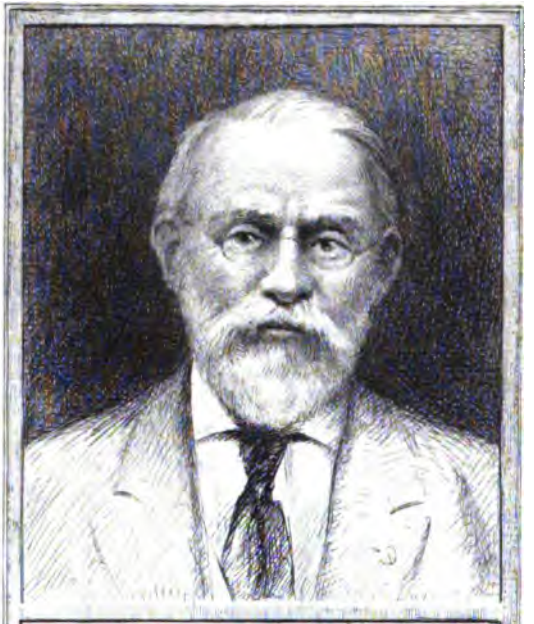


Archæologia Cambrensis,

THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

Cambrian Archæological Association.

VOL. XIV. FIFTH SERIES.

LONDON:
CHAS. J. CLARK, 4, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.
1897.

LONDON:
PRINTED AT THE BEDFORD PRESS, 20 & 21, BEDFORDBURY, STRAND, W.C.

CONTENTS.

Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. XIV, NO. LIII.

JANUARY 1897.

FLINTSHIRE GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

BY ERNEST ARTHUR EBBLEWHITE, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Continued from vol. xiii, p. 52.*)

XVI.—RHUDDLAN (*continued*).

In connection with the old pedigree of Conwy of Bodrhyddan, described in my last article, I am kindly informed by Mr. Richard Savage, the Secretary and Librarian of Shakespeare's Birthplace, Stratford-on-Avon, that there is a similar pedigree among the muniments of the Marquess of Hertford at Ragley Hall, Alcester, Warwickshire, with the following inscription as a heading :—

"The Pedigree of Sir J^no^ Conway of Bodrithan Knight together with those houses which are lineally descended from his by the name of Conway & withall the several kindred he has by daughters of the house of Bodrithan that were matched with other houses all which I endeavoured to set down as near as I could & especially the issue of the house of Bodrithan & My Lord Conway's, leaving none of the rest that I could conveniently place or insert. Taken out of a Pedigree Book which was collected by the great pains & industry of the truly Revered Robert Davies of Gwissaney Esqr who departed this mortal life 27th day Jan^ry^ 1633, whose absence is a daily grief to me his humble servant Griffith Hughes. Drawn by me G. Hughes Dep^y^ herald of the office of Arms for N. Wales the 27th of Novr 1634. All the descents in the Roundlett I

took out of the Hs Off. (*Heralds' Office*) where my Ld Conway's Pedigree is recorded. F. S. Conway fecit."

At the bottom, in the left-hand corner, is the following :—

"The above is a copy of an old genealogy found at Ragley in an old trunk, A.D. 1791. The writing is in some places very fair and in others scarcely legible. A small angel speaks the words under the genealogy. There are but three copies, viz., the Original, one copied for Count Conway, and this, finished July 7th, 1792, by F. S. C., London."

The words referred to as being spoken by a small angel are (at the bottom of the pedigree) "Gloria Deo in excelsis & in Terra Pax. Memento Mori." The copyist was the Honourable Francis Seymour-Conway, afterwards Lord Francis Seymour-Conway, who, on the 14th June 1794, succeeded his father as 2nd Marquess of Hertford.

Copies made in January 1871 of the inscriptions on the coffin-plates of the Conways at Ragley, in their vault in Arrow church, and extracts from the parish registers, will be found printed in the *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica* (Second Series), vol. iii, pages 1-4, 23-6, 40-1, and 56-8. They were contributed by Mr. Savage in 1888.

With reference to my blazon of the arms of Sir John Conwy, of Bodrhyddan, Knight, as drawn by Griffith Hughes in 1639, Mr. Hughes of Kinmel has been good enough to suggest that the second quartering (*azure, a cross voided or*) should be named Crêvecœur, and not Conway. I certainly thought it very probable indeed that the arms were acquired by the marriage of Sir Henry Conwy, Knight, with Ellen, daughter and heir of Sir Hugh Crevecure (or Crêvecœur), Knight, and I knew that they were ascribed in several printed books of reference to the name of Crêvecœur; but as Griffith Hughes called the coat "Conwy", and as it is so named in records at the Heralds' College, I considered it safer not to suggest an amended reading. In some old

ordinaries the coat is entered as "Conwy, ancient", and in one instance as a simple paternal coat for a family of Conwy. It should be noted that it was the frequent practice of the old heralds, in a case where the true name of a second quartering had been forgotten in the lapse of time, to describe it as a second paternal coat.

Mr. C. G. H. Rowley-Conwy obtained on the 12th December 1895, Her Majesty's Royal Licence and authority that he and his issue might continue to use the surname of Conwy, in addition to and after that of Rowley, and that he and they might bear the arms of Conwy quarterly with his and their own family arms; and by patent issued from the Heralds' College (on the authority of such royal warrant) on the 2nd May 1896, the following armorial bearings were exemplified to be borne by him and his descendants, according to the Laws of Arms :—

Quarterly, 1st and 4th, CONWY, namely *sable* on a bend *argent* cottised *ermine* a rose *gules*, barbed and seeded *proper*, between two annulets of the field; 2nd and 3rd, ROWLEY, namely, *or* on a bend cottised *gules* three crescents *argent*.

Crest of ROWLEY, namely, a wolf's head erased *sable*, collared *argent*. No crest was allowed for Conwy of Bodrhyddan.

Motto for CONWY, "Dura frango patientia".

At Rhydorddwy, in this parish, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, lived one Evan (called "Decka") ap Rees, who was the illegitimate son of Rees ap Evan, a descendant of Iollen, or Yollen, ap David of Rhûd. His grandson, Edward Evans, of Chester, mercer, became Sheriff of that city in 1637 at the age of 45, and there is a carefully-drawn sketch of his arms in one of Randle Holme's MS. volumes of Welsh pedigrees (*Harleian MS.*, 1977, p. 238), taken from the Confirmation of June 1638, by Sir Henry St. George, Norroy. The arms are: *argent, three bars wavy, those in chief and in base vert, and the centre one azure, charged with three sea-mews fessewise argent*, probably intended to be blazoned *argent, on a fesse wavy azure,*

cottised vert, three sea-mews fessewise argent, but each of the bars in the tricking are of the same width, and can neither be regarded as barrulets or cottises. Crest: *Out of a ducal coronet or, a sea-mew's head between two wings argent.*

"This is ye Cote & Creast of Edward Euans sometyme Sheriff of ye City of Chester sonne of Dauid Euans of ye same place sonne of Euan ap Rees of Rhydordy in ye County of Denbigh (*sic*) descended from Yollen ap Dauid of Rudd (*Rhûd or Rhyl*), an auntient familey in ye sayd County wch Cote and Creast I Ratifie & Confirme to ye sayd Edward Euans & his posterity for euer.

Hen: St. George, Norroy kinge of Armes."

Then follows a note by Randle Holme:—

"This Cote was confirmed for this familey, to take away the bastardy wch els should haue byn borne & the Crest was then confirmed in June 1638, *vide* the pedegrey in the Welsh booke 129 post."

The pedigree is endorsed on the document thus:—

"Iollyn of Rud or hull com' Denb' (*an error for Flint*)" was father of "Evan ap Iollyn" who had a son "Rich' or Rees ap Evan". The latter had an illegitimate son "Evan Decka ap Rees", the father of "Thomas", "John", and David Evans.

The last-named David Evans is thus described:—

"Dauid Euans of Chester, peuterer, one of the Counsaile of the Citty: bur' in S. Peters." He married "Jane dau' to Jo' Robinson of Chester: She ob' 1636, bur' in St. Peter's; sister to Rich' (*Robinson*)" and had issue:—

1. "Dauid a peutrer ob' ante patr'" married "Grace da' to Thomas Cadwaladr of Aber Co. Car'," and had issue "Thomas a peuterer" who married and had issue, "Cadwalader, ob' yonge", "Jane", "Sara" and "Mary".
2. "Edward a mercer; Sheriffe; aeta' 45, 1637; had the Cote confirmed; he ob' at Knutsford 20 March 1644", having married "Mary dau'

to Rich' Swynton of Chester & of Knutsford; she ob' 2 feb' 1645 at Knutsford". They had a son "Samuell aeta' 16, 1637; ob' s. p. at Chester".

3. "Robert a drap', ob' s. p."
4. "Thomas a linendrap'" married "Anne da' to Jo' Poole" and had a son "Edward".
5. "John" married —— "dau' to Rand' Ince" and left issue.

1. "Jane vnmar' 1637."
2. "Ann vnm' 1637."
3. "Marg^{t} vnm'."

XVII.—HAWARDEN (*continued*).

THE family of Aston of Aston were in the seventeenth century much connected with the Palatinate of Chester and Flint, and Sir Thomas Aston, who was created a baronet by King Charles I on the 25th July 1628, held a little property in this parish. He took part in the Civil War, and died in the King's service on the 24th March 1645. There is an interesting document at Rhûal, of which the following is a copy, relating to his payment of "Ship Money":—

"At Whitehall the 14th of May 1637. Present, The King's most Excelent Matie, Lo' A'b'p of Cant', Lo' Keeper, Lo' Tres', Lo' Privie Seale, Lo' Duke of Lenos, Lo' Marq^{s} Hamilton, Lo' Great Chamb', Ea' Marshall, Lo' Chamb', Ea' of Northumb', Ea' of Dorset, Ea' of Salisbury, Ea' of Morton, Lo' V' Wimbledon, Lo' Cottington, Lo' Newburgh, Mr Tre'r, Mr Comp^{r}, M^{r} V' Chamb', Mr Sec' Coke, Mr Sec' Windebank.

"Wheras it was this day made appeare to the Boord, his Matie sittinge in Councell, that Sr Thomas Aston Baronet (beinge farmer of the Imposts of French Wynes wthin the Port of Chester) was by the Maio^{r} of the Cittie of Chester assessed towards Shipmoney at the Som'e of three pounds, six shillings, eight pence; And by the Sheriff of that Countye for the same ffarme, over and above what he is assessed for the rest of his Estate in the County at the Som'e of six pounds, thirteene shillings, fower pence. The question beinge wch of the said assess^{mts} the said Sr Thomas Aston ought to pay for his

sayd ffarme. It was thought fitt and ordered upon a full hearinge of Councell on both sides & serious debate & considerac'on that in regard the Custome house where the Custome of Marchandizes is payable is scituat within the Libertie of the said Citty, The said Sr Thomas Aston shall fourthwith pay the sayd Som'e of 3^l 6^s 8^d assessed upon him by that Cittie for his sayd ffarme vnto the Maio^r of the same, And that the p^rsent high Sheriffe of that Countye shall take off from him, the Som'e assessed vpon the sayd Sr Thomas Aston for his sayd ffarme of the Imposts of Frensh wynes within the Port of Chester and lay it vpon some other places or p'sons who have bin either vnder-rated or not assessed at all, towards the said service. And that henceforth the said Sr Thomas Aston and his Successo^rs, ffarmers of the said Imposts in that Port, shall alwayes be assess'd and pay for the sayd farme in that Cittie. Wherof as well the said high Sheriffe of that Countie and the Maio^r of the said Citty and the sayd Sr Thomas Aston and all others whome it may Concerne, are to take notice and to conforme themselves accordingly."

On the 10th September 1674, the Bishop of St. Asaph granted letters of administration in the estate of Mary Meredith, otherwise Salusbury, late of Kinmel in the parish of St. George, deceased, to her husband, Joseph Meredith of the same place, husbandman. Robert Hughes of Hawarden, husbandman, was surety to the bond.

XVIII.—HALKIN.

On the 23rd March 1677-8, a Settlement was executed shortly after the marriage of Richard Parry, gentleman and widower, of this parish, and Jane Jones, also of this parish, widow, sister of John Booly of Bagillt in the parish of Holywell, gentleman, by which a messuage in Halkin tenanted by John Thomas, and two closes in Brynford called "y ddole" and "Coed Cae y fynnon", were settled on the said Jane Parry, formerly Jones and theretofore Booly, as her jointure, while three closes in Brynford, called respectively "Bryn Tanglwst issa", "Bryngwyn Tanglwst ucha" and "y Weirglodd vechan", were secured unto Thomas Parry and Henry

Parry (sons of the said Richard Parry by a former wife) as security for the payment of £20.

The residue of the property in Halkin and Brynford was to be vested in Richard Parry the grantor, for life. The reversion of the whole was to be in favour of the issue of the new marriage, *i.e.*, to the first, second, third, fourth and every other son and their heirs, and then to the first and every other daughter and their heirs, with remainder to the two sons of the first marriage in the same way. There was an ante-nuptial settlement on the 26th July 1676, after which £50 was paid as Jane's marriage portion. She had a daughter by the said Richard Parry, born in 1677, who was named Elizabeth Parry. The feoffee named in the settlement was Edward Owen of this parish, gentleman. Edward Jones and Mary Jones, children of the said Jane by a former husband, are also mentioned in the remainders.

The following signatures are appended to the Indenture:—"Richard Parry", "Edward Owen" and "the mark J of John Booly", but the seals are broken off. The witnesses were John Hendra, Richard Percyval, Thomas Griffith of Halkin, and Henry Lewis.

David Hughes of this parish, gentleman, obtained on the 10th April 1728 a grant and release of lands by indenture from Benjamin Bankes of the City of London, bookseller, and William Wickstead of Whitchurch in the County of Salop, gentleman. As security for performance of the covenants Bankes gave a bond for £4,000 (which is still in existence) on the same date. It is signed "Benj: Bankes", and sealed with a heraldic seal:—*Ermine a lion rampant* . . . . . ; Crest:—*Out of a ducal coronet* . . . . . *a demi griffin, wings addorsed and inverted* . . . . . *holding in the dexter claw a falchion* . . . . ., with an esquire's helmet and mantling. The witnesses to the bond were Ignatius Fox and W. Lloyd.

Thomas Lewis of this parish, gentleman, and Barbara Lewis his daughter, obtained a bond from Edward

Lloyd of Nant Alyn within the parish of Cilcain, gentleman, on the 10th August 1630, for the payment of £10 16*s.* before the 12th August 1631. The sureties were Thomas Pryce of Maes y Groes in the county of Flint, gentleman, and Thomas Guilde (otherwise Gyld) of Treirkeven in the parish of Mold, gentleman. The seals are missing, and the second surety attests with a mark. The witnesses were Hugh Roger, Kenrick Jones, John Griffith and Thomas Owen.

At Maes y Groes abovementioned, there lived after the Civil War one Thomas ap Thomas, gentleman, who rented from Roger Price of Llanddogoed in Denbighshire, yeoman, a messuage, cottage, tenement and lands in Llysyckill in that county. The Indenture of lease bearing date the 10th November 1657 was attested by "The Marke R of Roger Price" whose seal was a double-headed eagle displayed. The witnesses were Griffith Williams; Thomas ap Richard, butcher; and Samuel Jones (*Rhûal Muniments*).

