernon, *alias* Vernon with the red hand, *alias* the proud Vernon, with a gold chain about his neck with a medal at the bottom." The picture of Charles the First and of "the proud Vernon" is still in existence. The same manuscript also mentions the following shields as displayed in this room. Baldwyn quartering Wigly—Childe of Kinlet—Ashley and Holland. These were probably the quarterings of Sir Samuel Baldwyn. He died in 1683, and his monument in the Temple Church styles him as of Stoke Castle. Another shield is thus described: "Crest, an oak issuing out of a coronet. Quarterly 1st and 3rd, *gules*, three cinquefoils *ermine;* 2nd and 4th, *argent*, a ship *sable*. A coronet and garter with the motto *honi soit*, etc. Supporters, two unicorns." These were probably the arms of James, Duke of Hamilton, who was a patron of Charles Baldwyn. The other arms were—Powis quartering Littleton of Henly, and Talbot of Worfield impaling Shelton of Broadway. Sir S. Baldwyn and Lord Craven were both staunch Royalists, and were fined by the Long Parliament.[1]

To resume our investigation of the building. The first floor of the tower is entered by a wooden way extending from the top of the steps which led to the drawing-room, but an archway on the basement between two massive buttresses opens into an apartment of the same size and shape below. There are several indications that originally a kind of drawbridge connected the door with the steps just mentioned. Large beams built into the walls above have been cut

[1] In the same book a pen and ink sketch is given of one of the coats of arms which adorned the windows, and at the present time a fragment of glass exists in a window of Munslow Church representing the Ludlow arms (*or*, a lion rampant *sable*), which there is reason to believe was a portion of that which once filled the circular aperture of the Stokesay window.

off flush with it, and a moulding higher up was evidently part of some structure of the kind which has since disappeared. The plan of the interior of the tower at first appears somewhat irregular, but further examination shows that it is formed, as it were, of two octagonal towers placed side by side. Owing to the thickness of the walls (6 feet), the angles within and without do not correspond. Each floor is furnished with a large fireplace, the flues of which terminate in two cylindrical chimneys on the parapet. A stair, included in the thickness of the wall, leads from floor to floor, and to the roof, and is so constructed as to be entirely on the side next the court. Each of the rooms is lighted by lancet windows, with seats. On the second floor is a door, of which the hinges still remain, although the aperture has been almost built up. It is not easy to assign its object, except that it was used to hoist materials which could not be readily carried up by the narrow stair, and which would be required for the defence of the building. The battlements on the roof consist of large embrasures alternating with loop-holes adapted for the use of the cross-bow, all of which originally had shutters. Holes in the masonry overhead were inserted for the erection of an awning to ward off the missiles which the catapult would shower on the heads of the defenders. A short flight of steps on the northern side leads to a small watch-tower.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that Stokesay Castle consists of three tolerably distinct parts; a tower at the north end, of which the top is now covered with a comparatively modern wooden structure; the hall, with its solar or drawing-room; and the great tower on the south. Of these, the only portion of which the date of its erection can be clearly traced is the last. Any attempt to fix the order in which the others were built must rest on inferences drawn from their plan, and from the history of the families who have from time to time occupied the building.

The Domesday record is silent as to the existence of any other houses at "Stokes", as it was then called, than those of a miller and a keeper of bees. Honey, before the introduction (by the Crusaders, it is said) of sugar, was much used for the production of mead and other condiments, and its mention suggests at least the contiguity of a mansion where it would be in request.

From the date of Domesday to 1241, with the exception of two intervals of forfeiture in the reigns of William II and of John, the De Lacys held this and many other manors around it directly from the King (*in capite*), but it is not probable that they ever resided here, since Ludlow Castle, which was partly built by them, and Stanton Lacy, would naturally be their chief abode. About 1115, however, the De Says were enfeoffed at Stoke by De Lacy. Their ancestor, Picot de Sai, so called from Sez, a place about nine miles west of Exmes in Normandy, had fought at Hastings among the followers of William I. Five of this family in succession, Theodoric, Helias I, Helias II, Robert, and Hugh, the last three being brothers, are named in connection with the manor; and it is not unlikely that the place to which they have given their name was also their residence. If such were the case, it is probable that the north tower, or rather what remains of it, formed a portion of that house. There are, as has already been observed, many indications that it formed no part of the design which included the hall. A reference to the ground plan shows that it is in no way uniform with the latter, and it has even been united to it by a wall on the west side, which was built subsequently to its erection; the level of the floors in the two do not correspond, and a string-course which surrounds the hall and southern tower here stops suddenly; its masonry is of a much ruder kind, and bears marks of greater antiquity, and the loopholes with which it is furnished are quite unlike any other windows in the building. Altogether, these facts lead strongly to the inference that its erection belongs to

an earlier period than any other part, and if so, it would almost certainly be a portion of the original dwelling of the De Says.

In 1240, the last of the line of De Lacys died at an advanced age, and blind, after an eventful and chequered life, and his estates were divided between his two sons-in-law, Peter de Geneva, who married his daughter Matilda, and John de Verdun, who married her younger sister Margaret; and to the latter fell Stokesay with other manors. He held it *in capite*, although he owed the service of two knights due at Ludlow Castle, and one knight in ward of Montgomery Castle. At the time John de Verdun thus came into possession of the manor, Hugh de Say was feoffee; but shortly after, that is about 1240, he effected an exchange with de Verdun. Alienating all, or nearly all his property, he settled in Ireland, where other members of his family already enjoyed considerable possessions, and where many traces of their existence may be found in the Patent Rolls and other Records. It would thus appear that John de Verdun became, about this time, closely connected with the place. He has left, however, but few direct traces of his occupancy. He is registered in the Inquisition of 1255 as Lord of Stokesay, Newton and Wetleton, the two latter being members of the manor, and in 1270 he conveyed to Philip de Whichecote his manor of Stokesay, for a term of three years; which afterwards, with certain reservations, became a life interest, in consideration of the sum of £24, to be paid by Philip to him, the grantor, though the manor was at this time valued at £26 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.

John de Verdun died in 1274, and was succeeded by his son Theobald, who also held the manor *in capite*, and during his tenure it was conveyed to Lawrence de Ludlow. At this time, Reginald de Grey appears as feoffee, and not Philip de Whichecote; and in the feodary of 1284, Lawrence de Ludlow is said "to hold the Vill of Stokesay for one knight's fee, under John

de Grey, which John held it under Theobald de Verdun, who held of the king."[1]

How long the De Verduns held this intermediate position between the feoffee and the king does not appear; but, in 1290-1, Lawrence de Ludlow, who, from a Royal Charter of 1281, appears to have been now in full possession of Stokesay, obtained the following patent to enable him to fortify his house, and this fixes the date of the erection of the southern tower :—

Pro. Laurencio de Ludelawe.—Rex omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos &c. salutem Sciatis quod concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilecto nobis Laurencio de Lodelawe. Quod ipse mansum suum de Stoke Say in comitate Salopiæ muro de petra et calce firmare et kernellare et illud sic firmatum et kernallatum tenere possit sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum sine occasione nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque In cujus T. Rex apud Hereford XIX die Octobr. (*Patent Roll of the nineteenth year of Edward the First, m.* 2.)

A question here arises as to whether the hall was not erected before the tower. It has been observed that the tracery of the windows at Acton Burnell, (which was certainly built in 1284, that is, seven years before the tower at Stoke) though very like that of those in Stokesay Hall, is of a more florid description, which affords in itself a presumption in favour of the earlier date of the latter building. Moreover, that a considerable house was in existence here before 1290 is rendered very probable, from the fact that in that year Bishop Swinfield, with a great retinue, made this his resting place on a tour through his diocese. A curious docu-

[1] In a suit previously instituted between de Ludlow, as plaintiff, and John de Grey, son of Reginald, as Impedient, the former, in acknowledgment of de Grey's rights, was said to give a sore sparrow hawk. An instance of peculiar tenure occurs in a previous document in which "Elias de Say, with the consent of Amicia his wife, gives to Andrew Fitz Milo of Ludlow, for his homage service, and for 23 merks, the mill of Stoke and Wetelington, with suit of his men, and a messuage and meadow to hold in fee for the rent of one pound of pepper."

ment by his chaplain, John de Kemesey, setting forth the Bishop's expenses, was discovered some years ago in the library at Stanford Court in Worcestershire, the seat of Sir Thos. Winnington, and has been published by the Camden Society, in which the following entry occurs :—

|| 1290.
|| Stokesay || on Thursday at Stoke de Say, Ap. 27.
In bread 3*s.* 2*d.*
2 Sextaries of wine 2*s.* 8*d.*
Ale 5*s.*
Item 1 pig (or porker) already accounted for.
Beef and pork 16*d.*
2 calves 22*d.*
3 kids 10*d.*
2 pigs
10 capons } a present.
5 fowls
And out of them remains 1 pig.
Bread 2*d.*
Hay given by Master R. de Heyton.[1]
Item 2 quarters 5 bushels of oats for 35 horses, given by the Lord Abbot of Haughmond.
Carriage of the hay 2*d.*
Alms for several days 12*d.*
Sum 16*s.* 2*d.*

The foregoing considerations, as well as the general opinion of archæologists, among whom may be mentioned Mr. Hudson Turner, Mr. Blore, and Mr. Parker, that the character of the architecture is of an earlier date than that of the tower, render it probable that when John de Verdun came into possession of this manor, which, as we have seen, he did in 1240, he erected this hall, and that the only part of the original mansion of the De Says which he left standing, was the lower part of the northern tower.

During the troubled reign of Henry III, de Verdun was active on the king's side; and, being one of the Lords Marchers, he, and several others, were ordered

[1] Master Richard de Heyton had previously entertained the Bishop at Staunton Lacy.

to reside on their estates, to check the incursions of the Welsh. In the 54th of Henry III (1270) "he was signed with the Cross, together with Prince Edward, in order to a voiage to the Holy Land, where he went accordingly".—(*Bishop Baldwyn's Travels*). Most probably the arrangements with Phillip de Whichecote, already mentioned, whereby the latter became undertenant at Stoke, and which took place in the same year, had some relation to this event.

For 207 years from the time when Lawrence de Ludlow was recognised as Lord of Stokesay, no event of any great interest in connection with the place has been recorded. Ten generations of de Ludlow held the manor, and this branch of the family ended in coheiresses. In 1497 one of these, Anne, daughter of John Ludlowe, married Thomas Vernon, son of Sir Richard Vernon (of Haddon, in Derbyshire, and Hodnett in Shropshire), and received Stokesay as her portion.[1]

Of Lawrence de Ludlow, who was now the recognized Lord of Stokesay, not much information has been obtained. His name occurs as one of the attestors of a few deeds belonging to the corporation of Ludlow. He would seem, as Mr. Eyton remarks, to have been one of those prosperous merchants who have risen to opulence through their enterprise,—one of the first of that numerous order which has so largely contributed to the greatness of England. This remark is founded on the fact that in 1292 he got into trouble with the burgesses of Ludlow, his native town, by selling cloth contrary to the assize; which affords grounds for thinking that the wealth which enabled him to rise to the position of an important land-owner, and the founder of a great and powerful family, was acquired in busi-

[1] According to the Vernon pedigree and other pedigrees in *Hen. Vis. Shropshire*, 1623, Anne, daughter and co-heiress of John Ludlow, married Thomas Vernon, second son of Sir Henry Vernon, of Haddon, and brother of Sir Richard Vernon, of Haddon and Hodnet.

ness. There are other evidences, says Mr. Eyton, that at this period the trade of Ludlow was very prosperous; but it was not till the reign of Edward I that mercantile wealth could be thus readily exchanged for territorial importance.

Mr. Vernon was living here when Leland visited Shropshire. He thus mentions Stoke, which he passed on his way from Ludlow to Bishopscastle. "There is a pratty stone bridge over Oney a little above Bromfield, and there is alsoe a bridge of stone over Oney at Whishter, two miles above Bromfield, and above this Mr. Vernon hath a place not far from Oney. Almost four miles from Ludlo, in the way betwixt Ludlo and Bishop's Castle, Stokesay belonging to the Ludlowes, now the Vernons, builded like a castell." Again he says: "The white grey Friars at Ludlow, a fayre and costly thinge, stood without Corvegate by North; one Ludlow, a knight, Lord of Stoke Castle or Pyle towards Bishop's Castle, was original founder of it. Vernon, by an heir general, is now owner of Stoke." There is an inaccuracy here, since Stokesay is seven, and not four miles from Ludlow.

Mr. Vernon was Sheriff of Shropshire, 16 Henry VIII, was involved in a dispute with the burgesses of Shrewsbury, which lasted several years and proved very expensive to both parties. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who died in 1570, and Stokesay was sold to Sir George Mainwaring, of Hampton, and Sir Arthur Mainwaring of Ightfield, by whom in 1616 it was conveyed by a family settlement to Sir Thomas Baker, and Sir Richard Francis, together with the manor and advowson of Onibury, Staunton Lacy, and Wistanstow, all of which were resold in 1620 to Dame Elizabeth Craven, and William Craven, her son. She was the widow of Sir William Craven, Knt., Alderman of London, and the daughter of William Whitmore, Esq., of Apley, and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Acton.

His eldest son, who thus became Lord of Stoke, is described as "one of the most accomplished gentlemen

in Europe, an useful subject, charitable, abstemious as to himself, generous to others, familiar in his conversation, and universally beloved." He was a gallant soldier, and distinguished himself in Germany and the Netherlands under Henry Prince of Orange when only seventeen, and on his return he was first knighted at Newmarket, March 4th, 1626, and in March following was created Lord Craven of Hampstead Marshall, co. Bucks.

The following is the title of a poem dedicated to him by a writer of the day, and is a curious specimen of the bombastic style then in vogue. "Mischief's masterpiece or Treason's masterie; the Powder Plot, invented by hellish malice and prevented by Heavenly mercy, translated and dilated by John Vicars, dedicated to Sir William Craven, Knt., and others, because they are high-topt cedars of Lebanon, Chief Magistrates of the famous City of London, and pious professors of Christ's veritie."

Lord Craven took an active part in the disastrous enterprise to place Frederick, the Elector Palatine, on the throne of Bohemia, was taken prisoner in 1637 with Prince Rupert, and was only released on the payment of a ransom of £20,000. He had, besides this, spent £50,000 in assisting the Royal Family of England during the Civil War and in their exile. The story of his life is full of romantic interest. His admiration for the beautiful but unhappy Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and wife of the Elector, who was, in the chivalric language of the day, called the Queen of Hearts, led him to sacrifice his means and adventure his life in her cause. When the kingdom of Bohemia was gone, and the Queen had lost her husband and many of her children, and was almost without the means to obtain the necessaries of life, Lord Craven continued her friend and adviser. But the only portion of his once princely estate, which remained after his fines and forfeiture, was Combe Abbey in Warwickshire, which, in former years he had purchased, from,

it is said, a romantic desire to possess the place where Elizabeth had passed her happy childhood. On his return to England he was received with great distinction by Charles II, and was created Earl of Craven and Viscount Uffington. In 1661 Elizabeth also returned to England; her nephew Charles showed little sympathy for her; but Lord Craven had provided a home for her, having purchased Drury House at the corner of Drury Lane (a few years before described as a "deep, foul, and dangerous road,") which he rebuilt, and gave to it the name of Craven House, and which she occupied till her death in February 1662. He not only saved her from dependence on her selfish nephew, but he gave a further instance of his romantic devotion to the widowed Queen, by preparing another abode for her at Hampstead Marshall, which was to be built in imitation of Heidelberg, the scene of her early married life.

Lord Craven afterwards resided chiefly at Combe Abbey, where are several portraits of him, as also of the Queen of Bohemia, and of all her children. He never married, and closed his useful life on the 9th of April, 1697, aged 88. On his death, his titles and estates passed to a cousin of the same name.

During Lord Craven's absence from England, Stokesay was let on a long lease, which has only recently expired, to Charles Baldwyn, Esq., of Elsick, and his heirs. During the civil wars, it was held by Sir Samuel Baldwyn, the son of this gentleman, and was garrisoned for the King. At this time, it had a narrow escape from the fate which has befallen so many other buildings of the kind.

The following account of this event is copied from a quaint old work, entitled, *The Burning Bush not Consumed,* by John Vickers.

"There was drawn out of this garrison (Shrewsbury) by order of the Committee 500 foot and 300 horse, being part of Colonel Mackworth's regiment, and part of Colonel Lloyd's regiment. Our forces marched within five miles of Ludlow, the design

being to reduce that part of the country, and to secure it by placing garrisons there to block up Ludlow. With a party of horse they viewed Holgate and Braincroft (Broncroft) Castles, both of which the enemy had demolished, notwithstanding they placed the Lord Colvine in Braincroft Castle, and fell to repaire and fortify it. In the interim they sent Lieutenant Riveling to view Stokesay, a garrison of the enemy. The place was considerable, therefore the next morning we drew up to it, and summoned it, but the Governor, Captain Dawrett, refused; whereupon we prepared for a storm, and being ready to fall to, we gave a second summons, which was hearkened unto, a party admitted, and it is now garison'd for us. One of these castles commands Corve Dale, a rich and varied country; the other secures Stretton Dale; so that Ludlow is now blockt up on this side, and hath only Hereford to rainge in."

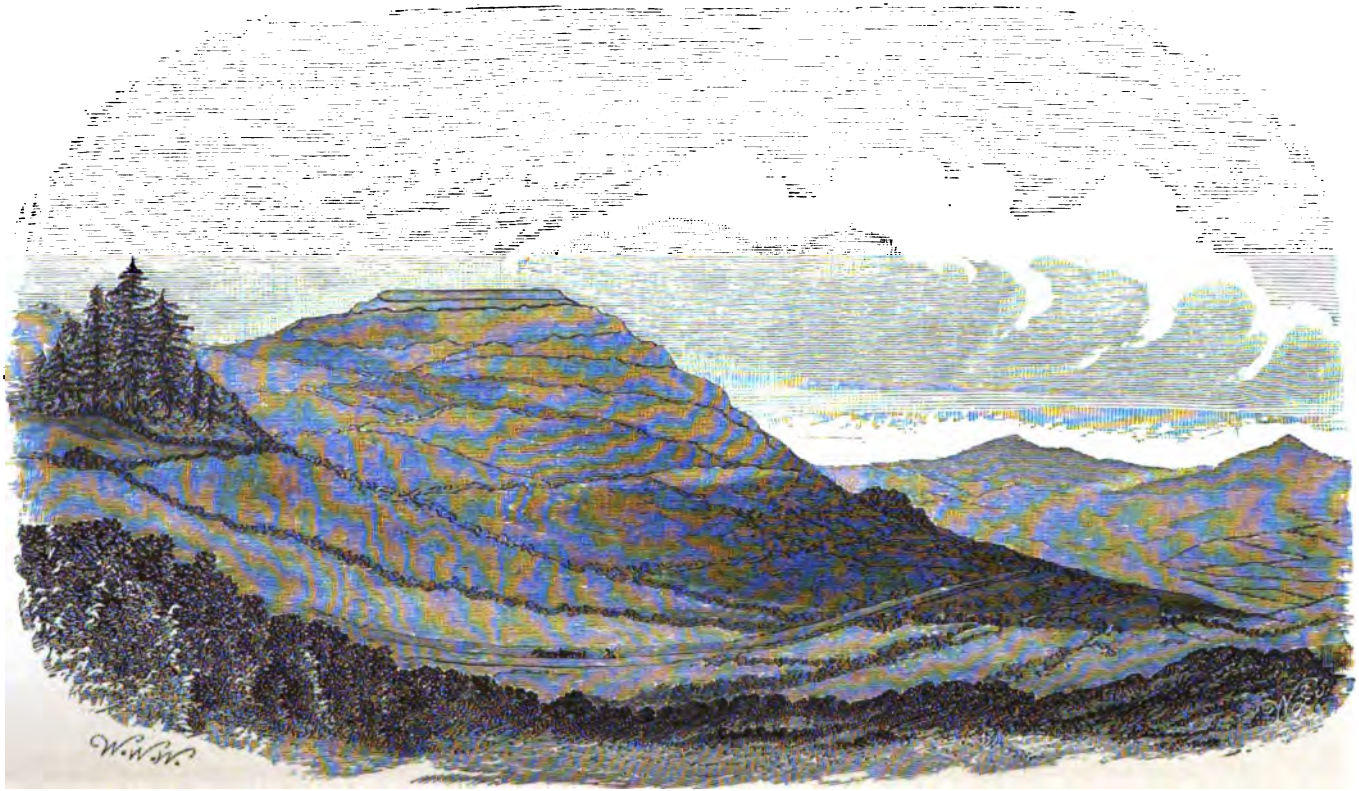
Whatever may be thought of Captain Dawrett's valour, his discretion deserves the admiration and gratitude of all who value Stokesay, which otherwise would now be a pile of ruins.