The "Bishop's Transcripts" of the Registers of Halkin parish are in the bundles for the Deanery of Tegengle, but they are only in existence for the following years:—1667, 1670, 1673, 1674, 1676, 1684, 1686, 1688, 1693, 1694, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1702, 1704, 1708 and 1710; after which latter date I did not extend my search.

The following entries are from the said transcripts:—

"1667. Maria Hughes uxor Richardi Parry, sepulta fuit 28° die Novembris."

"1708. Thomas Davies et Maria Hughes matrimonio conjunctei 8° Septembris."

At the Probate Registry, St. Asaph, in 1665, was proved the will of Thomas Mostyn, Esquire, of this parish, which was executed on the 21st of September of that year.

Christopher Medecalph, a miner of this parish, made a will on the 29th June 1723, which was duly proved in the same Registry on the 17th July following. He mentioned his brothers John Medecalph, Richard

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF CONTENTS.

VOL. XIII. FIFTH SERIES.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDBURY, LONDON, W.C.

Medecalph, William Medecalph and Edmund Medecalph, and appointed the last named his executor; he also made bequests to his sisters Jane Medecalph and Ann Plummer, and to William Plummer, the latter's son. The witnesses were Matthew Moulding Clerk, Hugh Ellice, and Richard Carman.

XIX.—MOLD (*continued*).

JOHN AP GRUFFITH AP NICHOLAS AP JOHN, formerly of the township of Hendrebiffa, gentleman, gave a bond in £200 on the 1st September 1573, to his brother Reynald ap Gruffith ap Nicholas ap John, to secure the performance of the covenants of an Indenture of the same date by which the said John conveyed to the said Reynald a messuage called "Tythyn kaer Heysor", and its lands, as well as a close of land called "Bryn Paynyn", all in the said township, subject to the payment of a rent due to the chief Lord, and of a dower to the mother of the said John during her life. The bondsman's seal was a Gothic capital B, within two fronds of fern. The witnesses were Thomas ap John ap Madoc, David ap John ap David ap Llewelyn, Robert ap Lewes ap Pel', Richard ap John ap Jenkyn, Rees ap Nicholas ap Ievan and Edward ap Thomas.

John Gruffith, of Broughton in the parish of Hawarden, gentleman, and Edward Gruffith his son and heir apparent, granted a year's lease on the 19th February 1671-2 to Elizabeth Edwards, of Rhûal, widow, of the above-named messuage (which is not described by the old name in the deed), the same close of land (now called "Bryn y Paynyn yr Wyralydd"), and fields called "Quetgie enmill tuy", "Erw Pistill", "Erw Gwrn y Minith", and "y Wyrn yssa"; another messuage occupied by Edward ap Randle, Robert Hughes, and Dyley Reece, widow, with fields called "y Tir duy", "y Pla...rin paynyn", "Quetgie . . . .", "Quetgier Fynon", "Quetgie tan y tuy", "y Kae Bellin", "Erwyr Fordd", and (a moiety of) "y Ddioske"; another messuage occupied by Katherine Jones, widow, with

fields called "y Quetgie tan y tuy", "Quetgier wayn", "Quetgier mynith", "y Trowsdier", "Erwyr Fynnon", "Kaer berllan", "Drill yr Onnen", Erwyr Fathey", "Erow Bryn Paynyn", and (the other moiety of) "y Ddioske", and all the other messuages and lands of the said John and Edward Gruffith, all situated in Hendrebiffa. The deed mentions the Gruffiths' family pew and burying-place in the parish church of Mold. The grantors' signatures are very good and clear, "John Griffith" and "Edward Gruffith". The seals have been destroyed by rats, who have also slightly damaged the deed itself. The witnesses were William Slater, William Cooke, William Selby, Randle Moyle, Peter Moyle and Hugh Birtles. Edward ap Ievan ap David ap Rees, and Gwen his wife, and Thomas ap Edward ap Ievan their son, sold for 100 lbs. of silver four messuages, a garden, an orchard, forty acres of land, twenty acres of meadow, forty acres of pasture, and twenty acres of wood in Rhûal, Gwysaneû, Gwernafield and Nerquis to the said Edward's brother, Rees ap Ievan ap David ap Rees, and to Hugh Lewis ap David ap Gruffith. A fine was levied on the 23rd May 1585, before two Flint Justices, Sir George Bromley, Knight, and Henry Towneshend, Esquire, and a chirograph of the foot of that fine is still preserved.

By a charter dated at Moldsdale, 25th May, 21 Henry VIII (1529), John ap Nicholas ap John, Rees ap Ievan ap Llewelyn ap Howel, and Rees ap Howel ap Madoc, granted to Gruffith ap Nicholas ap John, the brother of the first grantor, and to John ap Gruffith ap Nicholas, the eldest son of the first grantee, a tenement called Lloyn Griffith in Hendrebiffa, adjoining in longitude at one end to the lands of the Earl of Derby, and at the other to the lands of David ap Griffith ap Llewelyn and David ap Jenkyn, and in latitude on one side to the King's Highway leading from Chester to Ruthin, and on the other to Whilva Christion; to have and to hold to the aforesaid Gruffith and John and their heirs, under the Lord for ever. Witnessed by

Sir William Stanley, of "Hoton", Knight, Steward of the Lordship; Edward ap David ap Rees, and Rees ap Ievan ap John, constables; John ap Rees ap Gruffith ap Howell, with many others. There are no signatures, but three seals with fancy devices.

On a sheet of paper of the early part of the seventeenth century is the commencement of a letter, which breaks off abruptly thus :—

"Noble S$_{r.}$ I have sent yo^{u} by this bearer a l're I re^{d} by the last post from my Brother. It came to mee on Saturday last. I was in good hope to haue seen yo$_{u}$ at Northopp last weeke . . . . . ."

On the back of this is a list of "the nomber of Yokins in Gwernafield & Rual, 1262", the figures denoting the total. In the following copy of the list, the figures after each name give the number of yokings held at the time, while the figures preceding some of the entries are in a later hand, and represent revised totals.

"42.	Gr' Edwards	43
28.	Rog' Jones	26
	E. E.	200
24.	Ro'dle Jo' Tho'	24
42.	Jo^{n} Price; life	23
31.	Vx' W^{m} ap Reignald	33
20.	Wm Kenricke	19
24.	Edw' Price ap Ed'd	25
36.	Hugh Kenricke	30
	Da' Gr', wch he hath	9
15.	Edward Price	15
50.	Wm Jones & mater	50
26.	Edward ap Rutherch, Thomas Raffe	26
45.	John Griffith	40
	Dauid Gr'	21
	Tho' John Robert	19
6.	Edw' John Gwyn of D'd Gr's lands	6
4.	Edward Price Gru'	4
20.	Jo' Price	20
16.	Piers ap Jo' Mathew	18
18.	Hugh Jo^{n} Robert	20
15.	Jo' Meredith	16
24.	Rob't ap Rob't	32
71.	Hugh Jones	71
160.	Wm Jones	75
33.	Mr. Birkett in H. Jo' his hands	33
16.	Thomas Price	30
16.	Tho' ap Rob't (course land),	16
	Ken' ap Evan	10
6.	Da' Price & m're	10
12.	Vx' Gr' John ap Rees	18
8.	Katherin Pennant	50
16.	Will'm Powell	16
20.	Capt' Llewelyn	64
46.	Mr. Wm Smith; H. H. ten'nt	46
2.	Wm Randle	9
12.	Vx' W^{m} ap Robt	12
	Dauid Rob't ap Evan	3
	Jane v^{ch} Hugh	3
	John ap Edward	7
	Margarett v^{ch} R's (*erased*)	3
	Vx' Wm Rob't (*erased*)	12
	Bryn Gr' (*erased*)	69
	Edward ap Jo' ap Evan	16
	Lewys ap Rob't	6
	Lands for wch nothing is p'd.	
	Rice Jones	8
	Jo' Pennant	2
	Wm Nicholas	10
	Wm Jones	12
	Dole vaure	42
	Six day Maths (*six days' mowing*)	9
		83

"1262 Yokings. I beleefe the Lands reatgeth (*reacheth = reach*) to 1274; quere."

Nehemiah Griffiths, of Rhûal, gentleman, obtained on the 22nd June 1711, a lease from John Thomas ap Edward of Gwernafield, butcher, of a parcel of meadow containing two days' math (*mowing*) of hay, and called "Gweirglodd Gwysaneû", in Gwysaneû, then in the occupation of the grantor, to hold for one year at a peppercorn rent. The grantee signs with the initials I T, and his seal is a negro's head. The witnesses were Thomas Jervis, Nicholas Emerson, Robert Ellis, and Thomas Lloyd. By a Deed of Release executed on the following day, the said John Thomas conveyed the said premises to the said Nehemiah Griffiths for £56.

By an Indenture dated 24th August 1566, William ap David ap Rees ap Llewelyn, of the township of Gwernafield, in the Lordship of Mold, gentleman, granted to Robert ap Rees ap Ievan, of the Mold, gentleman, the reversion of a messuage and all the houses belonging thereto, ten parcels of land containing 40 acres, and named respectively, "Bryn David gor", "Drill y Keliog issa", "Drill y Keliog ucha", "y Llann'gh" (*two*), "y Ddoll" (*two*), "Tyre y Pant", and "y Nant"; the tenth parcel consisting of two acres of meadow, all in the township of Gwernafield, between the lands of the Chief Lord and those of Ievan ap David ap Rees on the one side, and the highway leading from Bryn Gruffith to the mountains, called "Meneth y Garth", on the other side, and the lands of Ellis Evans, gentleman, and William ap Howell ap David, and the lands of Nicholas Lloyd and the lands of the Chief Lord at the one end, and the way leading from the Mold to Bryn Gruffith at the other end. The premises were sold subject to a life interest of David ap Rees ap Llewlyn, father of the grantor, and the deed includes a covenant to levy a fine at the next Great Sessions to be held at Flint. The seal used by William ap David was *a talbot passant*. Witnesses: Evan M'ed' (*Meredydd*), Ievan Benet, Ievan David Llewelyn Jenkyn, John Price, Edward Ward, and "Lloyd".

John Griffith, of Erryrys in the parish of Llanarmon,

Denbighshire, yeoman, and Thomas Williames (*otherwise* Williams), of Maes Garmon, Flintshire, yeoman, for the sum of £10 granted on the 25th September 1665, to Evan Edwards of Rhûal, Esquire, the messuage in Gwernafield and Kylrhedynen, in the county of Flint, wherein the late Evan ap Reignallt had recently dwelt, and which was then occupied by the said Thomas, together with five closes of land called "y ddole", "y vron", "y pedwar kyver", "y Clwytt vwch ben y tû" and "y Coed", all thereto adjoining, to have and to hold to the said Evan Edwards, his heirs and assigns for ever, "to be houlden of the Chiefe Lord or Lords of the Fee of the premises att & vnder the rents and services due and of right accustomed." The boundaries of the property were (1) the King's Highway leading from "Bryn Griffith" to "Rhyd y Mwyn"; (2) the River Alyn; (3) the lands late of the Earl of Derby; (4) the waste or common called "Gwern y Fynnon", and (5) the lands late of Robert Wynne of Nerquis, Esquire, deceased. The Indenture is thus signed:—"The Marke G of John Griffith aforenamed", and "The Marke T. W. of Thomas Williams." Both these persons have used the same seal, a fine heraldic one, containing the arms of Chadwick of Chadwick, Lancashire (*gules, an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets, argent.* Crest: *a lily argent, slipped and leaved vert*), with an esquire's helmet and mantling. The second impression is broken. I am unable to account for the use of this seal. The witnesses were John Price, Samuel Jones, William Bythell, and "Signum + Johannis Thomas."

On the back of a half sheet of eighteenth-century quarto note paper, bearing the Conway post-mark, addressed "To Mrs. Griffiths, Cupping's Lane, Chester", and franked "Free, T. Wynne", is an abstract of title relating to some property at or near Bryn Griffith in Gwernafield, of which the following is a digest:—

On the 10th February 1657, Thomas Jones and Elizabeth his wife sold a third part of the estate in fee

to Edward Jones of Westminster, gentleman, for £60; soon after which the said Edward settled at Gwernafield, and on the 1st April 1666 purchased from John Price and Elizabeth his wife their interest in the estate for £33 15*s.* After his death the major part (if not the whole) of the property devolved upon his daughter Joyce Jones, spinster, who sold her interest for £42 10*s.*, on the 3rd April 1677, to John Hughes of Gwernafield, gentleman. The latter mortgaged the estate in fee to Barbara Yonge and Dorothy Yonge, spinsters (who were members of the family of Yonge of Bryn Yorcin in Hope), on the 26th March 1700 for the sum of £35, which mortgage was subsequently redeemed.

The above-named John Hughes of Gwernafield died in the early part of the reign of Queen Anne, having settled a third of the estate upon his wife Anne, and another third upon their eldest son and heir Thomas Hughes. The widow, who was then living at Chester, executed a conveyance on the 2nd December 1709 in favour of her said son, which was not, however, to take effect until after her death. Having mortgaged the estate for the sum of £108 6*s.* to Thomas Williams of Gwernafield, yeoman, in fee, on the 16th of February 1711-2, the said Anne and Thomas settled in the town of Mold.

There is no signature to the letter sent to Mrs. Griffith, but it has a heraldic seal, ... *a chevron* . . . . *between three Cornish choughs* . . . . and for crest, on a wreath of the colours, *a fleur-de-lis* . . . . *thereon a Cornish chough as in the arms.*

In 1659, John Lloyd (who signed as "Lloyde"), of Wygfair, St. Asaph, and John Lloyd his son, both attorneys, were agents to the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph for the collection of tithe, and Mr. Baron Evan Edwards, of Rhûal, paid them £9 9*s.* a year at Michaelmas through his agent, Mr. Peter Roberts, of Bodeigan (*Rhûal Muniments*).

XX.—CILCAIN.

On the 9th January 1584-5, Humphrey ap Thomas Lloyd, gentleman, of this parish, gave a general release from all claims to his brother, David ap Thomas Lloyd. It was signed "Signu' + Hunffrey lloyd", in the presence of Thomas Morgan, clerk, Edward ap Richard and Gruffith ap Gruffith. Piers Powell, Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Lloyde and Richard Pryce, prepared an inventory of the goods and chattels of John Lloyd, late of Nant Alyn, in this parish, deceased, for the Consistorial Court of the Bishop of St. Asaph. The document is undated, but was evidently written late in the sixteenth century. The items included cattle and other live stock, household furniture and farming implements.

An agreement between David ap Thomas Lloyd, of this parish, miller, and John ap Hugh ap John, of Cornist, in the parish of Holywell, was concluded on the 12th February 1594-5, in consideration of a marriage then about to take place between the said David's son and heir apparent, John Lloyd, and Gwen verch John, the daughter of the said John ap Hugh ap John. The said David was to make a settlement at Michaelmas 1595, of all his Cilcain property in favour of his said son, with remainder to the heirs of the said John Lloyd, by the said Gwen his intended wife. The lands in question extended from a place called "Rhyd yr Onnen" to another place called "Cae engion goch", and included an oat mill, a corn mill, a cottage occupied by Piers Thomas ap William, "Cae Dio ucha", "y Talwrn grygog", "y Ddau gae", "Melchig y drym", the tenement of John Thomas ap Llewelyn, and the four closes called "Quet cae glas". The said David ap Thomas Lloyd also arranged to pay the bride £10 yearly, while her father settled £100 upon the marriage, promised to furnish her chamber, and to support the young couple for the first four years. The parties to this marriage settlement signed themselves "David Thomas Lloyd",

"Jo^{n} ap Hugh Jo^{n} of Cornyst", "John Lloyd D'd Lloyd". The twelve witnesses were: Gruffith ap Ithell Wyn, Rees ap Ithell Wyn, John Pennant, John Thomas ap John ap David, John ap Ithell Thomas, of Lysten hynyth, Ievan Thomas ap John ap David, David ap Morgan, Harry Lewes, Richard ap John ap Hugh of Halkin, Hugh ap William Werberton of Counsillt (*Coleshill, in the parish of Holywell*), gentleman, David Thomas Lloyd and John Lloyd.

By Indenture of 19th April 1578, David ap Thomas Lloyd, of this parish, gentleman, granted to his brother Gruffith ap Thomas Lloyd, a moiety of the water corn mill called "Melyn Alyn", with its profits; and a moiety of a parcel of land called "y Wern", adjoining the said mill, and lying between the brook there called "Alyn", on one side, and the mill ditch on the other side and at one end, and the said mill at the other end; a parcel of land called "yrerow dim y pren tege", containing half an acre, and lying between the lands of John Lloyd on either side, the land of the said David called "yrerow bant" at one end, and the said "Alyn" brook at the other end; to have and to hold to the said Gruffith, his executors and assigns, for 12 years from the Feast of the Apostles Philip and Jacob (*James*) next ensuing, at the rent of 6*s.* 6*d.* a year. By the same deed was also granted a lease for the same period of a moiety of a house then occupied by Luce verch Edward, widow, and two gardens belonging to the said house, in the township of Cilcain (but only in the event of the death of the said Luce), at the rent of 4*d.* a year. There is no signature to the deed, and the seal is broken off. The witnesses were David ap Rees, David ap John ap Howell, and Hugh ap Edward.

THE

PREHISTORIC FORTRESSES OF TRECEIRI AND EILDON.

BY DR. D. CHRISTISON, F.S.A. SCOT.

Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (vol. xviii), by permission of the Council and with the author's sanction.

I.—TRECEIRI.

SOME apology, or at least some explanation, seems necessary in bringing forward the results of a few hours' visit paid in 1887 to Treceiri, better known, though perhaps less accurately, as Tre'r Ceiri, after the numerous and more deliberate accounts in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* by distinguished Welsh observers; but the subject of the best preserved stone fortress in our island is not easily exhausted; and although I could not hope in so brief a visit to add anything of moment to the descriptions of my predecessors, it seemed to be a matter of some importance to record some points in which my impressions differed from theirs. My main object, however, has been to reproduce my drawings, because there can be no question that the illustrations hitherto published are totally inadequate to give a fair idea of remains of such unusual and even unique interest. These drawings have no other merit than a certain rude faithfulness, but I trust they may stimulate others more skilled with the pencil, or still better, who are adepts with the camera, to give us worthy representations of these important ruins, which, although wonderfully preserved in some parts at present, may in no long time fall into a hopeless state of decay.

Passing by Pennant's account, which seems in a great measure unreliable, the first description of

Treceiri worthy of notice is by Mr. Jones Parry. This I have not seen, as it is unfortunately contained in a volume (*Arch. Camb.*, 1855) only to be met with by a rare accident. His plan, however, is reproduced by Mr. E. L. Barnwell (*Arch. Camb.*, 1871, p. 66), in the fullest account of the fortress yet published, and it agrees so well with the much smaller and less detailed plan of the Ordnance Survey (fig. 1) as to inspire confidence in its general accuracy. As Mr. Barnwell was indebted to Mr. Parry Jones, so am I to Mr. Barnwell, for every fresh observer finds his labour on the spot greatly eased when he has had the advantage of studying beforehand the work of a careful and reliable predecessor.

Singularly enough the situation of Treceiri (fig. 2) bears a striking resemblance to that of the Eildon fortress, which forms the second of my subjects. Both are upon the most easterly and the second highest summit of a three-peaked hill, and from some points of view the pictorial likeness is most remarkable. Yr Eifl, the Welsh hill, however, has the advantage over its Scottish rival of being about 500 ft. higher, and of rising on its western flank directly from the sea. The peak at this end is 1,456 ft. high, the central one being 1,846 ft., and the eastern one 1,590 ft. The fortress occupies the whole of the pretty level eastern summit, which nowhere falls much, if at all, below 1,500 ft. of elevation, and rises rather abruptly at the N.-E. end, within the line of defence, to the actual peak. From the summit the ground falls to the north by long, steep, rocky, and stony declivities upon the gentler slopes at the foot, dotted with farmhouses and intersected by numerous stone dykes, as shown in fig. 2: but at the S.-W. end, and partially on the N.-W. side, there is a comparatively short and gentle descent to the neck which leads to the central peak (fig. 6).

The defences consist (1) of a wall of *enceinte* which girdles the edge of the summit; (2) of exterior lines on the more accessible part of the N.-W. slope; (3) of

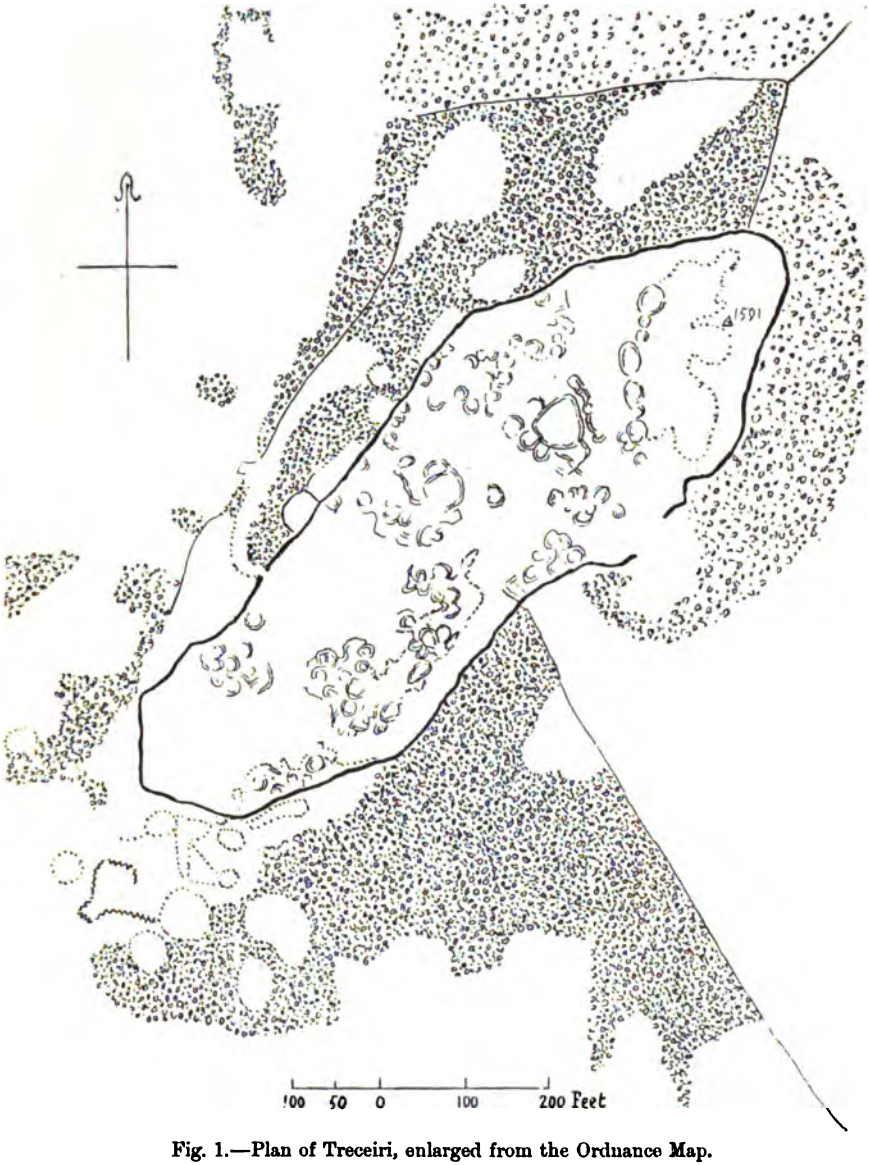


Fig. 1.—Plan of Treceiri, enlarged from the Ordnance Map.

an elaborate series of works thrown out down the gentle S.-W. slope to protect the entrance.

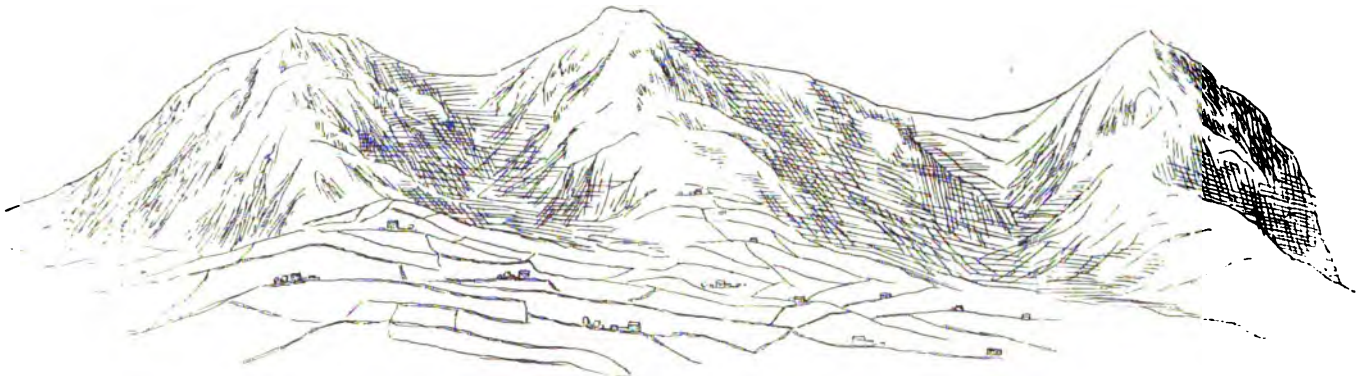


Fig. 2.—The Hill Yr Eifl.

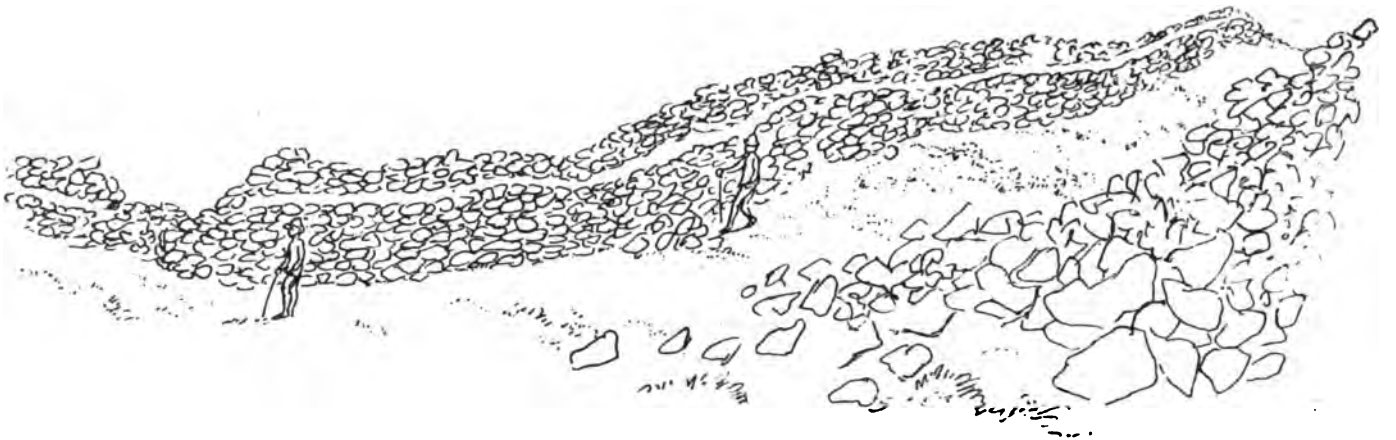


Fig. 3.—Interior View of N.-E. Wall, Treceiri.

(*a*) The main wall, by reason of following the edge of the slopes, forms an irregular oval figure, enclosing a space about 960 ft. in length by 350 towards the N.-E. end and 230 towards the S.-W. end. This is according to the 6-in. Ordnance Map, but Mr. Jones Parry's plan makes it about 40 ft. longer. The wall is completely ruinous for a great part of the circuit, but in some places, and particularly for a stretch of nearly 200 yds. at the N.-E. end, it appears to be pretty

Fig. 4.—Part of N.-E. Wall, Treceiri.

perfect (figs. 3, 4, and 5). Here the parapet remains, and I estimated the total height of wall and parapet to vary between 10 ft. and 14 ft. and the width to be 10 ft. But Mr. Barnwell found the height in some places to be 15 ft., and thinks it would be more if the *débris* were cleared away. These heights are outside, but in consequence of the wall being constructed on the slope, the inner side, which is on the level of the interior, is usually 2 ft. or 3 ft. less in height than the outside. The width seems to vary. I found it 10 ft.

at one point, but Mr. Prichard (*Arch. Camb.*, 1887, p. 259) reduces it to 9 ft., and Mr. Barnwell made it as much as 16 ft. for a short distance near a sally-port where he noticed a kind of double banquette. The wall has no batter, but stands perpendicularly, except where it bulges from decay. The parapet has no loopholes, is about 3 ft. to 4 ft. high, and according to Mr. Prichard is 5 ft. wide: so wide in fact, that, as Mr. Barnwell remarks, the defenders must have stood *on* it, to be enabled to annoy an enemy at or near the foot.

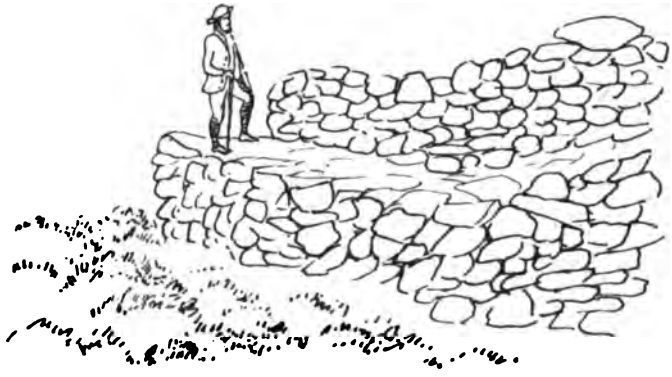


Fig. 5.—Wall and Parapet, Treceiri.