After the foregoing occurrence, Sir Michael Woodhouse, then Governor of Ludlow, appears to have made an effort to raise the siege of that place. Procuring assistance from the other loyal garrisons in the neighbourhood, he advanced against Broncroft. In the meantime, a party from Stokesay marched to Wistanstow, in hopes of meeting reinforcements from Shrewsbury, which, however, did not arrive; and, contrary to their expectations, they found the enemy hastening from Corve Dale to besiege Stoke, "judging it of more consequence." An engagement ensued, which is mentioned in most of the newspapers of that day, though with much incorrectness as to its site and circumstances. John Vicars, in the work already quoted, says that "We slew near to 100 on the place, took above 300 common soldiers, about 60 officers and gentlemen, and all their ordnance and baggage, and 4 barrels of powder, a good quantity of match and bullets, 100 horse. Some gentlemen of quality were slain, these being most of the gallantry of Herefordshire. In the action, Sir William Croft, the best headpiece and

activest man in that county, was slain, the Governor of Monmouth and Ludlow hardly escaped, Sir Michael Woodhouse, his horse being taken."

From the tower of Stokesay may be seen, on the opposite side of the valley, at the foot of Norton Camp, a group of farm buildings surrounded by green meadows. A few years ago, when the foundations of these buildings were being laid, the workmen came upon a number of human skeletons, doubtless the ghastly relics of that bloody fray. Near this spot, an ancient but now unused road, deeply worn into the side of the hill, may still be traced from the farmhouse to the bank of the river, which must have here been crossed by a ford. Close by are the remains—a bit of stone wall and a pavement—of the mill referred to in Domesday and in several other records of the manor. This road is in a direct line between Corvedale and Stokesay, and is that by which a troop advancing from Broncroft to the latter place would naturally come. There can be little doubt that it was here the party who had been reconnoitering up the Stretton Valley encountered and defeated their enemies, and that in this now peaceful spot most of the "gallantry of Herefordshire", with Sir William Croft at their head, then met their doom.

After the Civil Wars Stokesay was, with many other castles, ordered to be "slighted" or rendered incapable of defence. In most cases, this order was carried out ruthlessly; but in this instance it was apparently considered sufficient to remove the battlements of the northern tower and the parapets round the court, and to leave the rest intact. Possibly to the influence of Sir Samuel Baldwyn, who resided here about this time, and who appears to have taken much interest in the old house, and to have been a person of taste and refinement, we owe its preservation; and it is not unlikely that he had the timber rooms, which now present so quaint and picturesque an appearance, built on what remained of the northern tower.



CAER CREINI.

From that time to the present, Stokesay, like those kingdoms which are said to be happy in having no history, has had an uneventful career. At one time, indeed, it had become a mere out-building to the neighbouring farm-house, and was fast falling into a dilapidated state; but Lord Craven was induced to allow the repairs necessary for its preservation to be carried out, and put an end to its further desecration. Since then the old mansion has, with all the surrounding property, passed into the possession of Mr. Allcroft, who, at very considerable expense, and with much judgment, has put it into an excellent state of repair.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing the deep obligation I am under to the late Mrs. Stackhouse Acton, for the assistance she rendered me in its preparation. Whatever value it may possess is entirely due to the materials which she, for many years, collected with great care and industry, and which she kindly placed at my disposal.

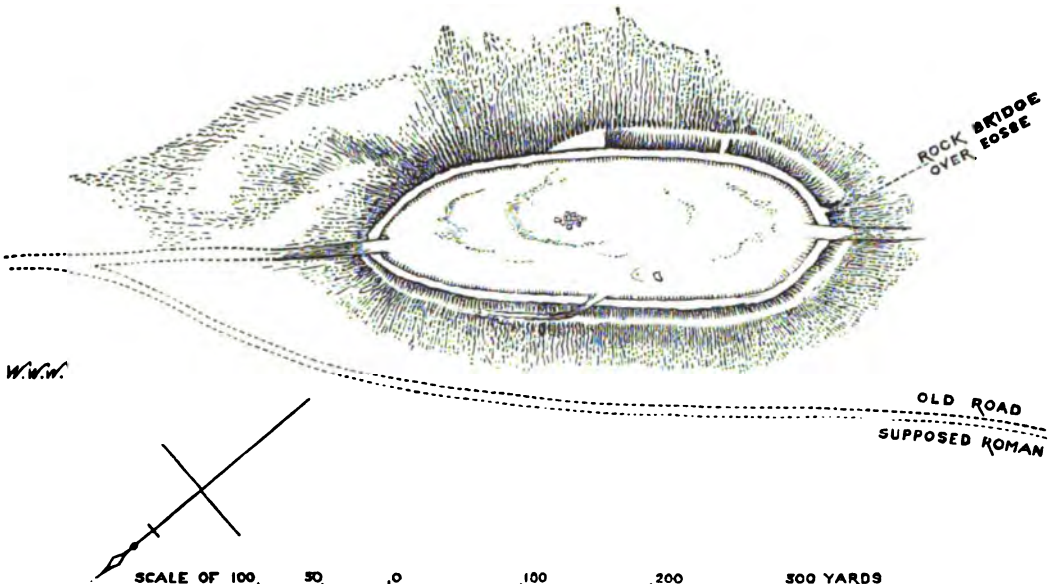
CAER-CREINI.

THE most direct road from Bala to Corwen passes through a small hamlet called Bethel, distant from which, at a point about a mile to the north-east, is situated the entrenched camp marked "Y Gaer" on the Ordnance Map, but more commonly spoken of in the neighbourhood as Caer-Creini or Caer-Crwni. An old road passes a little to the north of it, and in all probability follows, for part of its course, one of the "Sarnau" giving title to the village of that name, and which may have joined the line connecting Caer-gai, near Llanuwchlyn, with Pen-y-gaer, near Ceryg-y-drudion, from whence four Roman roads diverge. (See *Arch. Camb.*, vol. v, 3rd Series, p. 129.) Its course, however, is now nearly obliterated by agricultural operations, excepting where it goes over the hill of Cefn-Creini to the west.

The name is variously spelt as Caereuni, Caerau-Crwyni; and in historical notices relating to many of the parishes in Merionethshire, in the autograph of Ed. Lhuyd, quoted by Mr. Wynne of Peniarth in *Arch. Camb.*, No. VII, p. 278, Kaer-Kyreini. Another old spelling, taken from the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 864, (reprint, 1870), is Cerwyni, as in the subjoined line, given there as a proverb, "Lladd Maer Caer ar gevn Cerwyni" (the killing of the Mayor of Chester on Cefn Cerwyni). To what, if any, historical event this refers, it is now impossible to say, although it would imply that the main road from Chester to these parts, along which this unfortunate magistrate travelled, then followed the ridge of Cefn-Creini; unless, indeed, proverbially, it may point to the improbability of any Mayor of Chester going so far from home as to risk being slain in such an out-of-the-way place.

Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, as quoted (from Mr. Evans' collection) in *Arch. Camb.*, No. III, New Series, July 1850, p. 204, says of it: "In the parish of Llanndderfel there is a mountain called Cefn Crwyni, about whereof is a great military trench."

Accompanying a letter from Mr. John Lloyd to Eddward Lhuyd, printed from the collection of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., in *Arch. Camb.*, vol. ii, New Series, 1851, p. 54, there is given, on a small scale, a ground-plan of the fortification, for the most part correct. He says: "3 miles further" (*i.e.*, than Tommen-y-Castell, which he has just been describing), "upon ye top of a larg mountain called Cefn Corwuni-Crwnni" (two new spellings), "or more commonly Creini by ye neighbours, we meet with a larg fortification above 300 paces in length, and ab^{t} 80 in breadth. I mentioned this before, and Mr. Thelwall's conjecture y^{t} it was f^{m} one Corvinus, a Roman, f^{m} w^{m} likewise Castell Dinas Brân might have its name.....I will add my brother's conjecture y^{t} y^{e} mountain had its name from y^{e} Caer, viz., Cefn-Caer-Heini." After a digression he proceeds: "To give you a draught of y^{e} Caer. The entrance of the north end



PLAN OF CAER CREINI.

is 8 paces over: y^{e} ditch looking towards y^{e} vale & y^{t} towards Bala but 2 paces & a half at most. The little circles at ye entrance are so many rising 2 or 3 paces from one another. The Deliquium" (this, I suppose, refers to the abrupt ending of the fosse on the south-east side) "in ye ditch on ye one side is a steep precipice, below which lies a plowed field called Llwyn yr Erir; whether from the Roman eagle you are to judg. The two middle stones are 2 larg stones. One seems to be natural to ye place, having ye appearance of a rock hard by it, & perhaps a rock itself; ye other seems to have been removed thither. Both, I daresay, above 3 tuns in weight. The lesser gaps are occasioned by rocks wch I design'd to express by ye strokes in ye ditch by it. Beyond ye Highway ye 2 Buarthydd lie where they kept their cattle. This is one of the greatest roads in our countrey."

The enclosure is rather more pear-shaped than in his plan, being broadest towards the south-west end, and consists of an inner area 310 yards long by 60 broad, surrounded by what must have been either a kind of wall or raised breastwork; outside of which is a ditch from 10 to 14 feet deep in places, and which is carried all around, excepting for about a quarter of the distance on the south-east. There may have been entrances at the south-west and north-east ends; that is, if the present fillings up of the ditch do really represent the original entrances, which is open to doubt. Near the south-western of these a piece of rock crosses the ditch, and it may either have served as a bridge across, or else was too difficult to move; and at another point between this rock and the "deliquium" there are indications that may point to an entrance. Again, on the opposite or north side, about half way from either end, there is a kind of way leading from the interior down into the ditch, the course of which it follows to the north-east; and as there is also a break in the rampart, marked in Mr. Lloyd's plan at this point, I incline to think this may be original; but inasmuch as the entire

area at the top has been ploughed up (the ridges being plainly discernible), it is difficult at the present day to say which of the approaches really are, and which are not, of ancient date. The "little circles at ye entrance" have completely disappeared, and of the "middle stones" but one remains. No traces could I find of the large circular enclosures on the other side of the road, called by Mr. Lloyd "Buarthydd": indeed, the road itself is now barely traceable in the neighbourhood of the Caer.

Although the position is remarkably strong and well chosen, there would still be nothing to distinguish this particularly from many other fortified posts in the Principality, were it not for the partial vitrification of a portion, or at all events what is left, of the inner rampart. The Caer is alluded to in the "Archæological Notes and Queries" attached to vol. vi of the *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, p. 246, where, under the heading of "Vitrified Forts in Wales", we read, "of these curious relics Scotland claims a monopoly as regards the rest of Her Majesty's dominions in this part of the world; but it is stated by competent authority that at Caerau-Crwyni, on the most western of the roads from Corwen to Bala, are the remains of vitrified stones, to be found with little trouble just below the surface." Not only are the baked and vitrified fragments, scarcely distinguishable from the refuse of an overheated brickkiln, "to be found with little trouble", but they lie about on the surface of the ground, and numbers have rolled down to the bottom of the ditch. It may be observed that the vitrification is most observable at the south-west end of the fort, which may be accounted for either through there being a stronger draught, owing to greater exposure to the prevailing winds, or else a more thorough clearing away of the material has taken place towards the north-east end. The surrounding modern walls are filled with blocks shewing plainly enough whence they have been taken. Stuart, in his *Caledonia Romana*, when describing the Scotch examples, which he considers as "native retreats of very remote anti-

quity", supposes that accident first imparted to the builders this most enduring method of consolidating the irregular stonework of which the walls are composed; and that vitrification was attained by piling around the rampart trunks and branches of trees, and setting them on fire.

In *Arch. Camb.*, vol. vi, Third Series, p. 335, there is a short notice signed "Antiquary", quoting from the fourth volume of M. Viollet Leduc's *Dictionary of Architecture* an account of a vitrified fort to be found at Peron, in the neighbourhood of St. Brieuc. He says: "It is stated to consist of an oval enclosure composed of granite, clay, and trunks of trees; and that the vitrification seems to have been effected by covering the wall with faggots, and then setting fire to the whole. A section of the wall is given, from which it appears that first of all a vallum was made of lumps of granite mixed with trunks of trees; this was covered on the outer side by a thick stratum of clay. By the action of the burning faggots heaped over the whole, the granite has been partially fused and vitrified, while the clay has run into a solid substance firmly adhering to the agglutinated mass beneath."

It is possible that like treatment may have produced a somewhat similar effect at Caer-Creini; and if clay was required, there is an extensive bed of fine yellow clay within a short distance. I have made a careful examination of the spot, and do not hesitate to say that vitrification, such as is met with there, could only have resulted from the application of intense heat to some sandy or clayey substance. At one time I was disposed to think, in view of the fact that the baked and vitrified masses are to be seen chiefly at the end next the quarter whence the prevailing winds blow, that the effect witnessed might have been the result of an organised attempt on the part of those who attacked the fortress to drive out the occupants by means of huge fires kindled to windward; and for this purpose, all required at a particular time of year would have

been to collect heaps of heather, procurable in any quantity on the hill, set it alight, and produce a fierce flame. Still, on reflection, it appeared to me that no fire, however fierce, applied in such a way from outside, and in the open air, would suffice to cause the liquefaction visible, unless there were a large proportion of sand or clay or both present. I have examined the site of numerous hill-fires, but have found no trace of liquefaction; nothing but the partial baking and splitting of the stones; and this inclines me to think that the heat which caused such effects could not have been applied merely from the outside.

Considerable light has lately dawned upon me in regard to this matter, through reading an article in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute, No. 147, 1880, p. 227, being an account of vitrified forts on the west coast of Scotland, by Edward Hamilton, M.D., F.L.S. There, in Plates i and ii, are shewn enclosures somewhat similar in shape to Caer-Creini, but smaller. The evidence given in that paper goes strongly to prove that the Scotch examples had been purposely vitrified by the race of men who afterwards occupied them as places of defence: indeed, the interesting discovery of the method employed for the purpose at Arka Unskell, on Lochnuagh, is detailed at length, where Plate i gives a section of the wall, shewing how the building up was accomplished. And from the last examination I made of Caer-Creini, my impression is that traces of a similar arrangement are to be met with there. I say *traces* only, for so much of the rampart has been pulled to pieces, and carried away.

Professor Ramsay's account of the process whereby particular kinds of sandstone are at the present day, near Barnsley in Yorkshire, vitrified so as to become sufficiently hard to serve as metalling for the roads (quoted in the above paper from his *Physical Geography of Great Britain*), bears so much upon the point that I cannot forbear repeating his description. He says: "The stone being quarried in small slabs and

fragments, is built in a pile about 30 feet square and 12 or 13 high, somewhat loosely; and while the building is in progress, brushwood is mingled with the stones, but not in any great quantity. Two thin layers of coal about 3 inches thick, at equal distances, are, so to speak, interstratified with the sandstones, and a third layer is strewn over the top. At the bottom, facing the prevailing wind, an opening about 2 feet high is left, something like the mouth of an oven. Into this, brushwood and a little coal are put, and lighted. The fire slowly proceeds through the whole pile, and continues burning for about six weeks. After cooling, the stack is pulled down, and the stones are found to be completely vitrified; slabs originally flat have become bent and contorted like gneiss, and stones originally separate get, so to speak, glued together in the process of vitrification, aided by the soda, potash, and iron which form part of the constituents of felspar and mica, and act as a flux." He goes on to say that having in the year 1859 visited a vitrified fort called Knock-farrel, near Strathpeffer in Ross-shire, he came to the conclusion that the vitrification had been done of set purpose, and that the effect had been produced by burning wood; and he formed the opinion that the Yorkshire method of vitrification most closely resembled that used by the old fort-builders.

Knowing that the hill on which Caer-Creini stands is composed of the Denbighshire grit, I wrote to the Professor asking him whether that rock was capable of being treated in the manner he describes, and I quote his reply: "As a rule I would say that in general the Denbighshire grit might be very well adapted for the process of vitrification. It consists of silica mingled with grains of felspar, and the soda or potash in the felspar would readily assist in the general vitrification of the blocks of sandstone. I recollect nothing about the bed of clay. In all the forts (vitrified) that I have seen no mortar was used of any kind; vitrification more or less answered the purpose." This last remark

was in consequence of my having mentioned the existence of a bed of clay, and suggesting that it might have been used in the construction of the wall. "Neither do I think the fire was ever applied purposely by an enemy. The builders would, as a general rule, clear the slopes of wood adjoining the fort while piling the stones; and the wood they mixed with the stones, and fired it. This served two purposes; it vitrified the fort, and destroyed cover for the shelter or concealment of an enemy." He further remarks: "This is the first case I know of a vitrified fort south of the Tweed"; and I may also say that, to the best of my belief, this is the solitary instance existing in the Principality, although it is possible that a more careful examination, especially in out-of-the-way mountainous districts, might lead to the discovery of others.

As the matter now stands, it is curious that of these memorials of a race long since passed away, which are comparatively numerous in Scotland, there is only this example to be met with in Wales; and but one also, according to M. Viollet Leduc, is to be found in Brittany. All the connecting links seem to have vanished. Were the people originally occupying the whole country gradually driven into remote corners? Or do we see here all that remains of the work of an invading and conquering tribe which held in subjection by their superior military attainments the older inhabitants? The problem is difficult to solve; and it seems to me that the only way through which additional light may be thrown upon it would be by means of carefully conducted excavation within and around a camp of this kind, when some implement or other might be found tending to shew to what age the original builders belonged. But even here—in this instance at least—one might be misled, as it would have been a point of importance to successive races. It is pretty nearly certain that in Roman times so strong a position would be well guarded, commanding, as it did, one of their reputed lines of communication, which passed within a hundred yards or so to the north-west.