(*b*) Pennant and Barnwell describe the comparatively weak N.-W. front as being strengthened by two walls, which in Jones Parry's map are drawn irregularly parallel with the inner wall, enclosing an additional space of about 1,000 ft. by 250 ft., crossed by several traverses. I failed to make out either of these walls satisfactorily. In their present condition I took them for low retaining-walls, but the difficulty of scrambling over so much rough ground, in the short time at my disposal, hindered me from making a thorough examination. My opinion was founded on the appearance of the visible structure left, on the absence of such mounds of *débris* as fallen walls of defence might be

expected to leave, and on the apparently artificial spreading of the *débris* which encumbers this outer space. This artificial character seems further proved by the arrangement and extraordinary extent of the masses of *débris*, close to the more accessible parts of the fort (Plan, fig. 1); by the existence of broad heathery lanes, crossing obliquely the sheets of stones; and by the inner wall of *enceinte* having suffered little loss here, so that it could not have supplied the mass of *débris* that lies on the slope below, particulars which, besides what I take to be the retaining-walls, are seen in the exterior view (fig. 6). Mr. Barnwell was the first, I believe, to suggest that sheets of stones were purposely spread on the slopes of prehistoric forts to obstruct the approach of an enemy, having been led to this opinion by the artificial aspect of the masses lying not, as I understand his description, where I have just described them, but upon the steeper main slopes of the hill. The same idea often forced itself upon me when scrambling over stony masses in front of our Scottish forts, and I have seen an apparent instance of their use at the mediæval castle of Doon, Ayrshire. This interesting ruin is situated on a small, smooth rock-island in Loch Doon, and the whole space between the walls and the water, about 30 yds. to 50 yds. in width, is covered with loose blocks, certainly not derived from the castle wall of *enceinte*, which still stands to nearly its full height; although, alas! tottering to its fall, the stones of the pediment having been disgracefully allowed to be torn away a few years ago—a wanton destruction of one of the most interesting ruins in Scotland which is much to be lamented.

(*c*) The principal entrance is at the S.W. end, and extraordinary precautions have been taken to protect it. Unfortunately, the elaborate defences are so dilapidated that it is extremely difficult to determine their precise nature. According to Jones Parry's plan, the approach is by a sinuous passage, only a few feet

wide, like an elongated S, 210 ft. in length without following the curve. This passage winds through three walls on the western side and two on the east, which are not in a line with each other, and are roughly parallel with the main wall. A hornwork is thrown out on either side from the outer wall, that on the east being in advance of the one on the west, and a third hornwork is inserted in a wide space between the outer and middle walls on the east side. All these hornworks closely flank the entrance.

But a totally different plan has been furnished to Mr. Barnwell by Mr. T. J. Blight, who represents the passage as straight, no less than 24 ft. in width, and cutting through four advanced walls on the east side and three on the west, all straight and strictly parallel.

Comparing these two plans on the spot, my impression was distinctly in favour of the earlier one by Mr. Jones Parry, particularly as regards the narrowness of the passage and its winding character, both of which seemed to me unmistakable. The small 6-in. Ordnance Plan differs from both, but resembles Mr. Parry's much more than Mr. Blight's, although it makes the total projection of the mass of outer defences only about 170 ft. instead of 210 ft.

A second important entrance, which I had not time to examine, is on the N.-W. front, and is fully described by Mr. Barnwell. There is also a sally-port through the N.-E. wall (fig. 3 on the left), apparently much choked with *débris* since it was described by Mr. Barnwell. He gives a view of it from the outside, showing the lintel in its place, believed to be the only one left in Wales. The width of the passage he found to be 6 ft., and Mr. Parry Jones gives its height as 5 ft. Mr. Barnwell describes and figures a kind of double banquette, running for a short distance on each side of the port in rear of the wall. But Mr. Prichard, who took down a part of the lower step of the banquette, believed it was put as a support to the wall, which was giving way. I failed to notice this lower

Fig. 6.—Exterior View of S.-W. Wall, Treceiri.

Fig. 7.—General View of Interior, Treceiri.

step, and it does not appear in my sketch (fig. 3). Mr. Prichard believed also that the wall of the upper banquette was an integral part of the rampart wall, and that they were not independent, placed alongside of, and against each other, as in some Welsh, English, and Irish forts. In rear of the port, and leading towards it, there seemed to me to be the remains of a sunk passage, but excavation would be necessary to prove if my surmise is correct.

Fig. 7 gives a general view of the interior, taken from the stony knoll at the N.-E. end of the place. In Mr. Jones Parry's plan five larger and five smaller groups of enclosures and ruined dwellings are shown. Three of the larger and one of the smaller groups abut more or less on the wall, and in each group the "huts" abut closely on each other. The size and shape of these enclosures varies exceedingly; some appear to be too large for dwellings, but the great majority are small enough, and are more or less rounded in figure. Mr. Jones Parry states that some are 30 ft. long, and Mr. Barnwell says that some of the circular ones are 15 ft. or 16 ft. in diameter. In a group of four chambers he gives the dimensions as 16½ ft. by 10 ft., 11 ft. by 6½ ft., 20 ft. by 8 ft., and 8 ft. by about 6 ft. The walls of a few of the chambers are still 6 ft. high, but the great majority are less, and many of them have no doors (Barnwell). It seemed to me that a number of them are sunk 2 ft. or 3 ft. in the ground, but this may have been due to the accumulation of rubbish outside. Besides these ten groups there is a solitary hut circle standing free, and three separate double chambers abutting on the west wall in Jones Parry's plan. The total number of chambers or enclosures of one kind or another on the plan is about 150, and they do not occupy more than about a third or fourth of the interior space, which is much overgrown with heather, and is rough, as if the *débris* of many more buildings may exist underfoot.

The stony knoll or ruin at the N.-E. end is partially

seen in figs. 3 and 4 on the left. It is the highest point, and commands an excellent view of the whole interior (fig. 7). Mr. Barnwell considers it to be "a high artificial mound composed of large stones"; but possibly it is partly a natural knoll. Regarded as purely artificial, the accumulation of stones would be enormous. Mr. Barnwell thought it was a ruined look-out post.

As to the water-supply, Mr. Barnwell says "there would be no scarcity except in unusually dry seasons." He does not mention, however, whence the supply would be derived, and I did not notice any springs within or near the walls.

Mr. Barnwell says that Tre'r Ceiri, the usual literary form, means *the town of fortresses;* but Prof. Rhys (*Arch. Camb.*, 1877, p. 339) has ascertained that the native pronunciation is Treceiri, and that in Carnarvonshire *ceari* is the plural of *cawr* (a giant), and is not an interchangeable form of *caerau*, the plural of *caer*, a fort. The meaning, therefore, he maintains, is *the town of giants*, "a name which implies that all tradition of its builders had so entirely died out as to cause the Welsh people to attribute its origin to a race of beings different from themselves, and endowed with supernatural strength." I have adopted Prof. Rhys's spelling.

It says much for the skill of the builders that so much of a perpendicular wall, of great antiquity, built without a particle of cement, should still stand nearly perfect. This immunity from destruction it probably owes, as far as man is concerned, to its elevated and comparatively inaccessible situation, and to the enormous *screes* of stone which clothe the hill-slopes, amply sufficient to supply materials for stone dykes without recourse being had to the ruins above.

As to degradation from the weather, it may be that a loose stone wall is less liable to destruction than a cemented wall, in one important respect. Water is apt to get shut up in crevices in a cemented wall, and there to exercise its enormous destructive power of expansion when freezing, but in an uncemented wall it may escape

freely through the interstices. Something may also be due to the construction of the wall. Prof. Babington found that a number of the stones were set not longitudinally but transversely, with their heads outwards. This may have had a binding effect. He was not able to investigate this point so thoroughly as it evidently deserves.

In conclusion, I may recapitulate the points which seem to require further investigation.

(1) Are the sheets of stone on the steep slopes and on the S.-W. and N.-W. fronts natural or artificial? An accurate plan of their precise shape and position, with the direction of the heathery lanes that cross those on the N.-W. front, would be valuable.

(2) The precise dimensions, shape, and internal structure of the wall.

(3) The precise nature of the two outer "walls" on the N.-W. face, with their appurtenances.

(4) The "sally-port" on the north should be cleared out.

(5) The nature of the supposed sunk passage in its rear should be ascertained.

(6) The double banquette on either side of the sally-port, which I did not notice, and which does not appear in my sketch, should be further studied.

(7) The main entrance from the S.-W. should be examined, to clear up the discrepancies between the plans of Mr. Jones Parry and Mr. Blight.

(8) Is there any existing water-supply at or near the fortress?

(9) Photographs or drawings should be taken of the details.

(10) An accurate plan should be made of the structures in the interior, and the floors of a number of them should be excavated, with the object of finding relics which might throw light on the antiquity of the fortress.

To accomplish all this demands a considerable expenditure of time, labour, and money, but these have not

been grudged in the excavation of other ruins, at home and abroad, which I do not hesitate to say are of far less interest and importance to us Britons than the unique remains of the best preserved native prehistoric fortified town in our Island.

All archæologists will learn with the deepest regret that the Government has declined, on the score of expense, to place Treceiri under the protection of the Ancient Monuments Act, when recently requested to do so by the owner, Mr. R. H. Wood, of Rugby.

II.—EILDON.

The Eildon fortress, or fortified town, although it resembles Treceiri in its situation, is a great contrast to it in other respects, for while Treceiri is a stone fortress containing stone dwellings, Eildon appears to have been defended by palisaded terraces, enclosing huts of some easily perishable material.

In prehistoric or early historic times the Eildon Hills, commanding as they do on their eastern flank the pass from the south to the centre of Scotland, formed by the Tweed as it emerges from the hill country on the open part of Roxburghshire, must always have been deemed of great importance. An ancient road, commonly attributed to the Romans, but which, for aught we know, may have existed long before their day, has been traced making its way to this pass, in continuation of the Northumberland Watling Street; and in the pass itself, nestling under the flank of the hill, remains, indicative of one of the very few Roman stations known to exist in Scotland, have been found. So prominent a position for outlook and defence could not escape occupation at a time when the security afforded by difficulty of access was deemed ample compensation for the necessary discomforts and inconveniences of a lofty site. Accordingly, ample evidence remains of such occupation upon the north-eastern of the three peaks which give the Eildons their character-

istic and beautiful form. This is not the highest of the peaks, as it is about 50 ft. lower than the central one, which rises 1,365 ft. above the sea; but the latter is

Fig. 8 (*a*).—Eildon Hill Fort.

Fig. 8 (*b*).—Distant View from S.E.

too conical and sharp-pointed for occupation, whereas the other has a considerable amount of pretty level space on the top, with several natural terraces on the slopes, affording ample room for the erection of habita-

tions. It also enjoys the strategic advantage of being projected into the angle where the Tweed, flowing 1,150 ft. below, changes its course from east to south on emerging from the hills and winds round it, at a distance varying from a mile to a mile and three-quarters from the summit. The defensive lines encircle the hill, at a height of perhaps 70 ft. below the top on the east (fig. 8, *a*), on the shoulder of the hill to the right; (*b*) on the hill to the left, falling about 150 ft. lower on the west (views *b* and *c*), where they are still about 100 ft. above the neck; and they may be seen on the hill face from a distance of several miles. At the east end (views *a* and *b*) they are horizontal at first, but soon descend pretty steeply to the edge of a plateau on the north (views *b* and *c*), after which they continue on the hill face, at nearly the same lower level, round by the west to the edge of another much more extensive plateau on the south (view *a*), and complete the circuit of nearly a mile by climbing abruptly up the east end of a steep "scree" or "sclither" of loose

Fig. 8(*c*).—Nearer Vjews of Eildon Hill Fort from N.-E. and N.-W.

stones which rises from the southern plateau to the

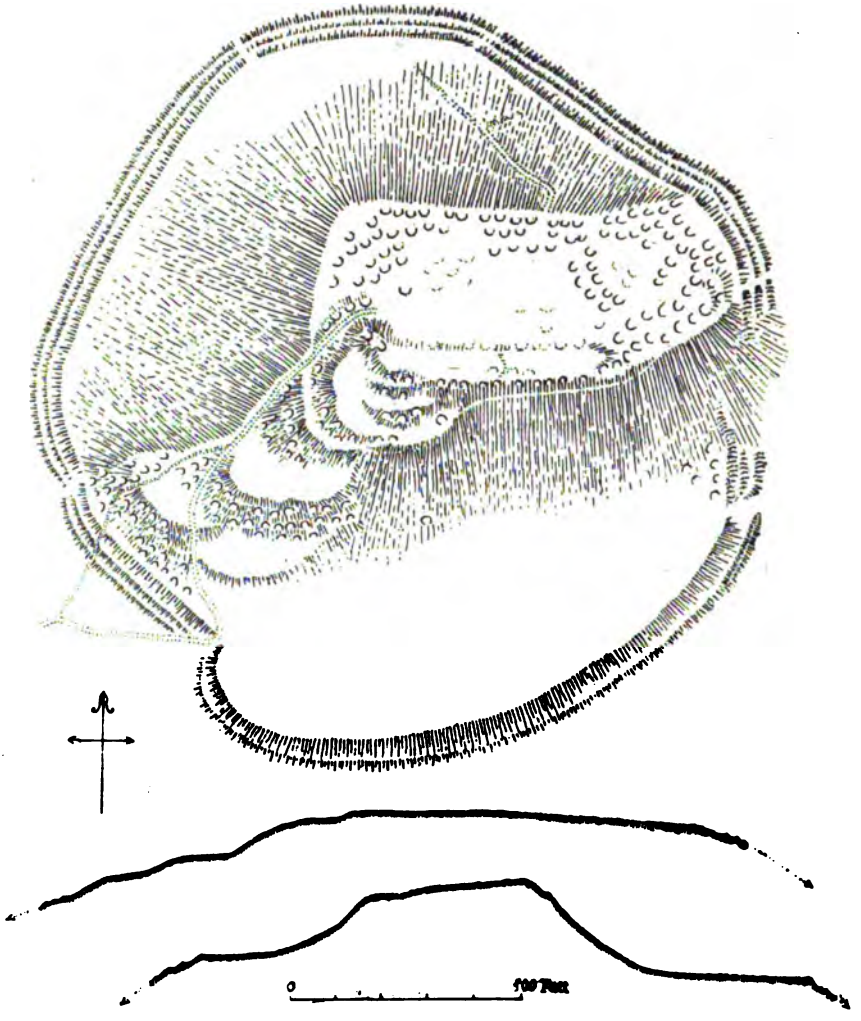


Fig. 9.—Plan of Eildon Hill Fort from the Ordnance Survey, with the hut-foundations added.

summit of the hill (view *a*). In Plan (fig. 9), the enclosure is very nearly circular.

In structure the lines consist in general of three

narrow parallel terraces, constructed one above another on the face of the hill, from three or four to six or seven yards apart. The upper one, however, required very little making, as it generally runs where a steep slope eases off to a gentle one, and in taking the edge of the north and south plateaux it, of course, required no making at all. The width of the lower terraces varies somewhat, but rarely exceeds 7 ft. or 8 ft. On the south side the defensive lines have apparently been reduced to two, one formed naturally by the edge of the plateau, the other some yards down the steep scree which falls here on the woods of Eildon Hall. Indeed, it is only in the eastern half of this part that the terrace can be distinctly traced on the spot, the slipping of the scree having no doubt gradually effaced it in the western half. Similarly, it is not easy, on the spot, to define the lines as they ascend the scree to the highest point of the defences at the east end. Nevertheless, indistinct or untraceable as they may be on the spot, it is remarkable how visible these lines are on the hill face when looked at from a great distance. The modification of the lines at the east entrance will be described in speaking of the entrances. Of course, these terraces do not constitute a defence in themselves, and I think there can be little doubt that they were palisaded at the edge, because there are no remains of earthen mounds, and indeed there is no room for them; neither is there any *débris* indicative of stone walls, and although many parts of the hill are stony, the stones are small and unsuitable for building.