A most varied and extensive prospect is obtained from this height, comprising, when it is clear, the distant hills of Caernarvonshire and Denbighshire, and numerous points of interest in the surrounding country, so that in fine weather it is a delightful place to visit; but when the bitter wind of winter whirls past with eddying clouds of blinding sleet, it is so terribly exposed that there is great difficulty in keeping one's footing; and a permanent residence on such a spot must have been trying even to the very hardy mountaineers who, we may suppose, were the first builders and occupiers of the fort.

W. WYNN WILLIAMS.

Menaifron. August 1881.

SCHOLASTIC FERULE FOUND IN MELVERLEY CHURCH.

(*Reprinted from the "Montgomeryshire Collections", Oct.* 1881, *vol. xiv, p.* 331.)

ABOUT two years ago, when Melverley Church was being restored, a somewhat curious and rare object was found therein. Melverley is an old timber-wattled church, and the instrument in question was discovered lying on one of the pieces of timber forming part of the framework of the building, within the wattle-work, and it seemed as if it had been hid there.

The parish of Melverley is singularly situate at the junction of the Vyrnwy with the Severn, being bounded by the latter river on its south and westerly boundary, and by the former river on its northerly boundary. It is on the English side of these rivers, and therefore locally in Shropshire; but it is doubtful whether it has always been deemed to be in England. With reference to its ecclesiastical *status*, it is within the diocese of St. Asaph; and Browne Willis, in his *Survey of St.*

Asaph,[1] expressly states that "it was antiently a chapel to Llandrinio", and on his authority we should rely; and we think it probable that at one time it was in the gift of the rector of Llandrinio, as Buttington is in that of Welshpool. Llandrinio and Melverley are both in the diocese of St. Asaph, and the gift of that Bishop. Melverley is mentioned in *Domesday Book;* but the *Domesday* sub-tenants were two Welshmen ("*II Walenses*"). Mr. Eyton[2] states "that Melverley Church was probably a chapel originally", of which there is no doubt; and he adds, "but an affiliation of Kinnerley"; and the Rev. Canon D. R. Thomas[3] seems to regard Melverley "as most likely an outlying portion of Kinnerley", alleging in a note, apparently as a reason, that "in the township of Tir y Coed, in Kinnerley, there are three pieces of land still belonging to this parish (Melverley)". This reason, of itself, does not shew that Melverley was part of Kinnerley. The fact that the right of presentation to Kinnerley and Melverley is in different hands, the former being in the gift of the Crown, and the latter in the gift of the Bishop of St. Asaph (in whose gift also is Llandrinio), confirms Browne Willis's express statement—no mean authority in itself—that it "was antiently a chapel to Llandrinio". We therefore conclude it can fairly be claimed as having been an outlying portion of the latter parish.

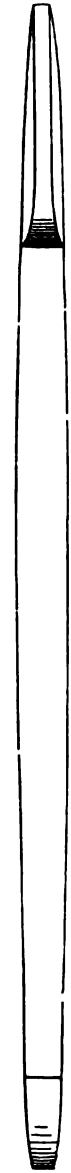
The object in question is a small wooden instrument, about a foot long, having at each end a disc; the one about two and a half inches broad, and quite plain and flat; and the other a smaller one, an inch in diameter, roughly carved on both sides with the figure of a cross. The stem is ornamented on one side, for a short distance, with a pattern which points to the seventeenth century as its date.

Many have been the conjectures as to what this in-

[1] Edwards' edition, vol. i, p. 325. Ecton's *Thesaurus*, we believe, also says so.

[2] Eyton's *Antiq. of Shropshire*, x, 315.

[3] *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 642.



MELVERLEY SCHOLASTIC FERULE.
Half Size.

strument was. Some have suggested that it was not improbably intended for mixing the wafer for the Eucharist in Roman Catholic times. Others have suggested that it may have been used for salt, formerly an item in baptism. There are fonts in existence where there is a place for salt, attached to or part of the font.[1] Instruments not unlike it in shape have been, and still are, used in the Eucharist for fishing out the wafer, or part of the wafer, from the chalice. But this instrument is too large, and being made of wood, of an unsuitable material for such a purpose. Being found in a church, the question was naturally asked, May it not be an ecclesiastical implement?

In "The Book of Kells", in Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra*,[2] in Plate 1, the angels surrounding the Virgin are represented as holding in their hands objects very similar in appearance to the one we have under consideration. There are three of them in the picture, and two have crosses on the roundels, like the cross on the smaller disc of the Melverley instrument. But Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Art*, under the article *Flabellum*, fully explains the object held by the angels in "The Book of Kells". The discs of such *flabella* were made both of metal and parchment, and were of much larger size than the Melverley object.

A rough tracing of the latter was submitted to Mr. H. Syer Cuming, who at a glance unravelled the difficulty. In a letter dated 1881, received from him, he states that,

"No sooner did I gaze on your sketch of the wooden implement found in Melverley Church than I recognised it as a representation of the *old scholastic ferule* wherewith pupils were

[1] Amongst various relics found in the ruins of Montgomery Castle at the beginning of this century were seven old silver instruments, the handles of which were about the size of modern dessert-spoon; and their shape, as portrayed in outline, was somewhat of the form of small hammers. The Rev. J. Brickdale Blakeway was of opinion they were instruments used in the Catholic ceremony of unction. (*Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 135.)

[2] *Ex inf.*, Mr. Joseph Anderson of Edinburgh.

struck on the hand as a punishment for bad behaviour: hence the object was also frequently denominated a *palmer* and *hand-clapper*. The blade of the ferule was generally discoid, as in the Melverley specimen, and as seen in the hands of the pedagogues on the Grammar School seals of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, and Camberwell, Surrey; but it was occasionally somewhat pyriformed, as it appears in a painting of a Dutch school hanging in my library; and a writer in Hone's *Every-Day Book* (vol. i, p. 967) speaks of having felt the blow of a ferule of this form in his younger days.

"The instrument is believed to have received its title of ferule from the Latin word *ferio*, to strike; so that we may presume that it is an object of very considerable antiquity; but it was not wholly laid aside even as late as the end of the last century. I once knew a very old man (long since dead) who told me that he went to school to a Mr. Moneypenny at Bethnal Green in the north of London; and Mr. Moneypenny dressed in the style of Thomas Dilworth, with black velvet cap and long black gown, and made free and frequent use of the ferule. I also knew a clergyman who told me that his mother, before her marriage, kept a school, and punished her pupils with a 'hand-spanker' of stout leather in the form of the wooden ferule. The ornamentation on the Melverley ferule points to the seventeenth century as its date."

We give an engraving of the Melverley scholastic ferule, half size.

In January 1861 Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, exhibited at the meeting of the British Archæological Asso-

ciation an impression from the seal of Tewkesbury Free Grammar School; and the seal itself is engraved in

Plate VIII, fig. 5, *British Archæological Journal*, vol. xvii. We reproduce this engraving, as it clearly shews an example of the schoolman holding in his hand a scholastic ferule very similar to the Melverley one. Dr. Kendrick has also kindly sent us, for the Powys-land Museum, an impression of the seal of Bangor Grammar School, which represents the pedagogue having in his left hand the ferule, and in his right hand a birch-rod. In the Tewkesbury Grammar School seal there is also an object on the floor very like a birch-rod.

In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* (vol. xvii, p. 67), Mr. H. Syer Cuming made some interesting observations upon the Tewkesbury Grammar School seal, and also upon the subject of scholastic ferules, which seem so apposite to our subject that we shall quote them extensively.

After premising that Tewkesbury Free Grammar School was founded by William Ferrers of London, a native of Tewkesbury, in 1625, and endowed by him, and that the charter granted in 1701, by King William III, to the borough of Tewkesbury, recognised the establishment of the School, Mr. Syer Cuming proceeds to remark "that the seal dates from the foundation of the School in 1625. It is of a circular form, about one inch and seven-eighths diameter, bearing on the verge the words,—SIGIL : GUBERN : REVENC : LIB : SCHOL : IN : TEVKESBYRIE, the field exhibiting the master and one of the pupils placed on a tile floor. The bearded pedagogue is seated in a high-backed armchair, wears a dome-crowned hat with up-turned brim, long gown decorated with buttons, and holds a formidable *ferule* in his hand. The youth stands in front, habited in a short tunic, and holds an open book, on which he gazes, and between him and his preceptor appears the terrible rod."

Mr. Syer Cuming here, in a note, parenthetically remarks that "the seal of the Priory of Totnes (fourteenth century) exhibits St. Anne menacing the Virgin with a rod whilst instructing her from a book." Mr.

Worthington Smith also informs us that he has seen a copy of an illuminated initial letter with a monk with a thing similar to the ferule in his hand, and schoolboys on their knees around him. This shews this instrument was used at an early date.

Mr. Syer Cuming proceeds to make general remarks upon the rod, and states that on referring to engravings in the previous part of the *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.* it will be seen that the rod is held by the master on the school seals of Macclesfield, Rivington, Louth, and Kirkby Lonsdale; on those of Oakham and St. Saviour's, Southwark, it is laid before him; and only in one instance do we see the schoolmaster armed with the ferule, namely on the seal of Camberwell Grammar School, founded by the Rev. Edward Wilson, M.A., in 1615; but the seal is manifestly of later date than the reign of James I; the Tewkesbury matrix, therefore, gives us an earlier representation of this instrument of punishment. The ferule was a sort of wooden pallet, or slice, which Hexham, in his *Nederdwytch Dictionarie*, 1648, well describes as "a small battledore, wherewith schoole-boyes are strooke in the palmes of their hands"; hence it is called, in Cocker's *Dictionary*, 1724, "a hand-clapper, or palmer", the latter title agreeing with its Spanish designation of *palmatoria*, as given in Minsheu, 1599. A writer in Hone's *Every Day Book* (vol. i, 967), says, "A ferule was a sort of flat ruler, widened at the inflicting end into a shape resembling a pear—but nothing so sweet—with a delectable hole in the middle to raise blisters, like a cupping glass." This was the only mention which Mr. Syer Cuming had met with of a perforated ferule.[1]

Some uncertainty attends the origin of the name of

[1] In 1841, Moses Roper, an escaped slave, exhibited at public meetings in this neighbourhood (Montgomeryshire) a wooden implement similar to the ferule, the end of which, being oval instead of round, was pierced with several small holes, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, and stated that it had been used for punishing the slaves. It doubtless would produce a series of blisters, corresponding with the number of holes.

this instrument. It has been derived from *ferula*, the giant-fennel, the stalks of which were employed by the Romans in the chastisement of slaves and pupils. The sceptre of the Byzantine Emperor was denominated *ferula;* and it has been thought that the name was applied derisively to the *palmer*, as the master's ensign of authority; but the title has been deduced, with much more probability, from the Latin *ferio*, to strike. The mention of the ferule in foreign dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, proves its employment on the Continent as well as in England; and Mr. Syer Cuming mentions his old oil-painting of the interior of a Dutch school-room, where the pedagogue holds the *palm-mate* in his left hand, as in the Tewkesbury seal. It may be remarked, that the instrument continued to be used in this country even as late as the last decade of the eighteenth century.[1]

The Melverley ferule was left at the Powys-land

[1] With reference to the manner, and the instruments of scholastic punishment, (an enquiry, interesting enough to engage the attention of any antiquary, and the materials for which are not scarce) it may perhaps here, not inappropriately, be mentioned that in some schools in Wales, where the Welsh pupils were instructed in the English tongue, and the use of the Welsh language was prohibited, the mode of punishment adopted to enforce the prohibition was remarkable. It was called the "Welsh Lump", or the "Welsh Stick." At Caerwys School, for instance, if a pupil was detected speaking Welsh, he was punished by hanging round his neck a large piece of lead, fastened to a string. In the school at Llandyrnog, Denbighshire, the Educational Commissioner had his attention attracted to a piece of wood suspended by a string round a boy's neck, and on the wood were the words "Welsh Stick". This the Commissioner was told was a stigma for speaking Welsh. The Welsh stick was transferred by the bearer of it to any school-fellow whom he heard committing a similar offence. It thus passed from one to another until the end of the week, when the pupil in whose possession the Welsh stick was found was punished by flogging. In another school, Llanarmon Dyffryn Clwyd, the punishment was somewhat varied in form. The offender was compelled to stand for sometime on one leg in a corner, with the stick in his mouth, until he detected a schoolfellow guilty of the offence for which he was being punished, and when he did so, he was allowed to pass it on.—*Bye-gones*, 1879, pp. 188 and 196.

Museum, in June 1881, by Mrs. Pritchard, the widow of the late Rector of Melverley. From the ornamentation on its stem it may be regarded as a rare example of a scholastic ferule of the seventeenth century.

M. C. J.

HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(Continued from p. 256.)

1642, Nov. 21. The woeful complaint and humble petition of divers well-affected to the King and Parliament in the evil-affected county of Hereford, for relief from their miseries suffered at the hands of the Cavaliers, to Henry Earl of Stamford, Governor of the city of Hereford. (L. J., v, 453.) *In extenso.* Noted, "This petition was delivered me from these poor persecuted Protestants, and I have made provision for them in the houses of the cathedral men, who have for the most part abandoned this place. (Signed) Stanford." [Stamford.]

1642, Nov. 29. Draft order for defence of the county of Chester. (L. J., v, 468.) *In extenso.*

1642, Dec. 3. Draft order pledging the public faith for repayment of money advanced for the relief of Chester. (L. J., v, 473.) *In extenso.*

1642-3, Jan. 7. Draft declaration of the Lords and Commons against the agreement for the neutrality of Cheshire. (L. J., v, 535.) *In extenso.* Annexed:

1. Copy of the "Agreement made the three and twentieth day of December, at Bunbury, in the county of Chester, for a pacification and settling the peace of the said county, by us whose names are subscribed, authorized thereunto by the Lords and gentlemen nominated Commissioners of Array and Deputy-Lieutenants in the said county."

1642-3. Jan. 9. Petition of Frauncis Richards of Presteyne [Presteign], in the county of Radnor. On the 27th of October last, the captain of a troop of horse, under the command of the Earl of Stamford, seized Captain Charles Price, knight for the county. Petitioner went in a neighbourly way to visit Price, and was then, without any cause, taken by the captain of the troop, and afterwards, with Captain Price, conveyed to Coventry, where he hath remained ever since in durance. Prays for his discharge. (L. J., v, 536.) Annexed:

1. Certificate of the Committee at Coventry, to whom preceding petition was referred. Richards was committed under a warrant of Colonel Essex. This is all the information the Committee can obtain, as his commitment was from Gloucester, and his habitation is Presteign, sixty miles off. 17 Jan. 1642-3.

1642-3, Feb. 16. Ordinance for associating Shropshire with Warwickshire and Staffordshire. (L. J., v, 608.)

1642-3, Feb. 16. Ordinance for raising forces and money in the county of Chester. (L. J., v, 608.)

1643, June 3. Draft order for repayment of £5,000 to Sir Thomas Middleton, advanced by him for raising forces in Wales. (L. J., vi, 80.) *In extenso.*

1643, June 12. Draft ordinance for the association of Denbigh, Montgomery, and other counties in Wales, and for appointment of Sir Thomas Middleton as Serjeant-Major-General of all the forces to be raised in those counties. (L. J., vi, 90.) *In extenso.*

1643, June 21. Draft ordinance that an acquittance under the hands of any three of the Committee for Shropshire shall be sufficient authority for repayment to the persons who advance money there for the service of Parliament. (L. J., vi, 103.) *In extenso.*

1643, Oct. 17. Baron Trevor's[1] answer to the impeachment of the Commons concerning ship-money. (L. J., vi, 262.) *In extenso.*

1643, Oct. 18. Petition of Sir Thomas Trevor, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, acknowledging his error of judgment in the case of ship-money, and submitting himself to the favourable consideration of the House. (L. J., vi, 262.) *In extenso.*

1643, Oct. 19. Demand of the Commons for judgment against Baron Trevor. (L. J., vi, 264.) *In extenso.* Annexed:

1. Articles of the House of Commons, in the name of themselves and of all the commons of England, against Sir Thomas Trevor, Knight, one of the Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, impeaching him for his judgment given in the case of ship-money. Trevor was impeached by message from the Commons on the 22nd of Dec. 1640 (L. J., iv, 114), but judgment was not delivered till this day. (L. J., vi, 263.)

1643, Oct. 20. Petition of Sir Thomas Trevor, Knight, one of the Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, praying to be released from imprisonment. (L. J., vi, 265.) *In extenso.*

[1] Sir Thomas Trevor, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was fourth son of John Trevor, Esq., of Trevalyn in the county of Denbigh.

1643-4, Jan. 6. Patent to Thomas Bulckeley of the ancient family of the Bulckeleys of the Isle of Man, and the heirs male of his body, creating him Viscount Bulckeley of Cashells in the kingdom of Ireland. (Parchment collection.)

1643-4, Feb. 29. Draft orders for the supply of arms, etc., to Sir William Brereton. (L. J., iv, 446.) *In extenso.*

1644 [March 25]. Message from the Commons desiring the Lords to expedite an ordinance concerning Sir William Brereton, etc. (See L. J., vi, 482.)

1644, March 26. Draft ordinance appointing Sir William Brereton to command in Cheshire, etc. (L. J., vi, 486.) *In extenso.*

1644, April 30. Draft order for the payment of £1,000 for arms and ammunition for Pembroke. (L. J., vi, 535.) *In extenso.*

1644, May 13. Draft order for the payment of moneys due to the gunsmiths, armourers, and others, for supplying arms to Sir William Brereton. (L. J., vi, 552.) *In extenso.*

1644, May 20. Draft order for Sir Thomas Trevor to be freed from his impeachment. (L. J., vi, 562.) *In extenso.*

1644, May 30. Draft ordinance for Mr. Bradshawe and Mr. Steele to take subscriptions for Cheshire in the absence of Sir William Brereton. (L. J., vi, 572.) *In extenso.*

1644, June 3. Draft ordinance continuing Sir William Brereton's ordinance for two months longer. (L. J., vi, 576.) *In extenso.*

1644, June 20. List of persons to be added to the Committee for Gloucester, Hereford, etc. (C. J., iii, 537.) *In extenso.*

1644, Aug. 7. Draft order for the legacy of £1,000 left by Daniel Oxenbridge to the Parliament, to be paid for the service of the county of Salop. (L. J., vi, 664.) *In extenso.*

1644, August 21. Draft order for continuing the ordinance for sequestring delinquents' estates in Gloucester, Hereford, etc. (L. J., vi, 684.) *In extenso.*

1644, Sept. 2. Letter from the Earl of Warwick at Plymouth to both Houses of Parliament; is doing all he can to carry out the commands of Parliament with regard to North Wales and Lancashire, and has given special orders to the Admiral of the Irish Seas on the subject; hears from Milford that Col. Gerard is returned into those parts, having lost all his horse, and that Hereford is taken, etc. This letter was read in the House on the 7th of Sept. (L. J., vi, 699.)

1644, Sept. 21. Petition of James Heath, servant to the Right Honourable the Lord [Herbert] of Cherbury. His master went, with the leave of the House to his Castle of Montgomery for his health's sake, and there remained, rejecting all offers from

Prince Rupert and others to join them in the execution of the array; and has since preserved the peace in those parts, and assisted the well affected from time to time; but was prevented by sickness from coming to London, or disposing of his Castle, which is of very great consequence, and the key of Wales, and is now delivered up to the Parliament, as the accompanying papers will shew. Petitioner prays that the further sale of his Lordship's goods in Camden House, and of the books in petitioner's custody, may be stayed by order of the House. (L. J., vi, 712.) Annexed:

1. Similar petition of James Heath. Undated.

2. Copy of order of the Commons for sale of the goods of Lord Herbert and others. 9 Feb. 1643-4.

3. Copy of letter from Richard Moore to Mr. Trenchard. Understands that some persons have leave to seize the goods of the Lord [Herbert] of Cherbury: his Lordship's name may be faulty, but is confident his person is not; desires that an inventory may be taken of his Lordship's goods, and that they may be left in his house upon security to be forthcoming if required. 3 Oct. 1643.

4. Copy of order of Committee of Sequestrations at Westminster with reference to the goods of Lord Herbert. 7 Dec. 1643.

5. Letter from Sir Thomas Myddleton, at Montgomery, to his much honoured cousin John Glyn, Esq., Recorder of London. Is at this present at Montgomery town; has sent to the Castle, and received a satisfactory answer. The writer and his party have been at Newtown, and taken Sir Thomas Gardner, with his whole troop of horse, his cornet and quartermaster, and about twenty-eight troops; the rest fled. Some sixty horse were taken, and but few arms, for they had not many, and thirty-six barrels of powder intended for Chester, where they want it. Sir Thomas and his force came by forced marches from Oswestry to Newtown with much difficulty, on account of the foulness of the roads, and the breaking of the bridges by the enemy, the water being so high that they could not pass through any ford. The Prince, with his beaten forces, has gone from Chester, by Ruthin, etc., to Bishop's Castle. Desires that the sending of money and arms may be hastened. 5 Sept. 1644. Noted by Glyn:—"I think it will not be disadvantageous to the estate to forbear the disposing of my Lord's goods for one week longer, till we hear of his behaviour touching the surrender of the Castle." 17 Dec. 1644.

1644, Sept. 24. "The Coppie of the Articles of Agreem't betweene the Lord Cherbury and Seriant Maio'r Generall S'r Tho. Myddleton touchinge the surrend'r uppe of Mountgomerye Castle:

"I, James Till, Gent., as Lieutenant Collonell of horse doe hereby, in the name of Sir Thomas Middleton, Knight, promise and undertake that noe violence shalbee offred to the p'son or goods of Edward Lord Herbert, or any p'son or p'sons within his Castle of Mountgomery; and that they shall haue free liberty to goe out of the said Castle, and carry away their goods and money, whensoever they will; and that a good convoy shalbee graunted for the safe doeing thereof as farr as Coventry; and recommendations given to the officers there for the further conveying of the said persons and goods to London, if it bee required; and that in the meane while a true Inventory shalbee taken of all the household stuffe vsed in the said Castle, and of all the Bookes, Trunkes, and Wrytings in the said Castle, and that all the horses and cattell in and about the said Castle, and all p'visions of victualls, bread, wine, and beare, shalbee imployed for the vse of the said Edward Lord Harbert and his family; and that noe money, silver, gould, or plate, shalbee taken from the said Edward Lord Herbert or any of his family; and that the said Castle, with all the goods Bookes and Armes of the said Edward Lord Herbert, shalbee restored and redelyvered to the said Edward Lord Herbert, if it please God to send peace, or the Parliament order it soe to bee done. And that in the meane while the said Edward Lord Herbert, with his daughter and family, shall continue in or returne to the said Castle as formerly they did, if they soe please; and that they shall carry into the said Castle all provisions necessary for cloathing or diett. And it is further agreed that Sir Thomas Middleton shall signe and seale this accord or agreement, if the said Edward Lord Herbert shall require it; and shall also further and assist the bailiffs of the said Edward Lord Herbert in the leavying of his rents, and also pr'serve his woods and deere. Dated halfe an houre past twelue of the clocke at midnight on Thursday the fift day of September, Anno D'ni 1644.

"And it is further agreed that as longe as the said Lord Herbert or his daughter continue in the said Castle, there shall not exceede the number of twenty p'sons or souldiers, vnlesse some iminent dainger appeares; and that noe Truncks or doores vnder locks and keyes shalbee broken open. And that if it happen that the said Lord Herbert at any time doe remove from the said Castle, that the said Lord Herbert shall haue halfe a dozen men servants w'thin the said Castle to doe the Business of the said Lord Herbert, and three or fowre maides to attend his said daughter. And that if any thinge may be required for the further satisfacc'on and contentment of the said Edward Lord Herbert, it shalbee lawfull hereafter to explaine and add the same.

"James Till.

"Witnesses:

"Hugh Pryce	Oliver Herbert
"Samuell More	Rowland Evans
"Edward Price	Daniell Edwards.

"Whereas there is a doubt what goods should be removed or carried away out of the Castle of Mountgomery by Edward Lord Herbert. It is agreed that there shalbee left w'thin the said Castle six beds for souldiers, one suite of Hangings in the Dyneing roome in the new Castle, as also one suite of Hangings and Furniture for a Chamber w'thin the said Castle, wherein S'r Tho. Middleton shall please to lodge, and one Bed with Furniture for a captaine. And it is further agreed that there shall noe Person or Persons enter into the Library or Study of the said Edward Lord Herbert, or the two next Roomes or Chambers adjoining to the said Study or Library, during the time of the absence of the said Edward Lord Herbert, or at any time other time. It is further agreed that the said Edward Lord Herbert shall remove and carry all his goods out of the said Castle, except the Beds and Furniture before mentioned, when the said Edward Lord Herbert shall thinke fitt.

"I am content to stand to all the above specified agreements in every point.

"Edward Herbert."

1644. Petition of Hugh Grundy, gentleman, an inhabitant of the parish of Llangendeirne, in the county of Carmarthen. Henry Vaughan, M.P., has in his hands six parish churches, with several chapels, from Henry Percy, Esq., at the yearly rent of £750 or thereabouts, out of which he is to allow twenty nobles a piece, or thereabouts, for the maintenance of ministers in those churches, and £30 a year more for sermons. In these churches six unworthy and scandalous ministers, no preachers, are placed; and for twenty or thirty years past there have been no constant preachers in those churches or chapels, except that twelve years since, for the space of about a year, a poor blind man had or was to have half a crown a sermon to preach in each of those six churches; and since this Parliament began, Mistress Vaughan, in her husband's absence, procured a Mr. Evans to preach, who was to look to Master Vaughan's courtesy for his pains, and who has been since put out; while the six ministers or curates who serve those cures are some of them drunkards; others do hedge, ditch, and hold the plough, and sell ale and beer, and engage in such like scandalous employments. Petitioner desires the House further to consider the number of Papists in those parts, of whom Sir Thomas Sherly and Walter Lloyd have been enter-

tained by Master Vaughan; and then to think whether Vaughan ought to be himself a Commissioner for examining scandalous ministers, or should nominate those that are to be. (*See* C. J., iii, 389.)

Petition of Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester. His property lies in effect between the two armies. His house where he did reside, and all his other houses, as he is informed, have been plundered; his doors, trunks, chests, broken open; his sheep and cattle carried away; while the soldiers threaten to pull down his houses, and have already stolen the casements and irons, and burnt the wainscots; and he knows not what he has lost, for he has money and plate in most of those places. All this he takes patiently, as the just judgment of his sins, and desires no relief, but forgives and remits all; he prays only for protection from further mischief, that he may not be utterly undone. He further can receive neither rents, nor debts, nor money for his ordinary expenses, while he has to account for large sums to the Exchequer. Prays that some course may be taken to save him harmless, and that being, as God knows, an innocent man in all these troubles, he may have liberty to go to his own houses, and there have free ingress and egress for himself, his servants, and goods, without let or molestation.

1644-5, Feb. 25. Draft of order for allowing Lord [Herbert of] Cherbury £10 a week. (L. J., vii, 241.) *In extenso.*

1644-5, March 3. Draft orders for payment of the messengers that brought the news of the taking of Shrewsbury. (L. J., vii, 260.)

1644-5, March 11. Draft ordinance for the Commissioners of Excise to repay themselves £3,000 advanced for Sir William Brereton. (L. J., vii, 269.) *In extenso.*

1645, April 25. Draft ordinance for raising £5,000 for the forces under Sir William Brereton. (L. J., vii, 336.) *In extenso.*

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

DENBIGHSHIRE.—APPORTIONMENTS IN 1675.

SIR,—The following, copied from the fly-leaf at the end of an old manuscript copy of Powel's *History of Cambria*, in my possession, made apparently about 1684, may be interesting to some of your readers.

Newtown. R. WILLIAMS.

"The Capitall Division is the Division what ffalleth from the County to the Hundred, and soe to ye parishes.

"When 5^ll is Imposed upon the County, what falleth on the seu'all Hundreds, it is thus:

"If a 100^ll be on ye county

20 . 10 . 00	Bromfeild Hundred	01 . 00 . 06	5^ll — What falleth from the Hundreds to the parishes you shall find on the other side.
20 . 10 . 00	Issallett Hundred	01 . 00 . 06	
20 . 10 . 00	Isdulas Hundred	01 . 00 . 06	
18 . 00 . 00	Ruthyn Hundred	00 . 18 . 00	
13 . 13 . 04	Chirk Hundred	00 . 13 . 08	
06 . 16 . 08	Yale Hundred	00 . 06 . 10	

"The Subdivision is what falleth from the parishes to the Townships.

"What falleth on the lower part of the Hundred is thus. If 20^s be charged on Gresford parish it is thus:

		BANGOR.		ISACOYD.		
Allington .	06 . 08	Pick-hill	06 . 08	Holt . .	13 . 04	20^s
Burton and llay	06 . 08	Eaton .	06 . 08	Sutton .	02 . 08	
Gresford .	02 . 02½	Royton	03 . 04	Dutton Diffa	01 . 00	
Gwersyllt .	02 . 02½	Seswick	03 . 04	Dutton y Bra.	01 . 00	
Erlas . .	00 . 09	Marchwyel.		Cacca Dutton	01 . 00	
Erthig . .	00 . 09	Marchwiel	16.00	Rydley .	01 . 00	
Burras riffrey	00 . 09	Sontley .	04.00			

"If 20^s 6^d be charged on Gresford 4^s 3^d, Bangor 1^s 11^d, Marchwiel 1^s 2½^d, and Isacoyd 1^s 2½^d, it is thus:

Allington .	01 . 05	Pick hyll	00 . 11¾	Sutton .	00 . 04
Burton and llay	01 . 05	Eaton .	00 . 11¾	Dutton Diffa	00 . 02½
Gresford . .	00 . 05½	Royton	00 . 05¾	Dutton Brain	00 . 02½
Gwersyllt .	00 . 05½	Seswick	00 . 05¾	Cacca Dutton	00 . 02½
Erlas . .	00 . 02		1 . 11	Ridley .	00 . 02½
Erthig . .	00 . 02				01 . 02
Burras Riffrey	00 . 02	Marchwiel	00 . 11½		
	04 . 03	Sontley	00 . 03		
			1 . 2½		

"Allington the 3d part, and Barton & llay ye 3d. Gresford to be the 3d part of Allington. Gwersyllt is ye like. Erlas, Erthig, and Burras riffrey to beare the like 3d part between them equally.

"Pickhill is the 3d pt, & soe Eaton, Royton, and Seswick beares equally the halfe pt of Pickhill. Marchwiel beares all but Sontley ye 5th pt.

"Isacoyd is the 3d pt of ye p'ish, & holt & libertyes ye other 2 parts.

"Sutton the 8th pt of 20, and ye other 4 towneshipes to beare 3 pts equally as yw have the example above written.

"*The High Constables Division for the Hundred of Brownfeild.*

"When the hundred of Bromfeild be charged of 20s the Division is as ffolloweth:

	s.	d.				s.	d.	
Wrexham parish	5.	6			Gresford p'ish	3.	10	
Ruabon parish	3.	10	s. d.		Bangor p'ish	1.	8	s. d.
Erbistocke	0.	6	10.6		Holt p'ish	3.	0	9.6
Egluseagle	0.	6			Marchwiel	1.	0	
Trevibuchain	0.	2						

"When 20s 6d be charged vpon the said hundred for the erecting and repaireing of Bridges, the decayes of Ruthyn and Holt Included, the Division as ffolloweth:

	s.	d.				s.	d.	
Wrexham parish	6.	3			Gresford parish	4.	3	
Ruabon	4.	3	s. d.		Bangor p'ish	1.	11	s. d.
Erbistocke	0.	7 q.	11.11		Isacoed	1.	2 ob.	8.7
Eccluseagle	0.	7 q.			Marchwiel	1.	2 ob.	
Trevybychain	0.	2 ob.						

'20ll on ye p'ish is as followeth, } When 20s falls vpon the parish of Wrexham, the Devision ffalls vpon each Towneshipp as ffolloweth,

		s.	d.	
04.06.08	Wrexham regis	4.	4	
01.06.08	Wrexham abbot	1.	4	
04.00.00	Esclusham	4.	0	
01.06.08	Minera	1.	4	
02.06.08	Bersham	2.	4	
01.16.08	Brymbo	1.	10	
00.16.08	Broughton	0.	10	20s.
00.16.08	Stansty	0.	10	
00.16.08	Acton	0.	10	
01.06.08	Abembury vawr	1.	4	
00.06.08	Gouston	0.	4	
00.06.08	Beiston	0.	4	
00.06.08	Burras hova	0.	4	

"If 20s. be vpon Ruabon parish, it is as ffolloweth:

	s.	d.	
Ruabon towneship	6.	4	
Coed Chrystionith	0.	4	
Chrystionyth kenrick	4.	5	
Deninlla vcha	2.	3	20s.
Morton Walicorum	3.	4	
Morton Anglicorum	1.	1	
Deninlley Issa	2.	3	

"The parish of Ruabon is divided into 3 pts vidzt Ruabon & Coed Chrystionith. for one part, Mor: Walicoru', Mort: Anglicorum & Deninlley for the 2nd part, Chrystionith kenrick, Deninlley vcha ye 3rd pt.

"Maymed Souldiers money quarterly, according to the new order made at Quarter Sessions held att Ruthyn January 13th, 1662:

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Wrexham p'ish	02.03.04	Gresford	02.03.04
Ruabon p'ish	02.03.04	Holt	01.01.08
Erbistocke	00.10.10	Marchwiel	00.16.03
		Bangor	00.16.03

"These seuerall summes you are to receiue of the Churchwardens of the seuerall parishes, and to pay the same euery quarter Sessions.

"p. Ja. Robts. 1675."

OWEN GLYNDWR AT DOLGELLEY.

SIR,—In the memoir of the late Mr. Breese, published in the April Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, the writer alludes to that gentleman's refutation of the assertion that Cwrt-plas-yn-dre was ever Owen Glyndwr's parliament house, and adds, "Owen did hold a parliament in that town, but this building was not then in existence." Is not the writer in error here? Mr. Breese expressed no such opinion as to a parliament, and Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, whom he quoted, said in *Bye-Gones*, Jan. 26, 1876, "It was never suggested, until the present century, that Owen held a parliament at Dolgelley, and only in last century that he held one at Machynlleth. Contemporary authority, however, shews that he summoned a parliament to meet at Harlech." The nearest approach to anything like a parliament at Dolgelley seems to have been the signing of commissions to ambassadors to France. Mr. Wynne was of opinion that Cwrt-plas-yn-dre was not in existence in Owen Glyndwr's time; but Mr. Phipson, an experienced architect, who reported on the building in Dec. 1875, had a contrary opinion; on which Mr. Wynne suggested, if Mr. Phipson was right, that it was possible "the 'great Glyndwr' signed the commissions in the building".

A. R.

Croeswylan, Oswestry.

Miscellaneous Notices.

THE EARLDOM OF HEREFORD.—The following charter is deserving of notice, as it throws a light on local history, and supplies a note to Dugdale's account of Milo Fitzwalter and his family. (*Baronage*, vol i, p. 538.)

King John, by his charter dated at Porchester, 18 April 1200, granted to Henry de Bohun £20 of the third penny yearly receivable from the county of Hereford, and made him Earl of Hereford; and Henry de Bohun granted that he would nothing ever claim of

the King or his heirs, by a wedded wife, under a charter of King Henry II as follows:

"Henry King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to the Archbishops, etc.: Know ye that we have granted and confirmed to Roger Earl of Hereford in fee, and the inheritance to him and his heirs, to hold of me and my heirs, all the fee of Earl Milo his father, and all the fee of Bernard Newmarch, wherever it might be. Moreover, I have given to him and granted all the lordships which K. Henry, my grandfather, had between Severn and Wye in Gloucestershire, except the castle of St. Briavels and the town of Newnham [Neweham] and the Forest of Dene. These are the lordships, viz., Mynsterworth and Redley and Aur and Dymoc, with all their appendages; and on the other side of Severn I have given to him and granted Cheltenham (Cilteham), with all its appendages, for 60 librates of land. Besides I have given to him and granted the moat of Hereford, with all the Castle, and the third penny of the borough of Hereford, whatever it may ever yield, and the third penny of the pleas of the whole county of Hereford with which I have made him Earl. I have given to him and granted three manors in the county of Hereford, of my domains, viz., Marden (Manwardine), Lugwardine, and Wilton, with all their appendages. I have given to him and granted the Haye of Hereford and the Forest of Triveley, with everything which pertains to them. I have given to him and granted the service of Robert de Candos and Hugh Fitzwilliam, with all their fee, wherever it may be. And all the aforesaid I have given and granted to the same Roger Earl of Hereford in fee, and the inheritance to him and his heirs, to hold of me and my heirs. Besides I have also granted to the same Roger all justiciarships and offices which were his father's, wherever they may be, as his father held them in the time of K. Henry, my grandfather; and the custody of the Tower of Gloucester in fee, to hold to him and his heirs of me and my heirs; and the office of Sheriff of Gloucestershire by the same rent which Earl Milo, his father, was wont to pay in the time of K. Henry, my grandfather."

King John's charter concludes thus: "This charter of the aforesaid King, our father, was deposited in the Priory of Winchester by Godfrey Bishop of Winchester, to be torn up and destroyed if we had an heir of a wife wedded to us; but if otherwise, the said Henry de Bohun will have recourse to the same charter to do as to him may seem expedient."