Entrances—(Plan, fig. 9).—At present there are seven breaks in the continuity of the lines. Four of them, towards the north and N.-W., are small, and if not modern may have been sally-ports. Another on the east, where the lines after ascending the scree reach their highest point, is probably an original sally-port. But the two main entrances are at the

east and west ends of the great southern plateau. The one at the west end is the most accessible, as it is only about 100 ft. above the broad and nearly level neck which connects the summit on which the fort stands with the higher Eildon, and is approached from the neck by a gentle slope. The terraces near the entrance appear to have been widened and multiplied, but are now much broken down. The entrance itself is withdrawn, so as to give a strong flanking defence.

The eastern entrance is close under the summit-scree, and its defences on the north side are now represented by three short, low, broad, stony mounds (Plan, fig. 9) which run from it to the foot of the scree, and on the south by a scarp about 25 ft. high, with a sharp-crested mound at its foot, which is prolonged in front of the entrance, apparently to include a feeble spring there. Another stronger spring, covered and padlocked, is near this on the north side of the entrance, and the two outer mounds on that side bend inwards, so as to flank and exclude it from the lines; but this may be a modern change, when the spring was utilised. As this entrance is on a slope, the three mounds rise one above the other, those in the rear commanding those in front.

Interior—(Plan, fig. 9).—The space within the lines may be divided into the level or slightly inclined summit, or citadel, and the slopes and plateaux which lie between the citadel and the lines of fortification. The summit is nearly rectangular, and measures about 800 ft. by 400 ft., the long axis being from east to west. The actual top is a nearly level narrow ridge about 270 ft. long, at the top of the southern scree and towards its west end. From this ridge the ground inclines slightly to the north margin of the rectangle, and slightly, at first, then rather abruptly, to its east margin, where alone it is bounded by the lines of fortification, here at their highest elevation. From the margins of the rectangle the ground falls abruptly in all directions, so that a mere palisade at

the edge would convert this upper space into an inner citadel.

The space between it and the fortification lines is thus disposed:—On the south the great upper scree falls from it on the southern plateau about 200 ft. below. On the east the summit is bounded by the lines. To the north the slope, precipitous at one part, falls on the northern plateau or terrace. To the west there is a long, continuous, and gentler slope to the lines. To the S.-W. the descent is by a series of small plateaux, connecting the summit with the south-west entrance.

Signs of Habitation.—On the inclined parts of the rectangular summit, and on the slopes which fall on the smaller plateaux to the S.-W., there are a large number of small circular or horse-shoe shaped excavations, sometimes arranged in two or three irregular rows, sometimes with indications of terracing in front of the rows, particularly near the edge of the summit-space, on the east, north, and west. There is a row even on the very edge of the great southern scree, but there they are broken abruptly on the side next the edge, as if from degradation of the scree. At first, when I had noticed only a few of these excavations, I took them for mere shelters cut in the face of the slopes, but when I saw how numerous they were, I came to the conclusion that they must have been foundation-spaces for huts, partly perhaps to afford some shelter to the huts, but mainly probably to provide level foundations for them. Their horse-shoe form is explained by their being excavated in sloping ground, which tends to give them more or less of a straight margin on the downward side of the slope. The excavated sides gradually rise to the upper end, where they vary in depth from a foot, or even less, to 3 ft. or 4 ft., in a few instances to as much as 5 ft., according to the steepness of the slope in which they are cut. The total number that can be distinctly made out is about 300, of which nearly 200 are on the

summit rectangle, or what we may call the citadel or upper town. But besides these, I have noticed faint signs of others on the more level spaces, sometimes merely indicated by differences in the vegetation; and if we reflect that on the plateaux it would not be necessary to make level foundations, it is quite possible that a thousand of our supposed huts may have stood within the lines originally. On the great southern plateau there is ample room for several hundred, but the space has been banked up and fenced by a retaining-wall, and has been under plough, so that any traces there may have been are obliterated. Besides the larger groups already described, there is a very distinct single foundation-space about half way along the foot of the scree, and a group of five in rear of the three mounds on the north side of the east entrance (Plan, fig. 9). It is remarkable that on the extensive slopes within the lines to the north and north-west they are entirely absent, and there are none outside the lines. The position of the huts is laid down roughly in the Plan (fig. 9), and some of them are faintly indicated in the middle and lower views (fig. 8). With a favourable light I have been able to distinguish them from a distance of nearly two miles. The huts which may be supposed to have occupied these foundations must have been of some perishable material and not of stone, as there is not a particle of stony *débris* to be seen about any of them.

The only description hitherto published of Eildon Fort is in an account of the Parish of Melrose by Mr. A. Milne, who was minister there for a considerable period down to 1747. He describes it as "well fortified with two Fosses and Dikes of earth, more than a mile and a half in circuit, with a large plain near the top of the hill, called the Floors. On the head of the hill may be seen the Prætorium surrounded with many huts. There are ports to the east, west, and north, from a place called the Haxrecrag, a plain

way to Melrose called the Stile-Dyke. The principal entry has been from the south towards Bethendean, where the ground slopeth more easily, from a place near the South Hill called the Castlestead." He also says the camp "hath many springs of good water near it". This description, characterised as it is by the usual vagueness and inaccuracy of the writers of the period, at least preserves some local names which have disappeared from the map, if not from the memory of the people. Thus he calls what I presume to be the large southern plateau,—*the Floors;* and the precipitous bluff below the north-west angle of the upper town is presumably the *Haxrecrag.* The "many springs near the camp" are not now visible, probably because they have been impounded for the water-supply of houses at the foot of the hill. The only springs within or under shelter of the works are the two somewhat awkwardly placed at the eastern entrance. It is possible to drive a cart to the top by a track from the south, as indicated by Mr. Milne. This track is shown on the Plan (fig. 9) ascending the neck, piercing the lines at the west entrance, and passing the plateaux and groups of "huts" on the south-west slope on its way to the summit. A foot-path branches off from it on the neck to the north, and rejoins it about half way up. Another broad track ascends from the northern terrace to the upper town. This and the triple lines are well seen as green bands in the dark heather (fig. 8 lower view, on the left).

In prosecuting my investigations of Eildon Fort I kept always in view the desirability of settling doubtful points by excavation. Little information by this means can be anticipated in regard to the fortifications themselves. Sections through the mounds at the eastern entrance might show something of their structure, but elsewhere in the wide circuit, if my views are correct, the lines are simply terraces, originally defended by palisades, and not likely to

conceal anything of an instructive nature. It is different, however, with the supposed hut-foundations in the interior, and it is satisfactory to know that, with the permission of the Duke of Buccleuch, the proprietor, and Mr. Adam Smith, the tenant, some exploratory excavations have been made by Mr. James Curle, F.S.A. Scot., in three of these spaces, while these sheets were going through the press. In the first, he found a thin layer of charcoal 14 ins. below the surface near the rock, which was partially covered by a thin bed of brick red clay. In the second, a foot below the surface a few fragments of charcoal were found. In the third, at the same depth, he came upon a small piece of the usual coarse pottery mixed with little stones, commonly called early British; and a foot lower was a thin stratum of charcoal, and some white clay resting on the rock. These results confirm the theory formed of the origin and purpose of these levelled spaces, and it is Mr. Curle's intention to carry out a more thorough excavation soon.

EXPLORATION OF EARTHWORKS ON THE COAST OF PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY THE REV. JAMES PHILLIPS.

"WE are sick of Pembrokeshire!" was the good-humoured protest made by one of the members of the Association at Aberystwith; yet I must venture, even at the risk of exhausting the patience of some of your readers, to press upon their attention another Pembrokeshire topic.

There is no county in the Principality in which the work of excavation in connection with prehistoric remains is so certain to yield valuable results. This has been shown by the success which attended the excavations made some years ago on the southern coast by Mr. Edward Laws; and now, in connection with the Archæological Survey, a humble beginning has been made in another part of the county.

The district which, at the request of the energetic Secretaries, I have already surveyed, lies at the eastern and south-eastern angles of St. Bride's Bay. In it there are ten "raths", while just outside the area of the map allotted to me there are at least five others, making fifteen within a very narrow radius. These earthworks exhibit marked differences of type which are by no means wholly accounted for by differences of situation. Of the ten within my special district, eight are found in pairs, one on each side of a valley. In one case there is a third in the group. The rath on the western side of the valley is bordered on the north by a deep gully, on the farther side of which are the remains of the third. These are situated on Howelston Farm, over against the Slade or Woodland rath; but neither of them is marked on the Ordnance Map,

Only one stands by itself, "a cliff castle" at Black Point or Haroldston West Point.

Where comparison is possible, there is a striking similarity in the construction of the opposite camps. Even the "cliff castle" at Black Point is confronted by one of almost exactly the same shape at Broadmoor on the southern shore.

Two of the earthworks in this neighbourhood had already been described in the Journal. The tenth volume of the Third Series opens with an excellent article on Pembrokeshire Raths. One of those selected for description is the almost rectangular work at Woodland, which the writer calls the "Slade" rath. Another is the "cliff castle" at Black Point. In this case, while the plan and the general description are very carefully given, a diagram showing the elevations is singularly inaccurate. Among other mistakes, the depression at the inner foot of the vallum has been altogether overlooked. When examining the rath for the purposes of the Survey, this depression attracted my attention, and having obtained the cordial assent of the occupier of the farm, Mr. Philpin, I set about the excavation.

The promontory which is defended by the earthwork runs out due west. The embankment is needed to guard only the north and east. About half way up the northern side two lower lines of embankment are traceable, which running south enclose an oval space of about 66 ft. north to south, and 33 ft. east to west. Within these lines was the depression which we have partially excavated.

Of the two fortified fronts, the northern is considerably the longer. On this side, about half way up from the cliff, there was probably one of two entrances; the other, the principal entrance, being near the southern end of the east front. Close to the northern entrance, at the inner base of the great rampart, there are traceable two low lines of embankment which run southwards, and meet nearly half way to the southern cliff. These enclose a space of about 66 ft. to 33 ft. This

oval depression was scarcely traceable when I first examined the camp, being concealed by a thick growth of ferns and stunted brushwood.

It was just under the foot of the northern rampart, which is here at its widest, that we began to dig; *i.e.*, at the northern end of this depression. At the depth of about 2 ft. we found stonework, and were soon satisfied that it was the upper part of a wall of some kind. Eventually it proved to be two contiguous hut-circles, which were constructed under the shelter of the western of the two low embankments. The stonework reached to the depth of about 6 ft. from the present surface. At a depth of 4 ft. 6 ins. to 5 ft. we found abundant evidence of human occupation, in the shape of small quantities of charcoal, bones, and shells. The bones included a few ox-teeth, the shells were chiefly oyster and mussel.

We were at first altogether disappointed in our search for stone implements,—a failure possibly due to my own inexperience; but there were great numbers of pebbles, some of which had been flattened on one side. There was a stone of about 7 ins. long, which may have been a muller, but which I must confess appears to me to have been a whetstone.

More annoying than the failure to find stone implements was the loss, through somebody's carelessness, of two small fragments of pottery. They were about 1½ in. long, and were parts of different vessels, one being decidedly coarser than the other. The finer of the two was part of the bottom of a very shallow cup or basin. It was certainly hand-made. The colour, a deep yellow (almost orange), came off upon my thumb when I rubbed it.

At first we thought we had reached undisturbed rock at about 7 ft., but on re-examination we found that at the northern end, where we had begun to dig, the pit was much deeper. The solid rock, which is not very hard, had been excavated to the depth of at least 4 ft., making a total there of at least 10 ft. 6 ins.

When the digging was suspended, by my having to leave home, I was by no means certain that we had reached the bottom. Before suspending the work we were rewarded by finding two spindle-whorls. They are of very rough make, thin, and easily broken.

I hope in a week or two to resume the digging, so as to reach the actual bottom at the deepest part, and also to examine, more carefully than I have yet been able to do, the soil thrown up from that end.

Excavations, however, are expensive, and I venture to appeal for funds which may be applied in excavating the earthworks of this neighbourhood, so far as to settle finally all question as to their age.

The evidence of the excavation I have already made points unmistakeably to the neolithic period as the date of the work at Black Point. There are other camps which will well repay excavation. The differences of type are so pronounced as to suggest differences among the builders, of age and even of race. Whoever constructed the cliff castles of West Pembrokeshire, they were not the work of a seafaring people; much less of immigrants who came by sea; for they are built, without exception, on inaccessible cliffs,—the most inaccessible in the neighbourhood.

At Walwyn's Castle there are traces of an earlier work which has been used as the substructure of the present large fortification. Just inside the oldest part of the work there are two circular depressions, of the diameter of 30 and 20 ft. respectively. In the camp at Broadmoor, which so closely resembles that at Black Point, the depression indicating the old dwellings is more clearly marked than it was at the latter place.

If a few pounds can be placed at the disposal of myself or of *the Secretaries of the Survey Committee*, I will undertake that the money shall be well applied, and that an attempt will be made to settle finally the questions relating to the Pembrokeshire raths, and also to throw light on the still unsolved problems of early Pembrokeshire ethnology.

NOTES ON THE OLDER CHURCHES
IN THE
FOUR WELSH DIOCESES.

BY THE LATE SIR STEPHEN GLYNNE, BART.

(*Continued from 5th Ser., vol.* v, *p.* 137.)

LUDCHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE (ST. ELIDYR).

August 20, 1869.

THIS church is curiously situated on an abrupt eminence of limestone, of which the sides on the south-west are precipitously scarped. It is of the local type of South Pembrokeshire, and consists of two parallel aisles or bodies, of which the northern forms the chancel at its east end, a western tower and a north porch.

The tower resembles others of the district, is plain, and of the somewhat military character, has battlement and corbel table, but neither buttress nor string-course, and very thick walls. At the north-east a square turret rises above the tower, the belfry windows single and oblong, other openings merely narrow slits. On the west side a plain pointed doorway.

The chancel is divided from the nave by a very rude pointed arch upon imposts. The nave arcade has three rude wide-pointed arches, the two western piers being circular but very coarse. Eastward of these is a huge wall-pier, on which is a corbel or bracket, beyond which are two smaller and lower arches, remarkably rude, dividing the aisle from the chancel; the pier is square and of plain wall, but these arches have been strengthened by some modern masonry, roughly executed, which distorts the general appearance. There is a single lancet window closed at the south, most other windows modern; but at the east of the chancel

is one of two lights, square-headed, and Edwardian in character, at the east of the south aisle one with two obtuse-headed lights. The interior is dark. The font has a square bowl, chamfered at the angles, on a stem. The north porch is large. There are the steps of a cross in the churchyard.

Loveston.

June 24, 1867.

This church has nave with small north and south transepts, chancel and western tower. The whole is of the local type. The tower tapers in a remarkable degree, and has a rude battlement and corbel table, a square turret at the north-west, rising high, and no stringcourses. There is a single lancet on the west side, and single narrow belfry windows. The tower arch to the nave is pointed and rude. The tower is vaulted within. The transepts are very short, and are vaulted. The chancel arch is pointed upon imposts; on the south side of it is a hagioscope, square, and divided by a mullion. To the south-west of the chancel is the projection common in these churches. The east window is Perpendicular, square-headed, labelled, of three lights. North of the chancel are no windows. One window to the south is square-headed. Near the south door internally is an oblong opening. The font has a square bowl on circular stem, with square base, and chevron moulding under the bowl. The porch, as usual, is very large, and the doorways plain pointed.

Yerbeston (St. Laurence).

June 29, 1867.

A small church of simple arrangement, with merely chancel and nave and south porch. Over the west end is a curious kind of bell-cot, resembling that at East Williamston, square at top and embattled, with corbel table; but here are two open arches for bells, and the

turret stands on three corbels or brackets against the west end.