King Henry II died in July 1189, and Godfrey Bishop of Winchester was consecrated in October following. The minute as to the deposit of King Henry's charter suggests a notion that Roger Earl of Hereford was merely a trustee, trusts not being then recognised by law; and that the form of the charter, coupled with its deposit, was a contrivance to give effect to a secret trust that all that was granted to Earl Roger should on failure of John's issue revert to the Crown. Henry de Bohun's charter, relinquishing his claim in like terms, is printed in *Charter Rolls*, p. 61.

In order to explain how Henry de Bohun derived his claim from Earl Roger under the charter of King Henry II, it may be well to state that King Henry I gave Sybil, the eldest daughter of Bernard Newmarch, in marriage to Milo Fitzwalter, Constable of England. The "Chronicle of Llanthony" (Dugd., *Mon.*, t. ii, p. 66) states that King Henry made Milo Earl of Hereford; but it appears more probable that his claim to the earldom was first acquired after King Stephen was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln in 1141, under a charter of the Empress Maud, by which she also granted him, in reward for his services, the Castle of Hereford, the third penny, and other lordships before mentioned, in the county of Hereford. Earl Milo died in 1144, leaving issue five sons, of whom Earl Roger was the eldest; and three daughters, Margaret, the eldest of whom, became the wife of Humphrey de Bohun, Steward to Henry I, and was grandmother of Henry, the first Earl of Hereford of that family under King John's charter. Earl Roger died without issue in 1154. According to the "Chronicle of Llanthony" his younger brothers also died without issue soon afterwards, leaving their three sisters coheiresses, among whom his inheritance was divided.

R. W. B.

Extract from the Will of Sir Griffith Jeffreys of Acton.—The will is dated March 6th, 1694. It was proved May 30th, 1696, by Dame Dorothy Jeffreys, his widow, and her co-trustees, Peter Ellis, Esq., and Thomas Gardner, Gent., and it gives a clue to the family of Dame Dorothy Jeffreys, as the following extracts will shew:—

"First, whereas by certain marriage articles bearing date July 26th, the 35 year of King Charles the 2nd (1683), I covenanted and agreed to make a settlement of £400 p. a. upon Dorothy Pledell (or Pleydell), my then intended wife, which said marriage was afterwards compleated". Then he explains what is to be done to secure this yearly settlement. He also gives £6,000 to be equally divided between his three daughters, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Frances, when they attained the age of eighteen years, or were married, whichever should happen first; and £50 each immediately after his decease, for their maintenance and education. He gives his only son Robert all the rest of his property, except the following legacies: "Item I give and bequeath to my cousin Thos. Gardner, late Fellow of All Souls' Coll., Oxford, £20 yearly during his life, desiring him, jointly with my wife, to take care of the tuition, education, and government of my son Robert during his minority. Item I bequeath to Mr. John Price, vicar of Wrexham, £20. Item to my mother and to Dr. Jeffreys' widow and her son, each of them, £10, to buy them mourning. Item to Mrs. Judith Mathews of Acton the yearly sum of £20 during her life, if she will live with my children after mine and my wife's decease, or else but £10 p. a. I do hereby nominate and appoint my son Robert Jeffreys sole executor of this my last will and testament; and I do make and ordain

my brother-in-law, Robert Pleydell of Holyrood, Amney, in the co. of Gloucester, Esq.; Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Principal of Jesus Coll., Oxford; Peter Ellis of Croesnewydd, co. Denbigh, Esq., and the said Thomas Gardner, to be guardians to my said executor Robert Jeffreys, and to my said daughters, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Ffrances, until they attain the age of one and twenty years, or be married."

The spelling of some of the words in the will is in the old style of the period, and his wife's maiden name is written as Pleydwell; the modern name is Pleydell. There are pedigrees of the Pleydells of Holyrood, Amney, in Sir Robert Atkyn's *Gloucestershire*, and Rudder's history of that county. One of the branches ends in an heiress, the *only* daughter of Robert Pleydell, Esq., the brother of Dame Dorothy Jeffreys. There were other branches of this family at Westcot and Coleshill in Berkshire, and also in Wiltshire. The Coleshill branch ended in an heiress, Harriet, daughter and heir of Sir Mark Steuart Pleydell, who married William Bouverie, Earl of Radnor. The descendants, after this marriage, became Pleydell-Bouveries, and continue to assume the two names to this day.

At the dissolution of the Abbey of Tewkesbury, the manor and rectory of Amney or Ampney, Holyrood, and Amney Crucis, etc., were vested in the Crown, by which they were granted to John Pleydell or Playdell, of Westcot, in the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth. He was a descendant of the Pleydells of Coleshill. Dame Dorothy Jeffreys' father was Robert Pleydell, Esq., of Holyrood, Amney; and her mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John Saunders, M.D. Her brother Robert was High Sheriff for the county of Gloucester in 1682, and married Sarah, daughter of Philip Sheppard, Esq., of Minchin Hampton, co. Gloucester. His only daughter and heiress, Charlotte Louisa, married the Hon. John Downay, eldest son of Lord Viscount Down, and conveyed the estates to that family.

Dame Dorothy Jeffreys made her will in 1728, and died in 1728-29, her son Robert and daughter Margaret having predeceased her. Elizabeth, her eldest daughter, married John Robinson, Esq., of Gwersyllt. Her youngest daughter, Frances, became the wife of Philip Egerton, Esq. There is a list of certain legacies left to the parishes where her property lies, with full directions concerning them. The parishes named were Wrexham, Bangor Iscoed, Gresford, Holt, and Marchwiel; and interest of various sums of money is left for the benefit and support of charity schools. She refers to Mr. Jones, vicar of Wrexham, and the *late* vicar, John Price, and his daughter Dorothy, and to her godson Charles, eldest son of her nephew Robert Hughes, Esq., of Trostry in Monmouthshire, and other relations. There was a copy of her will in full in the *Oswestry Advertiser* a few years ago, and at that time there was an inquiry after her family, which was not answered as far as I know. Dame Dorothy must have lived to a good old age.

MERTHYR TEWDRIG.—During the restoration of Matherne Church, near Chepstow, a stone coffin has been discovered, which was supposed to be that in which was buried Theodoric, or Tewdric, King of Glamorgan, afterwards hermit and martyr, who was mortally wounded in battle A.D. 560. The coffin has been found lying lengthwise in the chancel, and immediately under a tablet on which was written a long descriptive epitaph by Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff, 1601-17, who tells us that he opened the coffin, and saw the body of Theodoric. The coffin is 5 feet 5 inches long inside, 6 feet 9 inches deep. The stone is native, and in good preservation. In the coffin there were found human bones and portions of skull in fair preservation. Near to the foot of the coffin there was found also an urn, in which it is supposed that the heart and bowels of Bishop Miles Salley were interred, as the said Bishop directed that these portions of his body should be so buried.

PREHISTORIC CAVE AT LLANDUDNO.—A prehistoric cave of great interest was discovered some eighteen months ago by an old inhabitant whilst quarrying for stone on the south-eastern face of the Great Orme's Head, opposite the end of Mostyn Street, at some elevation above Church Walks. It is within the grounds of Mr. Kendric, lapidary. Amongst the breccia and clay of the newly opened cave were found embedded a great quantity of bones and teeth. Amongst the former, Professors Boyd Dawkins and Hughes have discovered the remains of four human beings of short stature, with long skulls, believed to be of the same race that once dwelt in southern Europe in the neolithic epoch. A human jaw reveals several molars in splendid condition. In a small glass case within Mr. Kendrick's workshop (which forms the original entrance) are several objects of extreme interest to the student of early man in Britain. A necklace of teeth of various animals, several canine, is shewn with the holes drilled at the ends of fangs, evidently by chipped flint, pieces of which have been found. This necklace bore signs of long use in its polish. Two strange looking teeth, about 3 inches long, of the great extinct cave-bear, drilled and transversely cut on fangs by human hands, thought to have been ear-pendants, are very significant. Associated with these are the remains of several domestic animals, as dogs, horses, etc. There is also a badger's skull in very perfect condition. Other relics are shewn of a period long anterior to history or tradition.

JOHNSON'S "CUSTOMS OF HEREFORD."—The subjoined notice of a new edition of this interesting work will be probably welcomed by many members of this Association. Although this work is called a second edition, it is rather an additional work; at the same time the original volume has received various emendations and corrections. "Since the first edition of the *Ancient Customs of Hereford* was published by the late Mr. Johnson, Town Clerk, a number of

miscellaneous papers have been discovered in the city archives. Amongst them are court-rolls and bailiffs' account-rolls from the time of Henry III to Henry VIII, royal proclamations, letters from the Lords-President of the Marches to the civic authorities, etc. It has therefore been proposed to issue a second edition containing this new information. The subscription list is now open, and a limited number of copies only will be issued." Subscribers' names can be sent to Mrs. Johnson, Eigne, Hereford; or to the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, of Melksham, Wilts. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

KERRY CHURCH, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—Mr. G. E. Street has reported as follows with respect to the restoration of this interesting church: "I found that in order to make a really sound and good work, it would be necessary to rebuild a great part of the exterior walls of the church. They are in a bad state of repair, and almost all the windows have been modernised. I found also that the old roofs, where they remain, will require a great deal of repair. The design of the nave-roof is very good, and characteristic of the district; and if it is well repaired and opened to view, and if the columns and arches are also carefully repaired, the general effect of the interior, in spite of the considerable extent of new work, will be that of an old church of more than usual interest. It might be possible, for the same sum, to build a new church from the ground; but in no way would this be advisable, and I hope no one will be found to propose it; for the old church, as I propose to restore it, would be in all respects preferable to an entirely new one built at the same cost." Giraldus' account of the consecration fixes the date of the earliest portion of the present edifice in A.D. 1176.

THE next Annual Meeting of the Association will take place at Llanrwst some time in August 1882. President, HENRY R. SANDBACH, Esq., Hafodunos.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

WAS HELD AT

CHURCH STRETTON

ON

MONDAY THE 1st OF AUGUST 1881,

AND FOUR FOLLOWING DAYS.

PRESIDENT.

C. C. BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., etc.,
PROFESSOR OF BOTANY, CAMBRIDGE.

The arrangements were under the management of the following

LOCAL COMMITTEE.

RALPH A. BENSON, Esq., Chairman.

Rev. Wm. ALLPORT LEIGHTON, B.A., F.L.S., F.B.S.E., Shrewsbury, Vice-Chairman.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Powis
The Right Hon. Lord Windsor
Robt. Jasper More, Esq., M.A., High Sheriff
Sir Chas. H. Rouse-Boughton, Bart.
Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., M.P.
J. E. Severne, Esq., M.P.
H. W. Adnitt, Esq., Shrewsbury
Rev. H. F. Baxter, M.A., Sibdon Castle
William Beacall, Esq., Shrewsbury
Rev. R. G. Benson, Hope Bowdler
Rev. Canon Butler, M.A., Shrewsbury
Rev. E. D. Carr, B.A., Woolstaston
Rev. Vernon R. Carter, M.A., Church Stretton
C. O. Childe-Pemberton, Esq., Millichope Park
Rev. Edw. ff. Clayton, M.A., Ludlow
George Cocking, Esq., Ludlow
Colonel Corbet, Longnor Hall
Rev. J. D. Corbet, Sundorne Castle
Rev. Wm. Elliott, M.A., Cardington
Charles Forty, Esq., Ludlow
Rev. St. Leger Hope-Edwardes, Netley Hall
Rev. F. H. Hotham, M.A., Rushbury
Rev. Wm. Jellicorse, Clunbury
Rev. J. D. La Touche, B.A., Stokesay
J. R. McLintock, Esq., M.D., All Stretton
Rev. Canon Lloyd, M.A., Shrewsbury
Richard Marston, Esq., Ludlow
Rev. H. W. Moss, M.A., Shrewsbury
Rev. Charles Noel-Hill, M.A., Church Stretton
William Phillips, Esq., Shrewsbury
W. F. Plowden, Esq., Plowden Hall
Rev. Andrew Pope, Corfton Rectory
John Pryce, Esq., Burway House, Church Stretton
Rev. T. Owen Rocke, B.A., Clungunford
Theophilus J. Salwey, Esq., Ludlow
Rev. Holland Sandford, M.A., Eaton-under-Haywood
J. C. A. Scott, Esq., Ratlinghope
F. R. Southern, Esq., Ludlow
Arthur Sparrow, Esq., Preen Manor
Rev. Wm. Charles Sparrow, LL.D., Ludlow
Rev. J. G. Swainson, M.A., Wistanstow
Richard Taylor, Esq., Shrewsbury

General Secretaries of the Association.
Rev. R. Trevor Owen, Llangedwyn Vicarage, Oswestry.
G. E. Robinson, Esq., Cardiff.

Secretary for Shropshire.
R. Kyrke Penson, Esq., Ludlow

Local Treasurer.
Messrs. Rocke, Eyton, and Co., Church Stretton

Local Secretary.
Richard Wilding, Esq., Church Stretton.

MONDAY, AUGUST 1.

THE General Committee met at 8.15 P.M. for the consideration of the annual Report. At 9 P.M. the Meeting was held at the Town Hall. In the absence of the outgoing President the chair was taken by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, who resigned it to the President Elect, Professor C. C. Babington, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

The President read the following letter,—

"29th July 1881.

"My dear Sir,—I much regret that my engagements will prevent my having the gratification of personally relinquishing the office of President of the Cambrian Archæological Association into more able hands, and of enjoying a meeting which last year's experience convinces me will be a most agreeable one. May I ask you to be good enough to express this regret to your Committee, and to offer them my warmest thanks for the courtesy and kindness I experienced at their hands? With best wishes that you may have a very successful Meeting,

"Believe me, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

CHAS. E. G. PHILIPPS.

"Professor Babington, M.A., F.R.S., etc."

The President then delivered his address as follows:

"On taking the chair of the Association I may be allowed to assure you how greatly I appreciate the honour of being appointed its head; more especially because I have been elected to the office by those with whom I have had the pleasure and advantage of working for many years, and also because they selected this year to place me at the head of the Association when the Meeting is held in my native county, and at a place of such interest to me as a naturalist as well as an archæologist. When we observe the magnificent hills which surround this town, we cannot but wonder that this place is so little known. The few tourists who visit it usually

confine themselves to an ascent of Caer Caradoc for the grand view obtained from thence, and through ignorance totally overlook the beautiful ravines of the Longmynd, and the many places of interest in the neighbourhood. I must confess that until recently I was one of the number. How many interesting places are totally unknown to English people who are thoroughly well acquainted with the Continent! They travel far to find beautiful and grand scenes whilst they have them at their very doors. We of the Cambrian Archæological Association know numbers of places well deserving of a visit which exist in Wales. But it is not my intention to take up your time this evening with remarks of this kind. I propose to deviate from the usual type of inaugural addresses by bringing a definite subject of interest before the Meeting.

"We must many of us have remarked how ignorant we are concerning the camps and other primæval fortifications which so abound in Wales and other hilly parts of our country. We must have noticed that they differ greatly not only in their strength, but also in the very plan upon which they are constructed. This subject has been incidentally mentioned at some of our meetings, and has then given rise to interesting discussions; but afterwards the question has been allowed to drop, and we have remained in very much the same state of ignorance as before. If, however, we examine the works, even very superficially, we discover that it is not probable that they were all made by tribes in the same state of civilisation and advancement in constructive skill: indeed, we see the probability of there having been a long lapse of time between the earliest and latest of them, and that they were most probably the work of successive occupants of the country. We remark that the names borne by most of them are either quite legendary or simply descriptive. This is in itself a proof that those who bestowed the present names upon them were unacquainted with their origin. It is true that in a few cases faint traditions have survived the lapse of ages concerning some tumuli and megalithic structures; but these, I believe, always refer to persons supposed to have lived in remote prehistoric times. Such faint traditions may have passed from the conquered to the conquering tribe, and are so few in number that they only illustrate the saying that exceptions prove the rule. Of course it is highly desirable to arrive, if possible, at some definite opinion concerning these great works, for much of our early history, or rather the true mode of looking at the time preceding history, depends largely upon our forming a probable theory concerning them. They are found in nearly every strong position in the country: on the hills of the interior, on comparatively elevated points in the low country, and on the precipitous capes of the coast. Wherever we go we find the remains of the strongholds occupied by the ancient inhabitants. Some manifestly intended for more or less permanent occupation, some to fly to in times of danger, and some formed by invaders for their temporary shelter, or the inhabitants for an almost equally temporary obstruction to the enemy.

They also seem to be of all ages, from the dark and distant period of the primeval inhabitants, who, perhaps, made some of them simply as a defence against the wild beasts of the country, to the time of the very latest invaders during the historic period. We have thus a very long time—we can form no idea of how long a time—during which rude fortifications of earth and stones were being made in the land.

"If now we look carefully at the works themselves we shall see that they shew several different modes of construction; and as these differences are very marked, we are led to believe that their builders did not belong to the same race, or were all in a similar state of civilisation: in short, that each successive race of men which inhabited the country had its own mode of entrenchment and fortification. The remains seem to shew that each succeeding race was more advanced in civilisation than its predecessor. This accords with what we learn from a study of the weapons, tools, ornaments, and fictile vessels, which have been obtained by excavations. We have the rude stone weapons of the palæolithic age, the more finished ones of the neolithic, the stone tools of a still more recent time, some of which, indeed, seem to have remained in use until shortly before the appearance of the Romans in Britain. These last more finished stone implements retained their value notwithstanding the possession by the richer people of bronze and iron in the later prehistoric period. We have evidence that the country was inhabited before the disappearance of the reindeer and other animals requiring the climate which existed when our mountain-valleys had their glaciers, and the cold was, at least in the winter, intense. No one will, therefore, be prepared to deny that several successive races may, and indeed we may say must, have lived here before the arrival of the first wave of the Keltic people, the second wave of which still inhabits the country. We are, therefore, not surprised to find works which may belong to several successive races. Some of these remains seem to be of such great antiquity that the existence of a Turanian race here, as is pointed out by Mr. Boyd Dawkins in his valuable essay on *Early Man in Britain*, will probably be generally admitted. He thinks that their descendants remained as a distinct race in South Wales and the south and west of Ireland until the Roman period: indeed, there seems no reason to doubt that tribes of Turanian race occupied nearly, if not quite the whole, of the west and north of Europe until the arrival of the Kelts drove the remnants of them into the extreme western parts bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, where we still find them represented by the Basques and perhaps others. But that is not enough. The west of Europe must have been occupied long before the arrival even of the Turanians, by a race which probably lived in natural caverns, and subsisted solely upon the produce of the chase. I do not mean to deny that many tribes living at a date long posterior to the glacial period, depended almost wholly upon the results of hunting for their food and clothing; but we do know that great advance

had been made before the first Roman invasion, for at that time the inhabitants of the southern part of Britain were successful agriculturists.