The church has been lately repaired, and has quite a new look; all the windows are modern, the nave is fitted with open benches of pine. The whole is neat and clean, but rather cold within, and the chancel walls are painted blue. The chancel arch is a plain, rude, pointed one. The font has a square bowl, with the angles rounded, on a short stem with square plinth. There are no windows north or south of the chancel.

East Williamston.

June 29, 1867.

A very small church, in wretched state, in a secluded site, buried in trees: a chapelry to Begelley. It has merely chancel and nave, the outer walls of which are whitewashed, and over the west end an odd belfry—a kind of half tower supported on brackets—having a corbel table under its parapet, and pierced with an arch for a bell.

There are few windows, and those are modern of the worst kind. The chancel arch is very rude, low and misshapen, with much walling about it. There are several stone brackets in the chancel. The font has a plain octagonal bowl. The interior is miserably dilapidated, and the capacity quite insufficient for the inhabitants.

Llanwnda.

August 3, 1850.

This church has a different character from that of Herbranston, but agreeing with that of the churches in its own district. The walls are low, with exterior unassuming; the plan comprises nave with short and small aisles, chancel, and south porch. Over the west end a bell-gable, with two arches for bells. There is also a sanctus bell-cot at the east end of the nave. The porch is wide, and wholly of stone. The aisles are

continued along part of the chancel, but not to the west end of the nave; thus the church, though small, has the same number of posts as much larger fabrics. The porch is at the west end of the south aisle; the arcades are low and rude, each of two plain pointed arches, differing in character, the eastern one being in the chancel, the piers square with imposts. There is a rude pointed chancel arch, and also between the aisles of the nave and those of the chancel. The chancel extends eastward of the arcades. The arcades are somewhat deformed, and that on the north is lower than the southern. The windows, as usual, are mostly modernized, but there is a single third pointed one on the north of the chancel, with trefoil feathering. The font has a square bowl on a cylindrical stem. On the south of the altar is a rude piscina. There is a plain vault to the south aisle. The situation is very striking —on a high ground and much exposed, but commanding a noble view of the sea and grand rocky coast, as far as Cardigan Head, and even the coast of Lleyn is distinguishable.

Near Llanwnda Church is a cross engraved on a stone near the wayside.

[The nave, porch, and aisles of this church were carefully restored and re-roofed in 1880, from plans and specifications prepared by Mr. E. H. Lingen Barker, of London, Hereford and Swansea, at a cost of £405, and the chancel rebuilt from the foundations by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the advice of their architect, Mr. Ewan Christian, at a cost of £382. Archæologists have cause to regret the latter, as the quaint irregularly-shaped arches referred to by Sir Stephen Glynne have given way to others of more modern type and more exact outline. Mr. Lingen Barker, however, preserved the walls, vaulted ceilings of aisles and porch, and what was left of the original oaken roof framework; also the interesting western double bell-cot, which leaned from east to west about 10 ins. in its height, he very skilfully straightened,

besides saving the original stones of this valuable relic of antiquity.

Seven rudely-carved sepulchral slabs, in more or less good preservation (one being no less than 1 ft. 4 ins. in thickness) were found, and carefully built into or placed against the walls, and a shelf was placed over the porch archway for odds and ends of carving, &c., found during the restoration. A squint, or possibly a lepers' window, 1 ft. 4 ins. high and 1 ft. 1 in. wide, increasing to 3 ft. on the inside, was discovered in the east wall of the porch, as well as a staircase constructed in the thickness of the west wall of the north transept, with doorways at top and bottom. All these were opened out, and the squint closed from the draught of the open porch by a sheet of plate glass.

The old base or step of the font is of unusual size, viz., 6 ft. by 5½ ft., and has been kept in its original position in the centre of the nave opposite the entrance, and the two stone seats, 1 ft. 3 ins. wide, along the west and south wall as far as the porch, have been preserved. The extremely damp nature of the interior demanded a cure that should not be of any half-and-half nature, so that in order to effect this without raising the floor and thereby altering the proportions of the interior, trenches were dug on the outside and the path leading to the porch gradually lowered, enabling the *five* steps down to the church to be changed into *one* step up.

A peculiarity of this church may be noticed in the exactly equal size of the nave and chancel.

Two piscinæ were found and built into the south walls of chancel and south chancel aisles respectively, in probably their original positions, the latter having presumably been erected for a chapel or chantry.

The fifteenth-century window spoken of by Sir S. Glynne has been carefully preserved and repaired, and the other new windows have been made to harmonize as to shape and detail, but of different stone, so as not to mislead posterity: a point of great importance not kept as much in mind by architects as it

should be. With the exception of the new windows superseding eighteenth-century wooden domestic sashes, no structural changes have been made in the walls of nave, porch or aisles, and only an absolutely necessary amount of pointing was done. The wooden gallery or raised platform that ran across both south aisles has been removed, while the flimsy and uncomfortable box pews were replaced by solid, substantial open benches of varnished pitch-pine, with pulpit, lectern and holy table to correspond, oaken stalls in chancel, and brass altar-rail. A much-needed vestry has been formed by screening off the south chancel aisle, thus saving the cost and needless disturbance of any external new masonry. The small broken stones which paved a portion of the floor retaining considerable moisture, have been utilized in forming an open dry drain round the church, and replaced by good, plain, hard Worcester tiles; and the roof-slates selected to succeed the hopelessly dilapidated stone tiles are of a light grey colour from North Wales, and very little darker in shade than the old tiling.]

Solva (St. David).

October 28, 1870.

A very small, mean church, having single nave and chancel undistinguished, with a south porch and wooden belfry over the west end. The windows are all modern insertions, and there is little of original architecture to be seen. Near the east end, on the north, is a small slit-like opening.

The porch is of wooden framework, rude and characteristic; the doorway within it pointed and continuous. The tie remains over where was once the roodloft. The font has a circular bowl on stem of like form, apparently ancient.

RADNORSHIRE:—ELWEL DEANERY.

DISSERTH (ST. CEWYDD).

This church has nave and chancel without aisles, and western tower. The latter is rude, and without buttresses or stringcourses, but with embattled parapet and two tiers of windows; those of the belfry of two lights have rather a Decorated look. The west window is square-headed, of two lights. The tower arch is intercepted by a gallery. The east window is Perpendicular, of four lights, and has wood mullions. Just under it externally is a flat arched recess. The other windows are mostly modern, of the worst kind, except one square-headed and labelled, of three lights, trifoliated —a late Perpendicular on the south of the chancel. There is no chancel arch; the chancel has a coved roof with ribs, and the nave is ceiled.

GLADESTRY (ST. MARY).

October 28, 1870.

A nice church, fairly restored, comprising nave with north aisle, western tower with shingled spire, chancel, and south porch. The nave is divided from the aisle by three pointed arches on octagonal pillars with capitals. There are some square-headed windows in the nave of three lights, of rather Edwardian character. Near the east of the nave, on the south, is a very long lancet, and a smaller one near the tower. The chancel-arch is pointed, rising at once from the wall. The east window is a fine Perpendicular of four lights; on the south is a plain trefoil piscina, a priest's door, and a three-light Perpendicular window. The interior is fitted with open seats. The tower is massive and plain, opening into the nave by a pointed doorway only. It has no buttress, but one stringcourse; three single-light openings and more ornamental belfry windows of Perpendicular character, one single with ogee arch and panelling, one of two cinquefoiled lights square-headed.

The spire is shingled; the steeple generally resembling that of Kington. The nave has a ridge-crest and bell-gable at its east end. In the churchyard is the shaft of a cross raised on high steps.

Glascwm (St. David).

October, 1870.

This church is in a pretty, retired site, and consists of nave and chancel, with a south porch and no tower or bell-cot. There is a chancel-arch, pointed with plain soffit. There are some good Perpendicular windows of three lights, especially on the south side of the nave. There is a priest's door on the south of the chancel. The east window is closed. Over the east end of the nave is some ornamental panelling, marking the rood-loft place. The chancel has a coved roof, with ribs and bosses. In the roof of the nave is some trefoil woodwork. The porch is very large, and has square-headed windows trefoiled. The churchyard is very large and steep, commanding a pretty rural view.

Aberedw (St. Cewydd).

September 8, 1851.

This church is in a lovely situation, on a rock overhanging the river Edw near its confluence with the Wye. It is entirely Third Pointed of rather late date, and consists of a chancel and nave with west tower and large north porch. The work is rather coarse. The porch is highly picturesque, and is entirely of wood, with feathered gable and pierced trefoils in the framework above the outer door. Within it is a stone bench on each side. The tower is rude, with a stringcourse but no buttress, two other slits for belfry windows on the east and west, and one on the north and south. It is covered with a pointed roof, and opens into the nave only by a door. The chancel is lower than the nave, and not ill-developed, but there is no chancel arch. The chancel roof is coved, with panelling, having ribs

and bosses. The rood-screen remains of plain Third Pointed work. The east window is closed up, and no trace of it perceptible. The other windows are mostly square-headed. The altar is raised on three high steps, and in the east wall is a square recess. The font has a circular bowl, on an octagonal stem. The nave is ceiled. The interior is neat and clean, but part of the west end used for a school. The accustomed entrance is on the north. The north porch is modern. The new prayer-desk faces west. The adjacent rock, wood, and river scenery is enchanting.

Boughrood.

May 20, 1851.

A small church, in a lovely situation near to the Wye. It consists of nave and chancel without aisles, and a small western steeple, of stone in its lower part, having slits for openings and a wooden belfry. A south porch is of mixed stone and wood. The chancel arch is a very rude, pointed one. In the nave are some bad modern windows, and two single ones with trefoiled heads; of the latter kind is also one in the chancel. The east window is a modern imitation of Middle Pointed with a transom, containing indifferent painted glass. There is a handsome new font, the bowl octagonal, with Middle Pointed panelling and octagonal stem. The old font, with plain circular bowl, is in the churchyard. The interior is pewed, but tolerably neat. The churchyard is of very large size, and only partially used.

Clyro (St. Michael).

December 28, 1870.

This church has been wholly rebuilt, save the tower, which appears old, and is low and strongly built, having a saddle roof with gables east and west, and some plain single openings, some round-headed, some mere slits. The nave has north aisle, divided by an arcade of four

pointed arches, and the whole of the chancel and nave are in creditable Edwardian character.

Llanano.

May 10, 1851.

A very small church, in a lonely situation near the Ithon, with nave and chancel having no exterior distinction, a south porch, and wooden belfry at the west end. The windows are mostly wretched, but there is one obtuse lancet on the north side of the chancel which may be early. The porch is of wood, rude but picturesque. The great feature of this little church is its fine rood-loft, which is in a very perfect state. It is of the panelled kind, with niches, and the usual vine-leaf cornice. Each compartment below has tracery, and the west front is much richer than the eastern. The font has a circular bowl on an octagon. The west end of the nave is partitioned off for a school.

Llanbadarn Vynydd (St. Paternus).

This church has only one space for nave and chancel, with a large south porch and a modern bell set over the west end. The roof is open, with collars and quatrefoiled timbers, which are curiously seen externally in the east gable intermixed with plaster. The east window is a mutilated Decorated one of three lights—one on the south, of two lights, is of the same kind and in fair condition. The other windows modern and bad. There is a large buttress at the west end. The interior is dreary. Part of the rood-screen remains.

Bleddfa (St. Mary).

This church has merely a nave and chancel undivided, with a south porch, and a wooden belfry at the west end. The chancel is nearly equal in length to the nave, a difference being perceptible in the roof. Another remarkable feature is that the ground abruptly rises at the west end (not gradually, as at Pilleth), so as to

mount up that part very high. The exterior walls are whitewashed. There are some single lancets both in the nave and chancel which are original, but several windows are modern and very poor, especially that at the east end. There is a pointed recess in the north wall by the sacrarium. The interior is dreary, but in less bad state than most of the Radnorshire churches. The porch is rude. The cemetery very large, but no graves on the north.

Heyop (St. David).

This church has the usual undivided nave and chancel, with south porch and a low, rude tower at the west end, which has the local pointed roof covered with tiles. The tower has no buttresses, and its openings are mere slits. The exterior whitewashed. Internally, the pulpit is mean ; there are a few old open benches, and the altar is encroached upon by pews. The ceiling flat and modern ; most of the windows wretched and mutilated. One on the south of the chancel is Perpendicular, square-headed, of two lights ; two others in the nave are square-headed, of three or four lights, apparently Elizabethan, having moulded woodwork. On the south is a rude slit, now closed. The chancel is divided by a fair wood screen of Perpendicular character. On the south of the altar is an oblong recess. The font has a plain octagonal bowl on a stem. The north wall of the chancel extends wider than that of the nave. The porch is flagged, but mostly of wood.

Llanbister.

May 9, 1851.

A church of very singular appearance, though by no means from its beauty. It consists of one space, of which the eastern part forms the chancel, and is distinguished by being raised up several steps, in consequence of the great rise in the uneven ground, and also separated by a plain and mutilated screen. But

LLANGWYFAN CHURCH, ANGLESEY.

BY HAROLD HUGHES, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A.

THE first volume of *Archæologia Cambrensis* contains a short notice of "Llangwyfan Church, Anglesey," written by the late Rev. H. Longueville Jones.[1]

A sketch of the church, and the small island on which it stands, accompanies the notice. The island is here shown connected to the mainland by a causeway of large stones. The church appears roofed in, the eastern window still retains its central mullion and tracery.

The building, now as then, consists of a single aisle. A northern aisle had been removed during the first half of this century. Miss Adeane, of Plas Llanfawr, Holyhead, has in her possession a water-colour sketch of the church, taken before its destruction.

The sketches and geometrical drawings, illustrating this paper, show the church as it existed in 1893. The one remaining aisle, at this date, was fast falling into ruin. Since the year 1846, the slating of the roof had entirely disappeared, together with several of the roofing timbers. The eastern window retained no longer its central mullion, nor the tracery it supported. Each winter left the church in a more ruinous condition than the preceding. The windows themselves had been blocked up with masonry at a recent date. Of the stone causeway little remained.

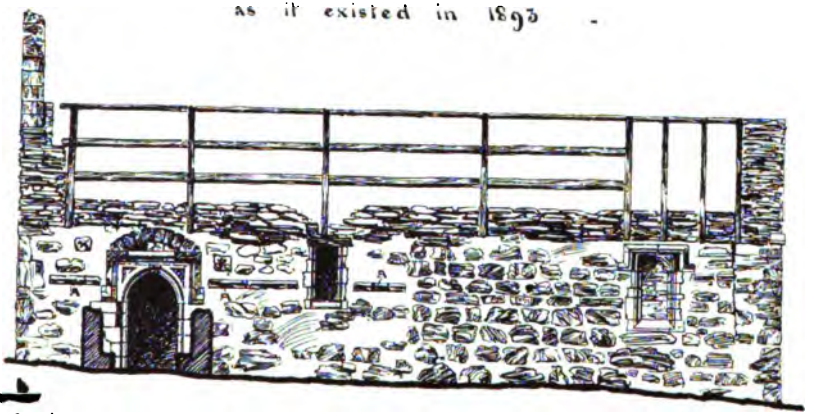
The church, as it now exists, is not a perfect parallelogram. Internally the north wall measures 43 ft. in length, the south 42 ft. 7 ins., the east 14 ft. 4 ins., and the west 13 ft. 8 ins. The greatest external length

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, vol. i, 1846, p. 156.