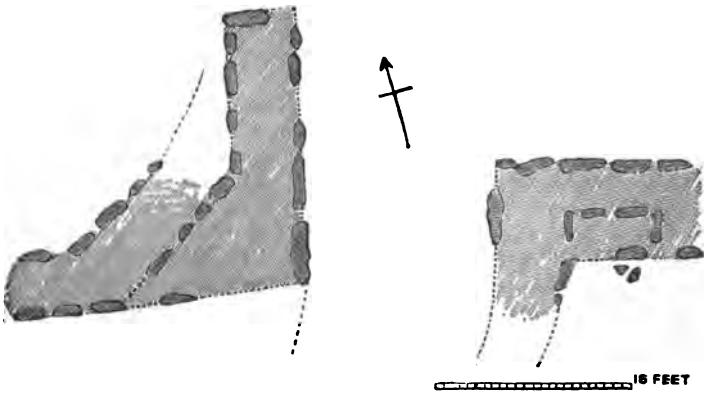
"Having made these preliminary remarks, we will now turn to the works themselves, and endeavour to classify them as far as our present knowledge will admit. Of course we make no attempt to appropriate each type of works to any special race; for we have as yet no proper means of doing so. But one thing I may venture to say, namely, that very few of them are the work of the present Welsh people; and those few are of that simple kind which were the first made at the very dawn of civilisation, and have continued to be formed until the present time, when they are found to be the most efficient defence against the formidable trajectiles used in modern warfare. I propose to arrange the existing remains under four heads: 1, simple earthworks; 2, earthworks with external stone supports or revetments; 3, dry stone walls; 4, simple earthworks again.

"1. The camps of the *first period* consist of one or more banks of earth or stones, according to the character of the ground, and external ditches. These are exceedingly common, and very difficult to distinguish from the comparatively modern camps of the Roman period: indeed, often it is impossible to do so. Most of the hill-camps and of the cliff-castles belong to this class; but their simplicity of structure is such, and their formation so easy and rapid, that, as has been already said, they were doubtless erected during successive periods, whenever sudden and temporary defence was required. Examples are so common that no special reference is required. Many of them are places of great strength, and were manifestly intended to afford safety to the tribe and its valuable flocks in time of danger; but as there is often no supply of water, they cannot have been permanent habitations. At the period when they were required they must usually have been quite impregnable, and specially fitted to resist the sudden and transient attack of an invading tribe whose chief, and probably sole, object was plunder. If not carried by the first rush, no further attempt was likely to be made upon them, and the invaders retired with only such booty as there had not been time to remove to a place of safety.

"2. The *second class* consists of much more elaborate works. They have the appearance of having been constantly occupied by a garrison, and provided more or less conveniently with water. Here again the banks are formed of earth and stones surrounded by formidable ditches; but one or more of the banks was strengthened externally by very large stones being placed upright against it, forming a kind of revetment. There was also usually a well contrived entrance, passing diagonally through the defences, and formed by a narrow passage flanked on each side by large upright stones, supported by banks which might be used by the defenders as a cover when resisting an attempt to force an entrance. Unfortunately the country people seem to find the stones, so characteristic

of this class of works, very useful for building purposes, and have in many cases used gunpowder to break them into convenient pieces. This destruction of national antiquities, so greatly to be deplored, is the more remarkable when we notice that in nearly all cases stones quite as well suited for building are abundant in the neighbourhood. Water is often found in small quantity within these works; but in some cases, as at Dinas Dinorwig, near Llanberis, a well defended covered way leads to a copious spring just outside of and below the fortress. Usually also there is a tolerably extensive enclosure, defended by a moderately strong bank, attached to the other works. This was, doubtless, intended for the defence of the flocks in time of danger. In many cases these outworks cannot now be easily traced, owing to the degradation resulting from the long lapse of time since they were formed, or the action of the plough of the modern agriculturist. The few remains of this class of works are well deserving of careful preservation, and the destructive acts just mentioned ought to be immediately stopped. In the larger of these works, especially such as cover the whole summit of a hill, there is usually a portion strongly fenced off from the rest, to form a kind of citadel. I have not noticed any true hut-circles in these forts; but it would be well to obtain definite evidence of their absence or presence. It is quite clear that they were not common at that period, although we sometimes find pits or enclosures which may easily be mistaken for them.

"It may be well to mention a few instances of this class of works. One of the best examples is very accessible, from being close to a much frequented place. I refer to Dinas Dinorwig, which is at a very short distance from the lower lake of Llanberis, and about a mile from a railway station. It is also in very fair preservation, although many of the characteristic stones have been used in the erection of a new farmhouse adjoining it. Several have disappeared since I have known the place, and the beautifully defended entrance is nearly destroyed. A description of this place will be found in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Series III, vol. vii, p. 236. Din Sylwy, in



Ground-Plan of Entrance, Din Sylwy.

WALL OF THE CAMP, DIN-SYLWY, ANGLESEY.

Anglesey, and Lligwy in the same island, are beautiful examples of this class, but they are not very easily accessible. These are both apparently of somewhat later construction than Dinas Dinorwig, for the upright stones bear a far greater proportion to the mass of the defences, and confer a far more marked character upon them. At Dinas Dinorwig the stones play a very subordinate part to the banks, except at the entrance, where they were as marked a feature as at the two places just named. At these forts in

Masonry, outer Wall, near South-West Corner, Lligwy.

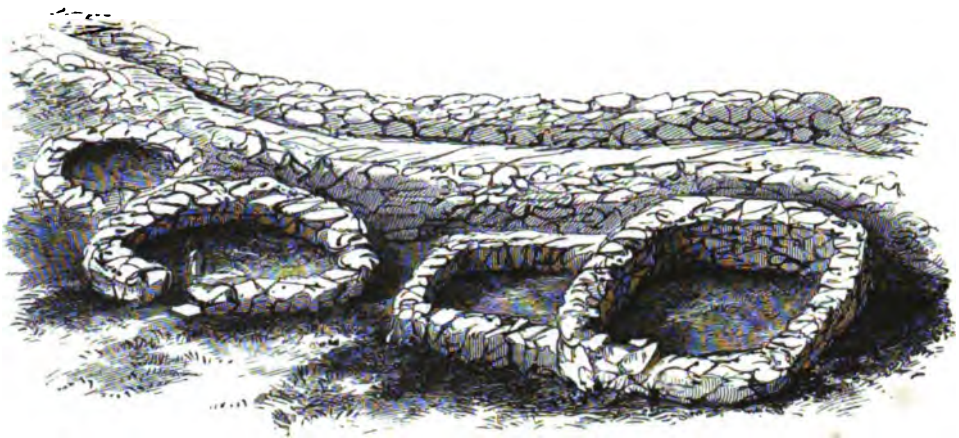
Anglesey the rows of stones seem to constitute a kind of wall, as we might almost call it, and the earth and rubbish simply fill up the space between them, for there is an internal as well as external row of stones. These works also are well illustrated in our Journal (Series III, vol. xv, p. 56, and vol. xiii, p. 55). The defences consist of lines formed of two rows of upright stones, which present a remarkably regular appearance, from the rock splitting in flags. These stones are placed so as to touch each other, and the space between the rows is filled with loose stones of all sizes and earth. The entrances are very ingeniously planned in both of them. These works shew a decided advance upon Dinas Dinorwig; but the plan of the builders is the same, and there is no approach to the walls found in the next class. They are certainly most remarkable defences, but they are not walls. I might name other forts of less importance belonging to this class, but it is unnecessary. All that I am acquainted with are confined to the north-west part of Wales. This seems to shew that a partially civilised tribe held that country at a very early period, but probably did not occupy the rest of Wales.

"3. We will now proceed to the *third class*, which shews a further decided advance in constructive power. The works of this class are very numerous, but they are usually so dilapidated as to be far from easy of detection. These defences often seem to be only confused heaps of stones, and it is only by very careful and somewhat skilled search that their true structure is discovered. But although usually so little is at first apparent, even in some of the most stupendous of them, a careful examination shews how skilfully they were built. I may instance that on the top of Penmaenmawr as a dilapidated one, and Tre 'r Ceiri, on the Rivals, as one still tolerably perfect.

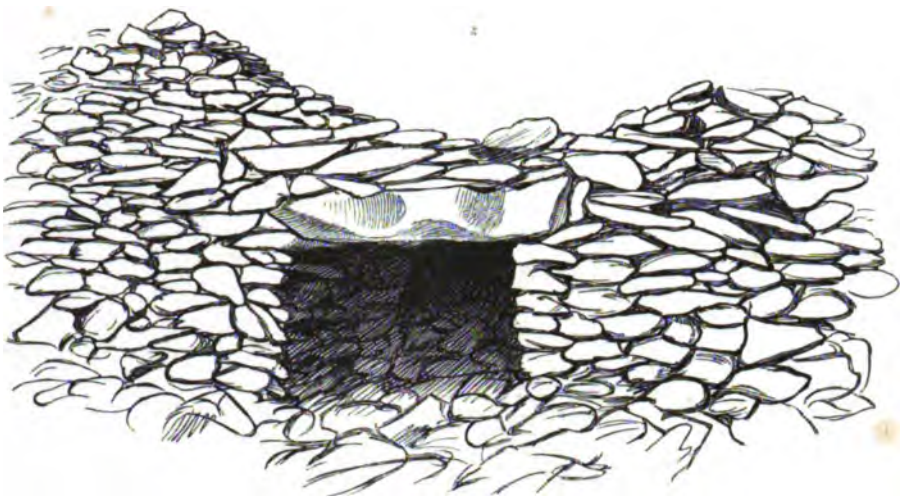
Works of this class are by far the grandest and most interesting forts of which any remains exist in Britain, which are anterior to the Roman period. They were entirely walled forts, or even towns, built with a skill which would do credit to a modern architect and modern masons: indeed, there are few modern builders who could build with stones alone (for there is not the least trace of mortar) walls which could stand as long as those have done. At Tre 'r Ceiri the walls are still 15 feet high in some parts, with very nearly perpendicular external and internal faces. These walls are so perfect that a person may walk along the top of the wall behind a breastwork or banquet rising from the outer face. This breastwork is sufficiently high to have protected the defenders of the place from most of the missiles of an enemy. In this more perfect part of the wall there is a very curious sallyport with slightly converging sides, and covered by enormous slabs extending across it; in these respects much resembling some of the magnificent prehistoric forts in Ireland. The true entrances to these fortresses are usually defended by flanking walls of great strength and thickness, the opening itself being narrow, perhaps about 8 feet in width. Here the builders depended upon the wall for their defence, for there are no ditches: indeed, the wall was quite a sufficient defence if the enemy could be prevented from using a battering-ram or other means of throwing it down. But a regular siege was very unlikely at that period, and without it the wall was safe. Here also there were extensive outworks less strongly defended. Our Treasurer has given a full and excellent account of this interesting place in our Journal (Series IV, ii, p. 66).

"At Penmaenmawr the enormous fortress of Braich y Ddinas occupies the whole top of the hill; but the walls and other remains are so much dilapidated, and their faces obscured by masses of fallen stones, that it is only by a very careful examination that their real character can be detected: indeed, it requires a tolerably practised eye to see them. Tourists who visit that hill for the magnificent view obtained from it, often do not observe the existence of the stupendous fortress, although they necessarily pass through it to attain the summit. I have myself heard them express wonder where the 'camp' was, of which they had been told. Here as well as at Tre 'r Ceiri there are the remains of numerous huts of either a round or rectangular shape. Such remains of huts are usually to be detected in works of this class, and they have continued in use down to very recent times in North Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, even when the surrounding defences are simply earthworks, or wanting altogether.

"I will only refer to two or three other great works of this class. A fine example is furnished by Carn Goch, near Llandovery, which has been slightly noticed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* by the late Archdeacon Williams, and was visited by the Association in 1855. There the walls are even more obscured by fallen stones than at Penmaenmawr. But some curious passages through them have been observed which have 'vertical sides formed of dry masonry



BUILDINGS AGAINST WALL, TRE 'R CEIRL



EXTERIOR OF SALLYPORT, TRE 'R CKIRI.

HUT AT BRAICH-Y-DDINAS.

PEN CAER HELEN.

alternating with large upright stones, and are covered by heavy flags laid across from side to side in some parts, and in other parts closed by successive horizontal courses of stones converging until they meet above.' These passages seem to be much lower than the sallyport at Tre 'r Ceiri; if, indeed, we really know their true height. Carn Goch is very well deserving of a minute and careful examination. Nearly all we know of it is derived from the very imperfect account given by Archdeacon Williams. Another work which I will mention is the great 'camp' upon Worle Hill, above Weston-super-Mare, in Somersetshire, which is fully described by the Rev. F. Warre in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Society for* 1851. This appears to have been a primæval town with very strong fortifications, consisting in most part of dry walls of great thickness and height, with diagonal entrances flanked by outworks. In the part which is open to approach along the ridge of the Hill there are the remains of two walls extending across the Hill, and external to them several deep trenches; and again, further out, a considerable space is surrounded by an entrenchment of inferior strength. In the interior of this very strong place there are many pits of 28 to 30 feet in diameter, which were doubtless the foundations of huts. Each pit is lined with a wall of uncemented masonry, which does not now reach the level of the ground, and probably never rose much above it. There is a very curious approach to this outer part of this fortress, from what was probably an inlet of the sea. It is a flight of upwards of two hundred steps, extending from near the base to the top of the Hill. This reminds me of the steps forming part of the approach to a fort of apparently this class near Abergele, called Castell Cawr, which I have recently mentioned in the *Archæologia Cambrensis.*

"But there is one other place to which I must be allowed to refer, called Castell Caer Helen, or Pen y Gaer. It caps a hill overhanging the Conwy valley. The entrance to it is defended by having a great number of stones so placed on end as to obstruct the approach of an enemy. I am not aware of any other instance of this kind of defence, except at Dun Angus in the South Isles of Arran, near Galway, which is also a great fortress built of uncemented stones, and belongs to the class of works we are now considering. I have recently learned that there is a grand work of this kind, called Caer Drewyn, near Corwen, of which very little is known, and venture to hope that the Association will find some opportunity to visit it.

"The *fourth class* need not detain us long. As I have already remarked, the works referable to it are usually not distinguishable by their form or construction from the very oldest of class 1, or from the most modern of military earthworks. We have near this town a remarkable example of possibly very late date in Caer Caradoc, and also one which may be of very early date, called Bodbury Ring, upon the top of the hill above the town. As long as distinct and often hostile tribes inhabited the country, such works as these

retained their value: indeed, even to the time of the wars between the Welsh and old English, or Normans, they were of much use.

"The inroads of one tribe upon another may have been one cause of the formation of the enormous ditches, extending for many miles, found in several parts of Britain, although they may also have been of use as boundaries. Not very far from this place we have the dyke named after Offa, King of Mercia, and which was perhaps made by him. Such a dyke must have presented a very great obstacle to those who were driving off the semi-wild cattle obtained during their raid, and so allowed the plundered tribe to assemble in force in pursuit of the marauders. Such dykes, formed apparently with this object, are found in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire, and elsewhere. Indeed, have we not the great Roman lines crossing the northern part of England and the south of Scotland, which were formed chiefly with this object by the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus?

"But I fear that I have taken up too much of your time, and will therefore conclude with the expression of my hope that you will receive pleasure from the excursions during this Meeting, and that something may be added to our knowledge of the antiquities which exist in this beautiful district. Of one thing I am certain, if we are favoured with fine weather, any of us who may not take especial interest in the ancient remains which we shall visit, will be sure to receive much pleasure from the scenery through which our routes will take us."[1]

Mr. Ralph Benson said that it was a very proud incident of his position to appear that evening, and to have the privilege of being the first of that large audience to break the silence in an expression of gratitude and appreciation to the President for the paper, which he was sure had afforded them all a great deal of pleasure. He thought it was indeed of special interest, breaking away, as it did, from the beaten track of inaugural addresses. He thought that their thanks were especially due to Associations like the Cambrian Archæological Association, who in their progress through a district left some light to guide and gladden the humbler seekers after historic truth. He wished only that it might be possible that the proceedings of a Meeting like the present one could be published in some cheap form, and could find their way to the farms, and he might almost say to the cottages, of the husbandmen. He thought they would not only stimulate the love of home and the love of country, but they would beguile many an hour after weary toil.

Sir Charles Rouse-Boughton, in seconding the proposition, made a feeling allusion to the late Mrs. Stackhouse Acton, who, he said, had intended to assist the present Meeting in every way, if she had lived.

The President, after acknowledging the vote, called upon the Secretary to read the Report.

The Secretary then read the Report, as follows:

[1] It has been thought desirable to append the cuts used in former volumes in illustration of this address.—Ed. *A. C.*

"In 1852 the Society met in this part of the Welsh Marches, when the sixth annual Meeting took place at Ludlow, under the presidency of the Hon. R. H. Clive, M.P. On that occasion the General Secretary, the Rev. W. Basil Jones, now Bishop of St. David's, congratulated the Meeting on the prosperous termination of the first five years of the existence of the Society. The first Meeting was held at Aberystwith in 1847, at which the Society was established in a qualified sense, one of the rules being that no pecuniary subscription should be required. The *Archæologia Cambrensis*, however, had existed for nearly two years before this Meeting, the first Number having been issued in January 1846; but it was not the Journal of the Association, as at present, but the private property of the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, who subsequently organised, and, so to speak, established the Society. At the end of its fourth year Mr. Jones gave up the Journal, making over the remaining copies to Mr. J. Russell Smith of Soho Square. These four volumes constitute the First Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

"In the year 1850 an important alteration was made in the constitution and administration of the Society. In the Report of the Committee read at the fourth annual Meeting, held at Dolgellau, mention is made of the Meeting at Gloucester in the preceding March, at which various important changes were made, the most important of which was 'the establishment of a system of subscription on a settled plan, as a security for the permanence of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and through it of the Society itself.' A new Series of the Journal was then commenced, arrangements having been made with Mr. Mason of Tenby, which made him the sole proprietor of the Journal, the Society purchasing copies for its subscribing members, and making grants for suitable illustrations. Thus the Society was put on a new and in some respects more satisfactory basis. This arrangement, however, lasted only five years, as Mr. Basil Jones, who principally conducted the business of the Association, was obliged to resign owing to new official duties at Oxford, which resignation was announced at the special meeting held at the close of the Ruthin Meeting in 1854. The Society was then placed on a new footing; the arrangement with Mr. Mason was given up, and the Society undertook the expense of printing and publishing for itself. A new Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* was commenced in 1855, and continued till 1869, when, owing to the difficulty new members had in procuring complete sets, the volumes of 1855 and 1856 having become out of print, a fourth Series, namely the present one, was commenced.

"The important change made in 1855 would probably not have been attempted, much less carried out, but for the action of four or five members who agreed to support each other in carrying on the work of the Association, and particularly in taking part in the annual meetings. Of these members two alone survive, one of them being Professor Babington, who has so kindly yielded to the request of the Society to act as President on this occasion; and your Com-

mittee, therefore, heartily congratulate the members upon being presided over by a gentleman distinguished no less for his extensive and accurate knowledge than for his courteous manner and readiness in communicating to others any information sought.