Llangwyfan Church,

Anglesey.

as it existed in 1893.



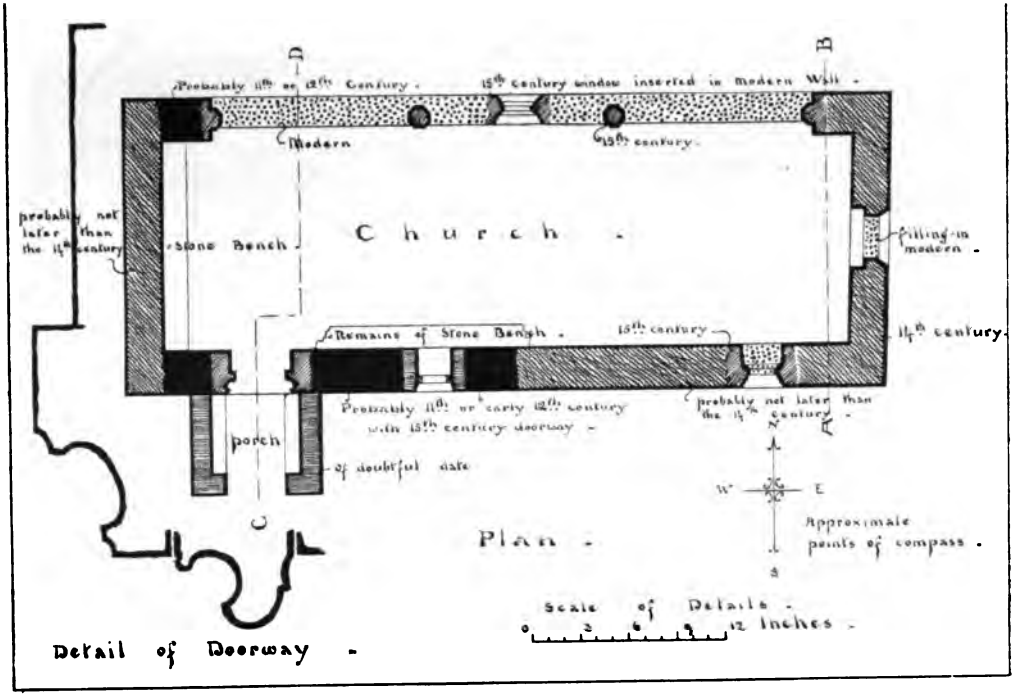
String-course at R.A.A.S. Elevation.

Note. The string-course is very much worn, but it appears to have been of this section.

South Elevation.

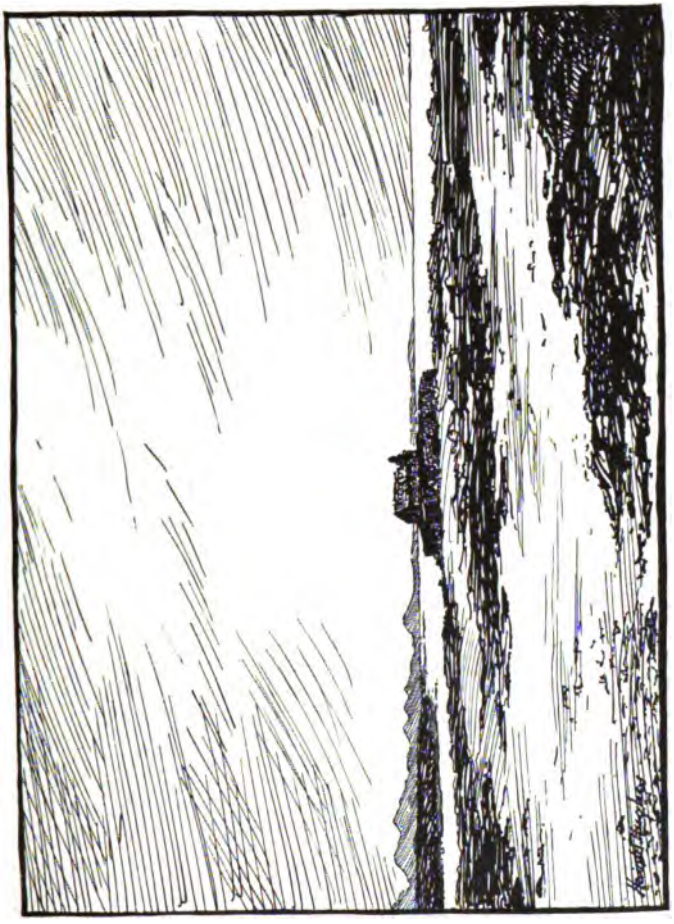
Label of Eastern Window in South Elevation

Scale of Feet.


A
B
Probably 11th or 12th Century.
15th century window inserted in modern Wall.
Modern
15th century.
probably not later than the 14th century
Stone Bench.
Church.
filling-in modern.
Remains of Stone Bench.
15th century
14th century.
Probably 11th or early 12th century with 15th century doorway.
probably not later than the 14th century.
porch
of doubtful date
C
Plan.
N
W
E
S
Approximate points of compass.
Scale of Details.
0 3 6 9 12 Inches.
Detail of Doorway.

is 48 ft.; the width at the east end is 19 ft., at the west end 18 ft. 9 ins.

The entrance doorway is situated in the south wall, near the west end, and was at one time protected by



Llangwyfan Church, Anglesey. Distant View from the North-East.

an external porch. Some remains of its walls are shown on the accompanying drawings.

The arcade, which formerly occupied the position between the existing church and the north aisle, still

remains. It was, however, blocked up with masonry at the time of the destruction of the aisle.

The church is lighted by a window in the east wall,

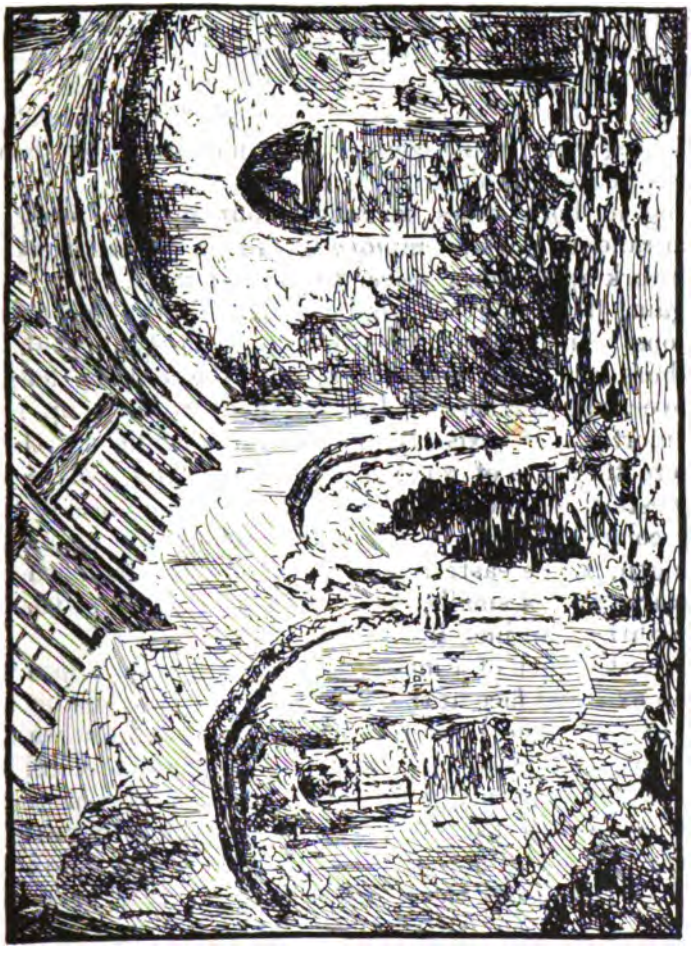
Llangwyfan Church, Anglesey. Exterior.

two windows in the south wall, and a window inserted in the modern walling blocking up the central arch of the north arcade.

In the notice above referred to, the date of the

earliest work in the church is assigned to about the end of the fourteenth century.

When I first visited the church, in September 1891, my attention was arrested by a much-worn string-



Llangwyfan Church, Anglesey. Interior.

course, on the external face of the western half of the south wall, marked A, A, A, on the south elevation (see sheet 1). This string-course has been broken by the insertion of the doorway and a window. From its

present condition it is not easy to determine with certainty its original section. It appeared to me, however, to have been of the section I have shown, to a large scale, below the east elevation, on sheet I, and to be of late eleventh or early twelfth century character. I had, at a later date, an opportunity of pointing out the stringcourse to Mr. Arthur Baker, who agrees with me in assigning its probable date to this early period.

The masonry of the western half of the south wall, containing this string-course, will, moreover, be seen to differ considerably from that of the eastern. The walling in both cases is rubble, but in the former rough random work is employed, while in the latter the stonework approaches nearer to coursed work.

Again, the mortar employed differs in the two portions. In both positions it is of poor quality, and sea-shore sand has been used. In the eastern half, however, the particles of broken shells worked up in the mortar are exceedingly minute, while in the western they are of much larger size. And, whereas the western mortar contains many small stones of a dark colour, from an eighth to three-eighths of an inch in length, in the eastern, the stones of the same nature are scarce and of smaller size, few measuring more than one-eighth of an inch in length.

A short length of a much-worn string-course appears on the external face at the western end of the northern wall, at the same level as that in the southern wall, and appears to be of the same period. (See sheet III).

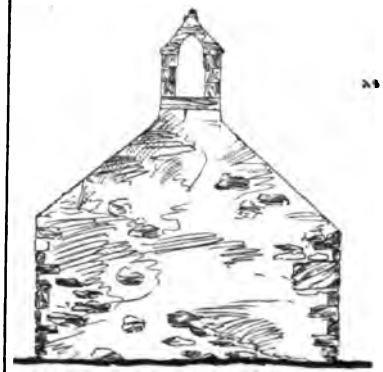
I am therefore inclined to assign the portions of the walls containing the remains of this string-course to the earliest period of any existing work in the church, and have indicated them on the plan, sheet I, as probably of eleventh or early twelfth century workmanship.

The eastern window was formerly of two lights, trefoiled, with a quatrefoil in the head above, all contained under an enclosing arch. A reference to the drawing of the east elevation, sheet II, will show the extent of the tracery now remaining.

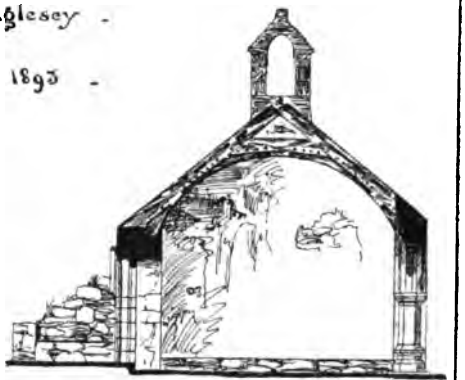
Llangwyfan Church,

Anglesey.

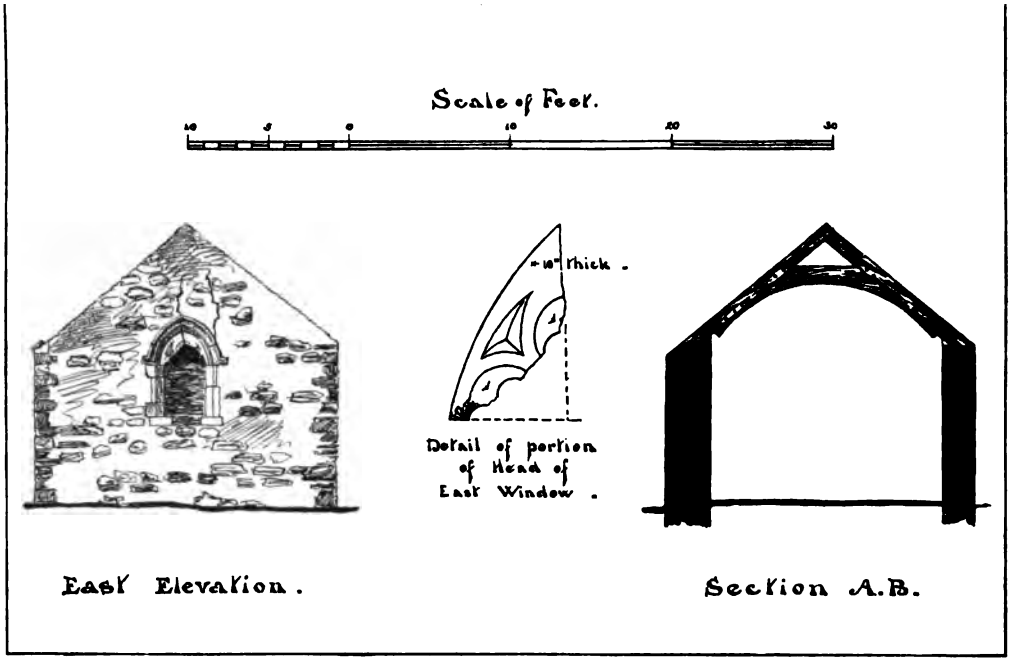
as it existed in 1893.

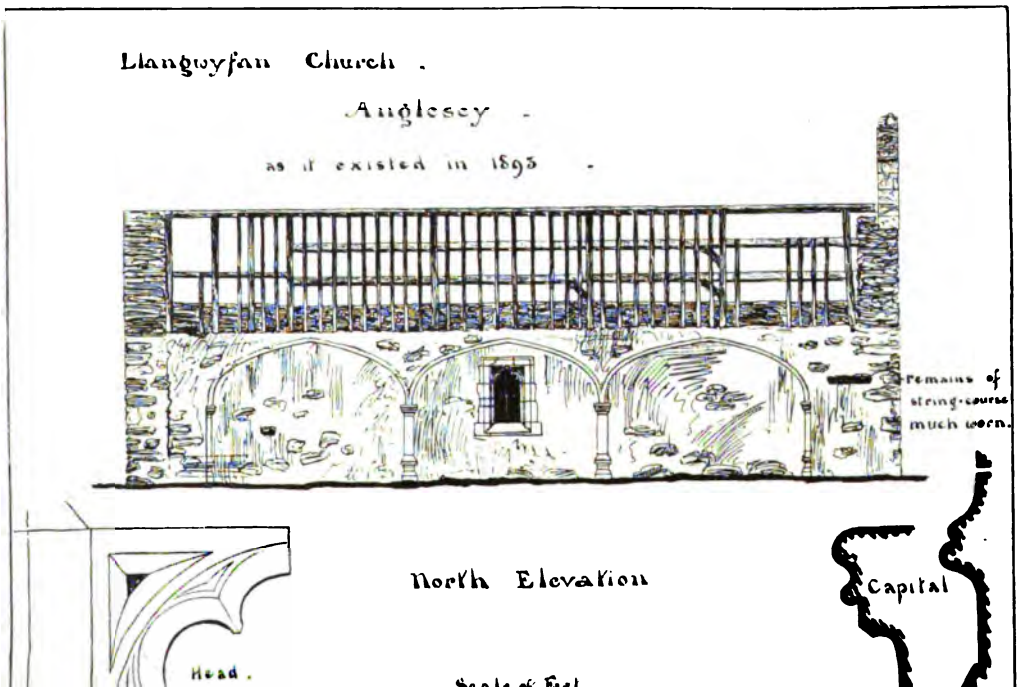


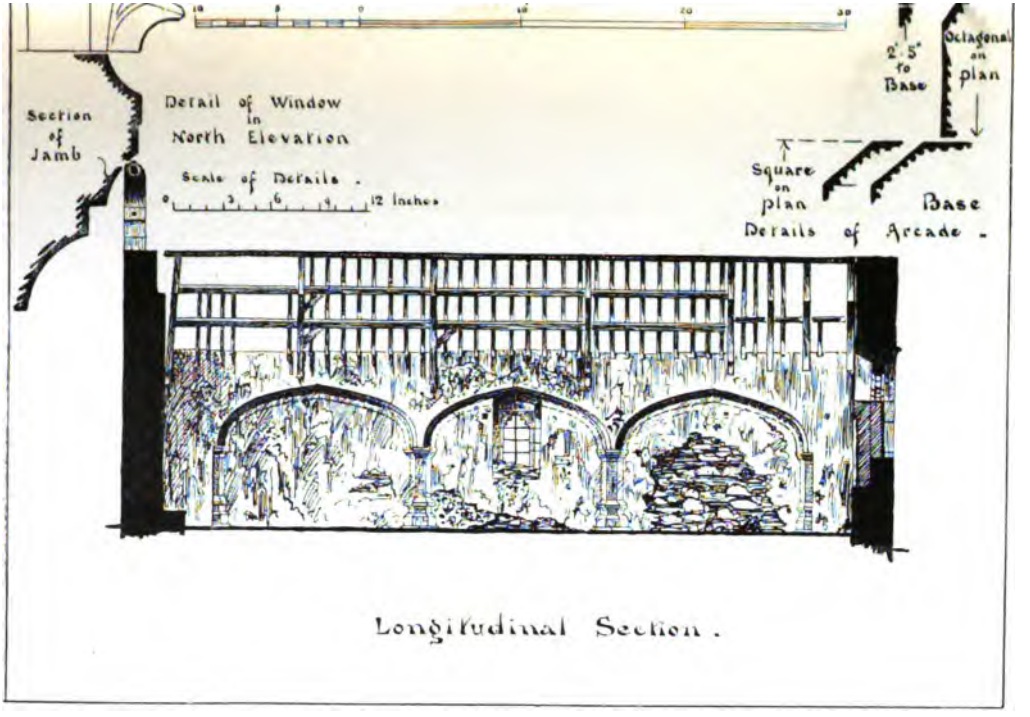
West Elevation.