"It is with great regret that your Committee records the removal of so many valuable friends of the Association since the Meeting at Pembroke, the first of whom was Mrs. Stackhouse Acton of Acton Scott, who died on the 24th of January, in her eighty-seventh year. She assisted at the Ludlow Meeting in 1852, where she exhibited an illustrated manuscript account of Stokesay Castle, which splendid work deservedly attracted great attention. Had her life been spared, and her strength permitted, she had promised to render all the assistance in her power towards the success of the present Meeting. Another valuable member was Edwin Guest, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., late Master of Caius College, Cambridge, who died Nov. 23, 1880, at his seat, Sandford Park, Oxfordshire. His only distinct work was a *History of English Rhythm*, a work now become exceedingly scarce; but in the long series of volumes of the Royal Archæological Institute there are most valuable essays on the history of Britain from the departure of the Roman armies to the establishment of the Saxons, of which we know so little that the smallest contribution from Dr. Guest's pen is of the greatest value. His love of accuracy was so great that many of his researches amid ancient landmarks were usually attended with considerable labour as a pedestrian. His view of the Stonehenge question has not been replaced by any other more probable. Full obituary notices of two others from among the most valued members of our Association have appeared so recently that it is only needful to mention their names here, the Rev. Canon Williams, a contributor to our pages from the very first Number of the Journal, and Mr. Breese, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Merionethshire.

"The first volume of the *History of the Princes, the Lords-Marcher, and the ancient Nobility of Powys Fadog*, by J. Y. W. Lloyd, M.A., K.S.G., of Clochfaen, has lately been issued to the subscribers. It is a substantial volume of more than 400 pages, and contains much curious and supplemental information in addition to the genealogical portions, of which much has already appeared in the Journal. This is one more addition to our local histories, and one which, but for the existence of the Cambrian Archæological Association, would probably have never been published. There are several useful illustrations, and, what is still more valuable, a copious index. It is to be hoped that the learned author will soon be able to present to his supporters the second volume.

"It was stated in the last Report that the Rev. Canon D. R. Thomas, F.S.A., intended to bring out a supplementary volume to his invaluable *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, and it is hoped that this desirable object will before long be accomplished. Professor Rhys is also engaged on a history of the Breton Celts, a history that has been long desired; while the Rev. D. Silvan Evans

has undertaken a Welsh dictionary, the value of which may be considered guaranteed as far as careful accuracy and thorough knowledge of the language can secure success. It will be remembered that subsequently to the last meeting of the Society at Carnarvon a proposal was carried to print the chronicle of the famous "clerke", Peter Roberts, called *Cwtta Cyfarwydd*, being a chronicle of births, deaths, and marriages, and of the principal local events in the Vale of Clwyd and other parts of Flintshire and Denbighshire. The late Mr. Breese, who was the owner of this interesting document, had it transcribed, and printed a specimen page of the work. Since his death his executor, after repeated researches and inquiries, has not been able to find it. All that has been discovered is a copy of a small part of the transcript, with corrections, in Mr. Breese's handwriting. At present there does not appear to be much chance of its recovery. Your Committee regret to make this announcement; and if, after further delay, there is no prospect of finding either transcript or the original, the subscriptions that have been advanced will be returned.

"Those who attended the Pembroke Meeting will remember the kind exertions of the President, Mr. Philipps of Picton Castle, in promoting the success of that very pleasant and interesting Meeting. Your Committee would therefore suggest a hearty vote of thanks, and that his name should be added to the list of Vice-Presidents, and also those of the Hon. and Rev. Canon G. T. Orlando Bridgeman and the Hon. F. H. Tracy, M.P. The retiring members of the Committee are: R. H. Wood, F.S.A.; H. W. Lloyd, Esq., M.A.; and J. Y. W. Lloyd, Esq., M.A., K.S.G., and are recommended for re-election; and in place of the Hon. and Rev. Canon Bridgeman (appointed Vice-Chairman) and the Rev. Walter Evans (withdrawn), the names are proposed of the Rev. Canon D. R. Thomas and the Rev. Professor Edmondes.

"Your Committee also propose that the following Local Secretaries be appointed: Evan Parry Jones, Esq., for Merionethshire; Rev. E. Tudor Owen for Flintshire; Rev. Charles Chidlow for Carmarthenshire.

"Since the last Meeting the following gentlemen have joined the Association, and await confirmation of their election:

"NORTH WALES.

"Miss Light, Plas Llywelyn, Festiniog
The Rev. J. S. Lewis, Guilsfield Vicarage, Welshpool
The Rev. D. Jones, Llanfechan Rectory
Henry Leslie, Esq., Bryntanat, Llansaintffraid
A. N. Palmer, Esq., Ar-y-bryn Terrace, Wrexham

"SOUTH WALES.

"W. Hulm, Esq., Pembroke
C. E. G. Philipps, Esq., Picton Castle, Haverfordwest

"SHROPSHIRE.

"The Rev. W. A. Leighton, F.L.S., Shrewsbury
Colonel Buckle, Shakenhurst, Cleobury Mortimer."

The Rev. E. L. Barnwell, in proposing that the Report be adopted, endorsed all that had been said in regard to the late Mrs. Stackhouse Acton by Sir Charles Rouse-Boughton.

Mr. H. W. Lloyd seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. R. Trevor Owen having read the arrangements for the next day, the Meeting separated.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 2.

The members proceeded by train to Shrewsbury, and commenced the day's work by an examination of the Castle, under the guidance of the Rev. W. Allport Leighton, who pointed out the early British fortress near Laura's Tower; the square keep with round corner-turrets, of Edward I's time; and the gateway, the only remnant of Roger de Montgomery's castle.

The Council House of the Court of the Marches of Wales was next examined. On the entrance appear the arms of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President.

The principal features of the Grammar School, founded by Edward VI, are a pinnacled tower flanked on one side by the schoolroom, and on the other by the chapel and library. The latter contains portraits of Edward VI, Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sydney, and Judge Jeffreys; a manuscript treatise on the Apocalypse, that belonged to Buildwas Abbey; and four sculptured stones from Wroxeter.

At St. Mary's Church the members were received by the Rev. Canon Lloyd, who gave the following account of its architectural history: "In some recent excavations within the building they had discovered plain evidence of one, if not two, earlier churches; but he would only speak of what was above ground. The existing church was at first a plain Norman building, 140 feet long from east to west, with transepts 91 feet from north to south. There were no aisles, no clerestory, no western tower, and no deviation from the simple cross, except four shallow chapels in the eastern walls of the transept, only one of which remained. In the centre were four Norman arches, with probably a low lantern-tower above. If any of the members had ever visited Porchester Church, they would have seen a church now presenting the same appearance which St. Mary must have done seven hundred and fifty years ago. This Norman church was built probably at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. What now remained of it are the lower parts of the walls of the transepts and of the chancel, part of

the central tower, and the walls of nave between the arcade and the clerestory. Two Norman windows also remain in the south transept; but they are no longer in its outer walls. Fifty or sixty years later the western tower was added, of which three stories out of four remain. At the end of the twelfth century this plain Norman church was converted into an Early English one, both by alteration and by addition. Nearly all the windows were made into lancets or groups of lancets; three of the four chapels in the transepts were enlarged; the four arches of the central lantern-tower were rebuilt in the Pointed style, and two aisles were added to the nave. The Norman roofs, both the groined roof of the chancel and timber roofs of the nave and transepts were left untouched. The addition to the aisles seems to have been effected in an ingenious way. Without pulling down the walls of the nave, arcades were inserted into them, above and below which the old Norman walls yet remain. It became possible to do this inasmuch as the walls were sufficiently sustained during the process by a tower at either end, and by crutches inserted where the gas-brackets are now fixed. This is evidenced by the fact that the walls in these places were filled up subsequently to the completion of the surrounding surface. The walls of the new aisles were low, with steep roofs. In this condition the church remained for more than two hundred and fifty years. During this long period there is no trace of any change, except one small window over the vestry. In the latter half of the fifteenth century came a great change. A continuous clerestory was added to the church, the south aisle was raised, a new east window inserted, the whole church re-roofed, the spire built, and the small Leybourne Chapel enlarged into that of the Holy Trinity; and with the exception of the north aisle, the church became, both inside and outside, very much the same as we now see it. This north aisle remained in its original state for another century, when, during the Commonwealth, it was raised, and made to correspond with its southern sister."

The examination of the church was then proceeded with. The large east window is filled with glass originally given to the church of the Grey Friars by Sir John de Charlton *circa* 1350. On the north side of chancel is a triplet with subjects from the life of St. Bernard. The glass was brought from the church of St. Severin, Cologne, and belonged to the Abbey of Altenburgh. The Trinity Chapel contains a mutilated effigy of a cross-legged knight in chain-armour, on an altar-tomb. In the Stafford Chantry are a slab with incised figures, representing Nicholas Stafford, Bailiff in 1458, and his wife; also a Saxon coffin-lid with interlaced pattern, found under one of the pillars of the nave.

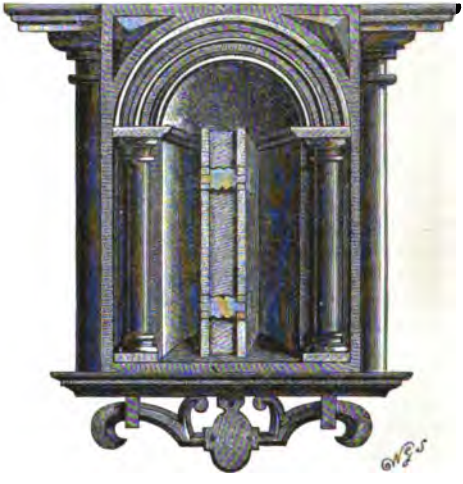
The next place visited was the Drapers' Hall, a building with a fine old wainscoted room in which are portraits of Edward IV, Degory Watur, draper, and his wife.

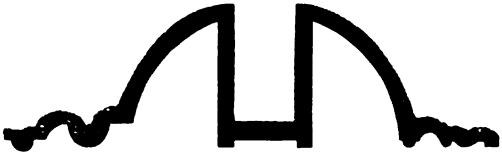
Thence the members went past St. Alkmund's Church, the spire of which is the only remnant of the original church, to an old timber

mansion in Double Butcher Row, the Guild House of the Fraternity of the Holy Cross in St. Alkmund's Church.

On Pride Hill were seen several old timber-houses; and in High Street Ireland's mansion, a spacious, timbered-gabled house, four stories high,—on the beams of the gables are the armorial bearings of the Ireland family; Owen's mansion, built in 1591; and the old Hall of the Shearmen.

After a halt for luncheon, the members inspected the ruins of old St. Chad's Church, originally founded by one of the Mercian kings. The church, built in the reign of Henry III, was much damaged by fire in 1394, and finally fell in 1788, owing to one of the pillars of the large central tower giving way. In the small portion now remaining there is a carved oak pulpit of Jacobean work. There is a





peculiarity, however, which we do not remember to have seen or even heard of. The cut here introduced gives a faithful representation of the Bible, which was intended not only for ornament, but also for a reminder to the congregation that there was preached the true Word of God. When the phrase "Bible Christians" first came into use is unknown, but probably it was in fashion, at least in Shrewsbury, at this time. The person who suggested this ornament was probably a zealous Puritan.

The Abbey Church of SS. Peter and Paul was next visited. The

domestic buildings of the Abbey have been swept away. The stone pulpit of the refectory now stands in a large coalyard. The nave, side-aisles, and western tower, alone remain of the Abbey Church, and these owe their preservation to the circumstance that the western end had always been the church of the parish of Holy Cross. The basement of tower is Norman; the remainder, in which is inserted a Perpendicular window of seven lights, double transomed, is of the fourteenth century. The nave is separated from its aisles by five arches; the two on each side adjoining the tower are Early English, while the others are Norman. The north porch, above which is a chamber, formerly in two stories, contains two effigies which originally were on the same tomb; one of a knight in plate-armour, with a long robe thrown back; the head is covered by a cowl. The other has the robe drawn close, and buttoned down to the feet. In the south aisle are, a mutilated effigy of a knight in mail, supposed to be that of Roger de Montgomery; a tomb of a knight in plate-armour (Sir William Charlton), and his wife with pointed headdress, brought from Wellington; an effigy of a cross-legged knight in mail, supposed to be that of Walter de Dunstanville, brought from Wombridge; a coped tombstone, on which is cut, in high relief, a floriated cross; beneath it, on the left, a small figure vested in an alb; near the head of figure a bell; on the right a chalice with wafer, a book, and a lighted taper. On the edge of the stone are the letters T : M : O : R : E : VI : F. In the north aisle are an effigy having a tunic open at the bottom, with tight sleeves from which lappets hang down, over the shoulders a tippet, and large pointed shoes; an altar-tomb of Richard Onslow, Speaker in the reign of Elizabeth, and his wife.

White Hall, in the Abbey Foregate, built in 1578 by Richard Prince, was the last place visited. It has a gatehouse and a good example of a pigeon-house.

Before returning to Church Stretton, the members, together with several members of the Shropshire Archæological Association, dined at the George Hotel.

After dinner the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater read a paper on "The Inner Wall of Shrewsbury", and also exhibited a rubbing of a stone at Tomen y Mur, near Festiniog.

The evening meeting was held in the Town Hall, Stretton. The President gave an account of the day's excursion, and referring to St. Mary's Church said that when they looked at the church at first, it appeared as if the date of it could be clearly seen at once; but when they came to look carefully at it, they found it was full of puzzles, and in the time they spent in it they were quite unable to understand a number of points in regard to the arches. There appeared to have been a series of changes at different times. The Vicar was good enough to give them his views concerning them. Some suppose that the arches dividing the nave from the side-aisles had been completely renewed by being underpinned; that new arches had been built underneath the other masonry, different to

the arches which existed before. That was one theory, and one likely to be true, for they knew that the masons and the architects of that age were quite as capable of doing such a thing as they are at the present time. But there was another view. Might it not be that the whole of the masonry had not been touched, and that, instead of taking out all the lower parts, they simply cut off the outside of the Norman columns, and carved them in such a way as to make them look like columns of a later day? That had been done at Winchester, and therefore it was possible it had been done in St. Mary's. There were, therefore, two totally different theories to account for the results they saw in that interesting church. That would give them some idea of the difficulties that might arise when they entered and examined a church like St. Mary's. He often felt, when called upon to express an opinion on such matters off-hand, that it was impossible to do so. Sometimes, when that was done, a gentleman who lived in the parish, and knew all about it, would jump up and say that such and such a view was wrong, as such and such a thing had been done. People who lived in the place should tell them what had been done, and what they knew, because the members of the Society came to learn, and not to teach. They could look at a building, and form their own conclusions respecting it, and were at all times ready to give their opinions, and to answer any questions they could; but still, as for laying down the law positively and absolutely, they did not profess to do it.

The Rev. J. G. D. La Touche read a paper on Stokesay Castle, which appears in the present Number of the Journal.

Mr. Dyke then read the following short paper on "Early Hill-Ploughing":

"People living near hills must often notice traces of extensive ploughings. The marks are not distinct everywhere; but they come out under certain lights, and at certain times of the year, more especially during the time of snow-thaws, when they are very visible. These ploughings extend all along the hills of the Welsh border, and are, I believe, to be seen on all the hills and mountains of England and Wales; and I know from my own observations that nearly all but the most steep and difficult parts of the hills in this neighbourhood have been ploughed.

"I think this work must certainly be older than the feudal system, as the feudal laws have survived to the present day in their relations to commons and unenclosed lands, and are totally opposed to small subdivisions for agricultural purposes. There appears to be a legend that the hills were ploughed at the time the kingdom was placed under an interdict during the reign of King John. A writer in Chambers' *Book of Days* mentions the legend, that in order to evade the interdict by which all the cultivated land in the kingdom was put under a curse, the people, considering that the terms of the interdict applied only to land in cultivation at the time the interdict was proclaimed, ploughed the then uncultivated land, and thinks that the ploughings are remains of that temporary

cultivation. But from the shortness of the time, about six years, from the 23 March 1208 to 1214, I am almost certain that, looking at the difficulties of such a cultivation, it could not have been done then. The writer in Chambers' *Book* goes on to say that it is now the opinion of antiquaries that the ploughings are remains of the agriculture of the British-Roman period, "for the Romans obtained immense quantities of corn from Britain." I have heard a legend in Radnorshire that the 'Denes' (Danes) ploughed the hills; and if you ask who the 'Denes' were, you will be told simply that the 'Denes' were red men. There is, perhaps, a germ of truth here, for the 'Denes' or other northern hordes may have occupied the low lands, and driven the natives to live or starve on the hills, thus causing the hills to be ploughed.

"Having seen a great deal of hill-land ploughed under recent enclosure Acts, I submit a few observations as to the ancient mode of culture: 1st. The land was not fenced, but divided by margins of turf; therefore the sheep, which probably were few in number, must have been herded by dogs by day, and folded by night, as is now done, I believe, in many of the chalky districts of England and France. 2ndly. The ploughing was not long continued, as there is but a slight displacement of soil on the steepest parts. 3rdly. The surface was first 'cerf'd', or cut in batting, as the small burnt stones and ashes attest. I have often seen thin, compact layers of ashes at a depth of 5 or 6 inches; thus shewing that it had not been harrowed to that depth, else the ashes would have been mixed with the soil. 4thly. It was not much trodden by animals for years afterwards, else the *contour* of the ridges would not have been so well preserved. 5thly. The ploughing was not badly done; it often follows the form of the ground in long, sweeping curves. 6thly. I have often found the sites of huts with hearths containing ashes. In some instances they appear to have been square in form. They are generally excavated on the slope of a bank, and the earth thrown out in front. These huts were very probably of the same date as the tillage. 7thly. The corn grown was rye and oats, as they are the only cereals which mature and ripen on the higher hills. No lime was used, and the land was exhausted and left to lie. It was not laid down with grass-seeds, for the harrowing would have, on light land, destroyed the ridges."

After a discussion as to the date and character of this primitive kind of agriculture, the proceedings were adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 3RD.

This day's proceedings commenced with the inspection of the parish church, which consists of nave and chancel, with transept, and a tower surmounted with a spire rising from the centre. It is of various dates from early Norman. It has been restored in a

satisfactory manner, except as to the interior walls, from the face of which the plaster has been entirely removed, leaving exposed the original rubble work which, from the nature of the stone, not admitting of even an approximation to courses, has a singularly bad effect. In addition to this, the dark colour of the stone gives a very gloomy appearance to the building by its making the interior unnecessarily dark. This custom of disfiguring the walls of churches cannot be too severely condemned, as it has not a single advantage to recommend it. It is in direct opposition to the practice of our early church builders, who invariably prepared the walls so as to admit of ornamental colour, or representations of sacred events. Over a small Norman door, now blocked, to the west of the north transept, is fixed a rude representation of a nude female. It is nearly two feet in length. The hands rest upon the hips, while the head has no hair, and appears never to have had any. The stone out of which it is carved is oblong, having the two ends and one side perfect; the other side has its edge either left rough and untooled, unless this edge has been broken. On the whole, it is exceedingly rude in detail and execution. It is the work neither of a Roman nor mediæval mason. Nothing was ascertained at the time as to the date of its being placed in its present position, or whence it was brought. More than one of the members present thought it connected with a pagan cult. However that may be, this curious relic may be as old as the later Roman period. Perhaps, on inquiry, something of its history may be ascertained.

The town hall is the modern successor of one of those interesting timber buildings, some of which still remain in Shropshire and Herefordshire. Fortunately, the Stretton one is given by the late Mrs. Stackhouse Acton in her *Castles and Old Mansions of Shropshire*. It was not on so grand a scale as others of the kind, but quite sufficient for the requirements of the inhabitants. There are a few timber houses in the long street that constitutes the town, but mostly small and poor. The manor house is an exception, and is an excellent specimen of the domestic architecture of the time.

Stokesay Castle, which was the second part of the day's excursion, is unique in more than one respect. It is rather a fortified mansion of the thirteenth century than an ordinary castle, although a portion of it may be older, and worked into the present structure. To enter, however, into the various details of this most interesting building is altogether unnecessary, as the Rev. G. D. De la Touche, the vicar of the parish, has furnished the admirable and exhaustive account which will be found in the present number. Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., in his *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, vol. i, p. 157, has given a richly illustrated notice, which he thus concludes, "Altogether this is one of the most perfect and most interesting thirteenth century buildings which we possess, and deserves a much more careful examination of the uses of its parts than it has yet received."

One of the curiosities of the building is the staircase built against the north wall, "constructed of solid baulks cut through diagonally", leading to two upper chambers; and as one of these has its original fireplace of the thirteenth century, the wooden staircase is probably of the same century. Mr. Parker calls this part of the building the *North Solar;* but, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, it can hardly be so termed. The proper solar is at the opposite end, which, although it has undergone alteration at a later period, yet retains the usual arrangements to allow its occupants to watch the proceedings of those in the hall below. The chimney has its fine carved mantel-piece of the first part of the seventeenth century, so that the original chimney has been removed. If the original chimney was accompanied, as in the northern chamber, by a recess, it was probably removed at the time of the alteration. A view of it is given in Mr. Parker's notice. What its use was is not certain. It may have held a small lamp. It is of the same date as the chimney. In the same room in the north tower is a glazed case, containing certain relics found at different periods, of no particular interest in themselves, with the exception of the curious hammer-shaped stone, of which divers explanations have been suggested. An engraving of it is given in the present volume, p. 248.

The Elizabethan gateway, with its elaborate oak carving, and which is given at p. 60 of Mrs. Acton's book, is one of the most picturesque gateways remaining.

There are in Merionethshire, at Glyn, near Harlech, and Corsygedol, near Barmouth, gateways of a similar character as to arrangements, but not material, being built of stone. The one at Glyn has, besides apartments on each side of the entrance, other offices attached. An engraving of the Corsygedol gateway is given in the *Antiquarian Topographical Cabinet*, from a drawing of Sir Richard Colt Hoare.

The late Mrs. Stackhouse Acton has given in her *Castles and Old Mansions of Shropshire* views of the rich Elizabethan mantelpiece in the south chamber or solar.

The hill-camp at Norton was, according to the programme, to be visited; but, even had time permitted the ascent, it would have been found hardly worth the labour, as the ground is so densely wooded that a satisfactory examination of it would be very difficult. It has all the appearance of an ordinary hill camp, probably British, but used in later times by their successors. The excursionists, therefore, proceeded to Ludlow, once the stronghold and headquarters of the Lords Marcher. From its commanding situation it must have been taken advantage of as a defensive position long before Norman times; but whatever the earlier works were, they were swept away for much more important buildings. The Castle stands on an eminence at the junction of the Teme and the Corve, occupying the north-west angle of the town, and, from the steepness of the slope, looking towards the country, and the height and strength

of the tower and connecting curtains on that side, it must have been impregnable before artillery was in fashion. The greater portion of the building, except the round church, is of the fourteenth century, with some later work. The church, which has a circular nave, had a small rectangular chancel, the lines of which are still evident.

Henry II, about 1176, gave the Castle and the vale below to Fulk Fitz-Warine, whose son Soccas built the church in the latter part of the twelfth century. It has changed hands many times from forfeitures and other causes, and is now the property of Earl Powis. When the office of Lord Marcher was abolished in the reign of William and Mary, the Castle was emptied of its contents by the inhabitants. In 1774, when Buck's *Antiquities* was published, many of the royal apartments were entire. Some of the panels bearing the arms of the Lord Presidents were converted into wainscoting for a public-house. For further particulars of the Castle and town reference may be made to the published accounts of them.

The church of St. Lawrence, the only one in the town, is one of the grandest of our parish churches, and is kept in order suitable to the building. It is a cross church of noble proportions, and, though it possessed a chantry of ten priests, yet it was not a collegiate church, its expenses being borne by the wealthy Guild of St. John. The lofty east window, with its effective painted glass, representing the legend of St. Lawrence, is deservedly admired. The stalls, with their miserere seats, formerly disfigured with yellow paint, are remarkably perfect. The execution of the carving of the under part of the seats is generally very good. The ecclesiastic warming his toes at a fire flanked by two flitches of bacon, is nearly identical with one in Worcester Cathedral, which is of the fourteenth century. The church was commenced in the time of Henry VII, when the Lord President and his Court were much at Ludlow, so that it is probable that at this time the Guild of St. John reckoned among its numbers the neighbouring nobility and gentry. The whole of the roof is of oak, embellished with carving. The town had formerly seven gates, only one of which remains, at the bottom of Broad Street.

A conspicuous ornament in the town is the Feathers Hotel, a grand specimen of a timbered house; the interior, also, has some carved work of superior execution. The Bull Inn, which is nearly opposite, has some good panelling in its principal room, but which seems to have been brought from some other building—probably the Castle. Mr. Penson, the Local Secretary, hospitably entertained a large number of the officers and principal members of the Society. There was no evening meeting.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 4TH.

A large party started at the appointed hour, and, passing through Hope Bowdler and Rusbury, where are the remains of a small Roman camp on the Roman road called "The Devil's Causeway", arrived about noon at Wenlock. Here, under the guidance of the Mayor (T. H. Thursfield, Esq.), the first place visited was the Museum, where are preserved several deeds connected with the Monastery, a chalice, paten, and bell, found among the ruins of the Priory.

In the Guildhall, an interesting timber structure of the Jacobean period, supported by an open pillared corridor, the members were shown the borough stocks on wheels; a book containing the Corporation records, dated 1495; the original charter of the borough granted by Edward IV, with the seal, in good state of preservation; a grant of fairs, date 1620; and other documents.

The parish church consists of a chancel and nave, with south aisles. The pointed arch between the chancel and its aisle cuts through a Norman arch, now filled up. The east window is Perpendicular, of five lights, double transomed, and is flanked on each side by canopied niches. On the north side of chancel is an aumbry; on the south a piscina and sedilia. The nave of five bays has round pillars, with plain moulded capitals and pointed arches. In its south-western corner is a round-headed doorway. Above the porch is a room with fire-place, several aumbries, a blocked squint into church, and an ogee piscina or drain in the east wall; apparently there have been two storeys. A fine recessed Norman door, above which is a good Norman window, opens from the church into the base of tower, a later addition.

Adjoining the church are the ruins of the Cluniac Priory of S. Milburgha, founded by Roger de Montgomery about 1080.

The southern side of west front is tolerably perfect, showing the lateral shaft of the great west window. Bases of five shafts, door jamb, and broken arches, point to a grand portal of six orders. A large window of two lights, with a circle in the head, is on the triforium level; below it is a round-headed window. The nave consisted of a tall arcade, with shafted octagonal pillars; a triforium, containing couplets with nook shafts, divided by a central group; and a clerestory of similar design, but smaller dimensions. Only four pillars of the south arcade remain perfect. Attached to them are low massive columns with enormous bases and broad pointed arches below the original arcade, supporting a plain groined roof, above which, on a level with the triforium, is an apartment lighted by the window mentioned in the west front, and two similar ones on the south side. This room communicated with the cloisters. The south aisle for three bays beneath this room has quadripartite vaulting.

The whole south wing of transept remains. The front shows a gable pierced with a lancet over a triplet. Three arches, the middle one blind, occupy the triforium, and below them are two pointed arches. On the west and east sides, the triforium consists of couplets contracted in the southernmost bays. The clerestory has single lights with a continuous label. Square-headed oblong loops on the exterior also open into the wall passages. At the north-west corner is a slit communicating with the Tresaunt. The east side has an arcade of three pointed arches springing from clustered shafts, which opened into so many chapels.

The presbytery retains the bases of three Norman pillars on the south and two on the north side; one bay distant from the eastern chapels of south wing of transept are to be seen the foundations of an octagonal building.

The chapter house, now roofless, is oblong. The entrance to it was by a rich circular-headed doorway, on each side of which is a window, all similarly ornamented with chevron moulding. The north and south walls are still tolerably perfect; about three feet from the floor, in each of these, is a chevroned string course, from which rise two clusters of six small round shafts, which divide the space into three bays, and have carved capitals. In each bay are five small circular arches resting on columns consisting of three shafts, above which, up to the groins of the roof, the space is covered by two rows of intersecting arches, each springing from the intersecting points of the arches beneath them, with diagonal masonry in the spandrils. In the south-east corner is a square-headed recess or door, on the capstone of which is a mask between two lizards, having heads at both ends.

The remains of the refectory, once vaulted in seven spans, consist of the doorway from the cloister, a few fragments of vaulting shafts, and two round-headed aumbries.

In the cloister garth, two years ago, were discovered the remains of a circular ? built of small stones, with two tablets inserted. 1. The miraculous draught of fishes; 2. Figures of SS. Matthew and John. At a short distance to the south of the refectory is a two-storeyed building, retaining some doors, square-headed windows, and, in what is now an outside wall, two corbels above a large pointed arch, enclosing two low-shouldered arches.

The Prior's residence is an interesting specimen of fifteenth century domestic architecture, and appears to have occupied the eastern side of a quadrangular court, of which one side only remains perfect. It has a cloister extending the whole length, and communicating with the rooms on either floor. This cloister is divided into compartments by large buttresses at regular intervals, and these again are subdivided into two compartments by smaller buttresses, the space between being filled in by trefoiled couplets with transoms; the space below the transom is filled in solid. The arrangement is the same for the lower story. A similar cloister appears to have extended along the other sides of the court, but to have been

only of one storey. The communication from one cloister to the other is by a narrow stone staircase at the north end. Here also, on the ground floor, is a room in which is a recess, lighted by a triplet-trefoiled window, containing an altar and a water-drain, divided from the room by an arch of singular form. Upon the altar, at present, there is a stone lectern. The Prior's Refectory is in the upper story, and is lighted by four windows of two lights. To the south of this room is another of the same dimensions, with a water-drain and garderobe. The eastern side has long, narrow, acutely pointed, triangular-headed windows divided by a single mullion, and double transomed.

At right angles to the Prior's Lodge, forming the north side of court, is a large building, two stories high, with a Norman door and a range of six round-headed lancets. The ground-floor of it, now used as an entrance-hall, contains a stone effigy with Lombardic letters, and several tiles with armorial bearings.

Quite recently the foundations of the large northern entrance to the nave of Priory Church have been discovered by the owner, Mr. Milnes-Gaskell, who takes admirable care of the ruins.

The Cistercian Abbey of Buildwas, founded in 1135 by Roger de Clinton, Bishop of Chester, was next visited. The church was cruciform, with a massive central tower. On each side of nave are seven pillars, massive, round with the exception of the two eastern ones, which are adapted to receive the choir-stalls. The capitals, of the cushion type, are square with indented angles. The arches are Pointed, with plain orders. In each wing of transept are two chapels, entered under a Pointed arch; they have groins with diagonal ribs springing from corbels in the angles. Each chapel has a plain Norman window. The south wing had, jutting from its eastern angle, a stone staircase; westward of this a fine doorway. In the north wall of north wing, on the west side, is a door about 8 feet above the pavement; on the east side, the doorway of the passage to the sacristy. The basement of the northern bay of the transept is entered by steps from the cloister; the sacristy, between the northern wing of transept and the chapter-house, entered from under a segmental arch, is vaulted and groined in two bays. The chapter-house, in which are preserved several sculptured tombstones, is oblong, and has a groined roof. The whole range to the north of the transept formed the substructure of the dormitory. Along the upper line of the wall may be seen the remains of the windows. Still further northward are the remains of a building divided north and south into three bays, and east and west into two bays, which formed the west side of a court, on the east of which stands the Abbot's Lodge. In a building now used as a coach-house is an aumbry, under a semicircular stone covered with carved work.

The members next proceeded to Acton Burnell. The Castle, a building of the latter part of the thirteenth century, the mouldings of the windows being of the Decorated style, was built by

Sir Robert Burnell, some time tutor to Edward I, and by him made Bishop of Bath and Wells, where the remains of his fine hall are to be seen. In shape it is a parallelogram, having a small square tower at each angle. In the west wall are some small square windows, and on the north side are three large transomed windows.

Only the gables are left of the old Parliament House where the "Statutum de Mercatoribus" was passed.

The chancel of the parish church has Decorated windows on the north and south sides, a double piscina on the south, and the remains of what may have been a squint on the north. The font is octagonal, of the fourteenth century. In the north wing of transept is a brass representing "Nicholas Burnell, Miles, Dominus de Holgot", who having married the heiress of the Burnells, and assumed their name, died in 1385. Another tomb bears the effigies of Richard Lee and his wife, whose daughter married Sir Edward Smythe, *temp.* Charles II, and so conveyed the property to the family which still owns it.

In the evening a meeting of members was held, at which the officers of the Society were re-elected, and Llanrwst was chosen as the place of Meeting for 1882.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 5TH.

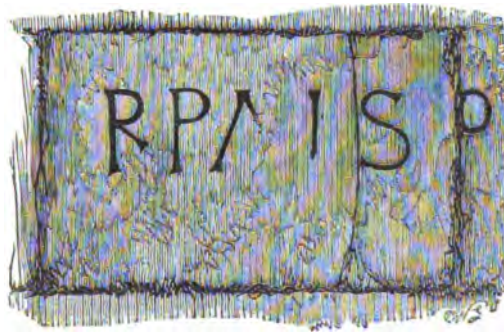
The members went by rail to Shrewsbury and thence to Haughmond Abbey. Only a fragment of the south-west portion of the church has been preserved, containing a round-headed doorway of three orders, enriched with foliage and diamond ornament; between the shafts are canopied figures. The west wall of cloister crenellated is complete, and, in its south end, there is a lavatory formed of two large arches of two orders. On the south of the cloister are the remains of the refectory; in its western wall is the lower part of a Perpendicular window of five lights. A considerable portion of the chapter house survives. The doorway, flanked by arches on either side, is of three orders, richly moulded and adorned with flat four-leaved ornament. In the jambs of the arches are fourteenth century additions. After the dissolution an apse was added on its eastern side. The ribbed oak ceiling is solid and massive. To the south of the refectory are the remains of two large buildings at right angles to each other. In the one running north and south, are a large bay window in two tiers, several square-headed windows, and a fireplace. The other building was probably the hall; in one of the corners is a newel staircase, and, on the north side, is a very large fireplace, and, on the south side, are three transomed windows of two lights, trefoiled in the head.

The members then drove to Wroxeter, where the remains of the Roman station have been excavated to the extent of two acres,

originally in 1859, by the late Thomas Wright and Dr. Henry Johnson, who published the result of their labours in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of 1859, accompanied with many illustrations. At a subsequent period the work was continued by the Society of Shropshire Antiquaries. The only part of the original city above ground is called the "Old Wall", although, strictly speaking, it is not a wall, but the remains of a building. The inner face shows the springings of the barrel-roofs of the rooms adjoining it. South of this wall are courts and hypocausts, in one of which were found three human skeletons; one that of a very old man, to judge from the character of the skull, the other two are thought to be those of females; but the remarkable circumstance was a heap of small Roman coins which had evidently been contained in a small wooden box, traces of which were found with them. These persons, at the time of the capture of the city, seem to have retreated to the hypocaust, where they were either suffocated or cut off by the falling in of the ruins when the house was burnt. The coins were 132 in number, twelve of which were either illegible, or rude copies of some of those found. They ranged from Tetricus to Valens, and were of the ordinary types, with the exception of a plated denarius of Julian. Other parts have been excavated, and a large quantity of fibulæ, pottery and glass, removed to the Museum at Shrewsbury.

Wroxeter Church is Norman, with later alterations, and contains several altar tombs with effigies. A floriated coffin-lid forms the sill of the vestry door, and in the sonth wall is inserted a Saxon tombstone. At the chnrch gate are two Roman pillars, and in a garden adjoining the churchyard are some Saxon remains from the former church.

Atcham Church was next visited. In the north wall has been inserted a stone from Uriconium, which is here represented on one



and a half inch scale. The letters are clear enough, but not so the meaning. On the opposite side of the church, lying on the ground under the wall, is part of an early stone, which may be as old as

the ninth century. It might be thought desirable that it should find a secure resting place in the church. The cuts here given will be recognised as the work of the Society's draftsman.

Scale, one inch and a half.

The Shrewsbury Museum, to which the antiquities found at Wroxeter have been removed, was the last place visited.

At the evening meeting, the President called upon Mr. R. W. Banks to read his paper on "Herefordshire and its Borders in Saxon Times", which will appear in a future number of the Society's Journal.

The Rev. E. L. Barnwell proposed, and Mr. H. W. Lloyd seconded, a vote of thanks to the Local Committee, and especially to Mr. R. A. Benson the Chairman, and Mr. R. Wilding the Secretary.

It was proposed by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, and seconded by the Rev. Prebendary Davies, that the thanks of the Society be given to the Rev. W. A. Leighton for his kind assistance to the Society during the present Meeting.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

CHURCH STRETTON MEETING, 1881.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Payments.	£	s.	d.	Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Printing	1	11	0	Subscriptions, including family & double tickets	44	3	0
Town Hall expenses .	1	5	3	Tickets sold at door .	0	19	0
Postage	1	6	6				
Sundry expenses . .	1	13	1				
Balance	39	6	2				
	£45	2	0		£45	2	0

Examined and found correct.

C. C. Babington, *Chairman of General Committee.*

Ralph A. Benson, *Chairman of Local Committee.*
S. B. Ebroll.

SUBSCRIBERS TO LOCAL FUND.

	£	s.	d.
C. C. Babington, Esq., *President*	5	0	0
Ralph A. Benson, Esq., Lutwyche Hall, Much Wenlock	2	2	0
R. Jasper More, Esq., Linley Hall, Salop . .	1	1	0
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Rev. H. W. Phillott	0	7	6
S. H. Kough, Esq., Church Stretton	0	2	6
W. Hyslop, Esq., Church Stretton	0	2	6
	£44	3	0

*** Since the printing of the Report of the Church Stretton Meeting, it has been discovered that the missing transcript of Peter Roberts' *Diary* was left by the late Mr. Breese at the Society's printer's office in London. The printing of this very interesting record of family histories, especially in the counties of Flint and Denbigh, will commence as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers have given their names to the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, Melksham, or to the Rev. Canon Thomas, Meifod. Price to subscribers, 6*s.* 6*d.*

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF CONTENTS.

VOL. XII. FOURTH SERIES.