Section C. D.


Scale of Feet.
10
5
0
10
20
30
18" Thick.
Detail of portion of Head of East Window.
East Elevation.
Section A.B.


Llangoyfan Church .
Anglesey .
as it existed in 1893 .
remains of string-course much worn.
North Elevation
Capital
Head .



Longitudinal Section .

The window appears to have been set out in an extremely rude manner. The widths of the noses vary, and the curves of the two sides of the arch differ; while the apex is not centrally over the window. The remnants of the tracery remaining have the appearance of belonging to an earlier period than the enclosing arch and hood-moulding. I am inclined to assign the date of the tracery to the fourteenth century. The hood-moulding is very much worn. It is difficult to make out its exact original section. It has the appearance of being of late fifteenth-century workmanship.

I am disposed, therefore, although placing the date of the eastern half of the church subsequent to that of the western, to believe that it belongs to a period not later than the fourteenth century.

There are no features in the lower part of the western wall to indicate its date. It should, however, be noticed that the string-courses, referred to above, in the northern and southern walls, terminate about 1 ft. 10 ins. short of the outer face of the western wall of the church.

The entrance doorway, the eastern window in the southern wall, and the arcade in the northern, all have the appearance of being of late fifteenth-century workmanship. The northern aisle was probably added at this period, and the arcade of three arches inserted in the more ancient northern external wall of the church. The piers of the arcade, with their capitals and bases, are octagonal on plan. The octagonal base rests on a chamfered plinth, square on plan, set diagonally. The sections of the capitals and bases are shown on sheet III. The piers, between base and capital, measure only 2 ft. 5 ins. in heihgt. The arches are four-centred and of two orders. Both orders are chamfered, the inner being of a straight, the outer of a hollow section.

The entrance doorway has a pointed arched head, contained under a square hood-moulding. The wide shallow hollow, so common in Perpendicular work,

forms the chief feature in the sections of the jamb and arch mouldings. The spandrels are sunk and foliated.

The eastern window in the southern wall, apparently an insertion in an older wall, consists of a single light, cinquefoiled, under a square head and hood-moulding. Of the foliated head one half alone remains.

The inserted window in the central bay of the northern wall is of the same character. It probably belonged to the old north aisle, and was placed in this position at the time of the destruction of the aisle.

A single bell gablet terminates the western wall. The hole for the iron pivot on which the bell swung may be noticed. The apex stone is much weathered, but it retains the remains of two small gablets intersecting each other, the one running north and south, the other east and west.

The foot-stone of a gable coping remains at the south-east angle of the church.

The window in the south wall, east of and close to the porch, consists of a simple square opening, and is, probably, of no great age.

The porch, in all probability, was a more or less recent addition. It was built up against, and covered portions of, the mouldings of the fifteenth-century doorway. On the sketch showing the entrance doorway will be seen what apparently is a raking moulding, but in reality is a cement weathering to protect the junction of the porch roof with the south wall of the church.

At the west end, and along a portion of the south wall of the church, are the remains of stone benches.

The roof is of very simple design. It is of a usual type employed in the latter part of the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century. The ridge is continuously level from east to west. The principals are arched, and consist of main rafters, collars and curved pieces, all framed together, and pinned with oak pins. The eastern portion, for a distance of about 7 ft. 6 ins. from the east wall, differs slightly from the

rest of the roof. This space is divided into three divisions by intermediate principles, and no purlins were employed. The roof westward is divided into four bays. It possessed a double row of purlins, and was stiffened by cusped wind-braces. None of the rafters shown on drawings belong to the original roof. They are of deal, the old roof-timbers being of oak.

To prevent the church becoming an absolute ruin, the Rev. Canon Rupert Morris and Miss Adeane, both members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, determined to take the matter in hand, with the result that £82 was collected, to be spent on the preservation of the building.

With the consent and approval of the Archdeacon of Bangor and Anglesey, the Rector of Trefdraeth with Llangwyfan, work was commenced in October 1893.

Nothing in the form of restoration was attempted, but the work was confined to those repairs necessary to preserve the building from further ruin. This included securing the old roof-timbers together with iron bolts and straps, sufficient to prevent them from falling; providing new deal rafters independent of the old woodwork; re-slating the roof; performing some small repairs to the tops of the walls, and filling up the large hole in the north wall, shown on sketch 3, where the masonry had collapsed; running the cracks in the walls with cement; removing the modern stonework, which had been built to block up the windows, and providing wooden shutters to the windows.

No re-glazing was attempted, as this would have involved the reconstruction of some of the masonry.

ARCHDEACON D. R. THOMAS, M.A., F.S.A.

We are enabled by the kindness of Mr. R. H. Wood, V.P., F.S.A., the donor of the engraved portraits of the Rev. E. L. Barnwell and Mr. M. H. Bloxam, to present our members with a portrait of the Venerable Archdeacon D. R. Thomas, F.S.A., Chairman of our Committee.

Archdeacon Thomas is a typical Welshman by birth and education. Born at Bodynfol, in Montgomeryshire, in 1833, he was educated at Ruthin Grammar School, under the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, from whom doubtless he imbibed that love of archæological pursuits which has been such an especial feature of his career. In due course he went up to Jesus College, Oxford, where he held a Scholarship, as well as the Exhibition of the Goldsmiths' Company. After distinguishing himself in the classical schools (both moderations and finals), he was ordained in 1857 by Bishop Vowler Short to the curacy of Rhuddlan and St. Asaph. In 1859 he was appointed to the curacy of Selattyn, near Oswestry, where he remained until 1864, when he was selected by his Bishop as the first Incumbent of St. Mary's, Cefn, so well known to archæologists in connection with the Bone Caves. Here he laboured assiduously for thirteen years, taking up, in addition to his parochial work, important duties in connection with the diocese. Thus, for eleven years he was Secretary of the Board of Education, 1870-1881; and in 1880, and again in 1885, he was elected Proctor in Convocation for the Clergy of St. Asaph. The earnest and valuable services which he had rendered to the diocese was—somewhat tardily—recognised in 1881 by his collation to the canonry of Galfridus

Yours faithfully,
D. R. Thomas.

Ruthin, in St. Asaph Cathedral. Two years later he was appointed Rural Dean of the newly-formed Deanery of Caereinion, and in 1886 Archdeacon of Montgomery and Canon Residentiary.

The members of our Association need no reminder of the good service the Archdeacon has done to the cause of archæology in Wales, both as Editor of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1875-1880, and 1884-1888), and as Chairman of the General Committee. At our annual meetings Archdeacon Thomas' figure has always been prominent; and though now one of the oldest members of the Association, no one can surpass him in vigour and enthusiasm, or in perseverance in hunting for and carefully examining objects of archæological interest. He is also Chairman of the Powysland Club, and joint Editor of the *Montgomeryshire Collections.* His extensive knowledge of Welsh literature recommended him for the Chairmanship of the Committee of the Central Welsh Church Press, and the Vice-Chairmanship of the "Llan" Committee.

The intimate acquaintance which he possesses of all parts of the diocese, and the careful research which is so characteristic of Archdeacon Thomas, have made his *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph* (8vo., 1874) a most valuable and complete work. Of it the Rev. A. W. Haddan (joint editor with Bishop Stubbs of *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*) speaks as that of "a thoroughly good historian, who has so treated his subject as to bring it ably to bear upon present and pressing church questions." A smaller edition of the same work (condensed) was published by the S. P. C. K. in their series of Diocesan Histories. He has also published a Visitors' Handbook to S. Asaph, Cefn and Bodelwyddan, and a History of the Parish of Llandrinio (1895). Amongst other works of his are the following: *Conffirmasiwn* (a Handbook on Confirmation), 1871, and (enlarged) 1878; *Y Ffyrdd yng Nghrist* (Sermons on the Doctrines and System of the Church), 1873; *Hen Eglwys ein Tadau* (a Brief History of the Church in

Wales), 1874; *Llawlyfr i'r Eglwyswr* (the Churchman's Handbook). He has also edited *Y Cwtta Cyfarwydd* (The Chronicle of Peter Roberts, Notary Public of St. Asaph, 1607-1646); and he has published three Archidiaconal Charges, 1887, 1889 and 1895, and contributed articles to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Athenæum*, and the *Montgomeryshire Collections*, as well as several translations of Hymns in *Hymnau Hen a Newydd*, in *Hymnau* published by the late Canon Evans, and in the Bishop of Bangor's new *Emyniadur*.

Such a record of many-sided activity is in the highest degree honourable, and the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association are to be congratulated upon having so able and enthusiastic a Chairman of Committee as Archdeacon Thomas.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

FIFTIETH ANNUAL MEETING,

HELD AT

ABERYSTWYTH,

SEPTEMBER 7TH TO 11TH, 1896.

President.

THE RT. HON. THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

President-Elect.

F. LLOYD PHILIPPS, Esq.

Local Committee.

Chairman.—W. H. COLBY, Esq., Garreg Wen, Aberystwyth.

The Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.
Col. H. DAVIES-EVANS, Lord Lieutenant of Cardiganshire.
J. W. WILLIS-BUND, Esq., F.S.A.
T. GRIFFITHS, Esq., Mayor of Aberystwyth.
The Ven. the ARCHDEACON OF CARDIGAN.
The Rev. Prebendary WILLIAMS, M.A., Aberystwyth.
W. B. POWELL, Esq., Nanteos.
J. FRANCIS, Esq., Wallog.
J. T. MORGAN, Esq., Nantceirio Hall.
The Rev. the Principal of ST. DAVID'S COLLEGE, Lampeter.
The Principal of UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, Aberystwyth.
T. D. HARRIES, Esq., F.R.C.S., Aberystwyth.
Dr. BEDDOES, North Parade, Aberystwyth.
W. WILLIAMS, Esq., M.A., H.M.S.I.S., Aberystwyth.
DAVID THOMAS, Esq., H.M.I.S , Aberystwyth.
L. J. ROBERTS, Esq., H.M.I.S., Rhyl.
Professor E. ANWYL, M.A., University College, Aberystwyth.
Professor J. R. AINSWORTH DAVIS, B.A., University Coll., Aberystwyth.
Professor J. BROUGH, LL.D., University College, Aberystwyth.
Professor H. LLOYD SNAPE, D.-Sc., University College, Aberystwyth.

Local Committee—continued.

T. M. GREEN, Esq., Registrar, University College, Aberystwyth.
The Rev. D. L. PROSSER, M.A., Aberystwyth.
The Rev. J. A. MORRIS, D.D., Aberystwyth.
The Rev. T. A. PENRY, Aberystwyth.
The Rev. T. WILLIAMS, B.A., Aberystwyth.
The Rev. T. J. PRITCHARD, Aberystwyth.
The Rev. RICHARD HUGHES. Aberystwyth.
The Rev. T. E. ROBERTS, M.A., Aberystwyth.
The Rev. THOMAS LEVI, Aberystwyth.
Alderman C. M. WILLIAMS, Aberystwyth.
Alderman R. DOUGHTON, Aberystwyth.
Alderman PETER JONES, Aberystwyth.
Alderman W. H. PALMER, Aberystwyth.
Councillor D. C. ROBERTS, Aberystwyth.
Councillor E. P. WYNNE, Aberystwyth.
Councillor R. J. JONES, Aberystwyth.
H. C. FRYER, Esq., Marine Terrace, Aberystwyth.
THOMAS OWEN, Esq., Queen's Square, Aberystwyth.
JOHN JONES, Esq., "Ivon," Aberystwyth.
ARTHUR J. HUGHES, Esq., Town Clerk, Aberystwyth.

Hon. Local Treasurer.

J. D. PERROTT, Esq., National Provincial Bank, Aberystwyth.

Hon. Local Secretaries.

The Rev. EBEN. JONES, M.A., The Vicarage, Llanbadarn Fawr.
DAVID SAMUEL, Esq., M.A., The Old Bank, Aberystwyth.

General Secretaries of the C.A.A.

Rev. Canon R. TREVOR OWEN, M.A., F.S.A., Llangedwyn, Oswestry.
Rev. C. CHIDLOW, M.A., Caio Vicarage, Llanwrda, R.S.O., S. Wales.

EVENING MEETINGS.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7TH, 1896.

COMMITTEE MEETING.

A meeting of the Committee of the Association was held at 8.30 p.m., at the University College, to receive the Reports of officers, and for the transaction of other business.

A meeting of the Committee for the Archæological Survey of Wales was held subsequently at 9.30 p.m., at the same place, to receive the Report on the Pembrokeshire Section of the Survey submitted by Mr. Edward Laws, F.S.A., and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1896.

PUBLIC MEETING.

A Public Meeting was held at the University College, at 8.30 p.m.

In the absence of the President for 1895, the Rt. Hon. Lord Halsbury, Lord Chancellor, the Chair was taken by the Venerable Archdeacon D. R. Thomas, F.S.A., who, after a few introductory remarks, vacated it in favour of the President Elect, F. Lloyd Philipps, Esq., M.A.

The President then delivered his inaugural address; at the conclusion of which a vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. John Rhys, LL.D., and seconded by Archdeacon Thomas.

Speeches welcoming the Association to Aberystwith were made by Mr. Thomas Griffiths, the Mayor, on behalf of the town, and by Principal Roberts on behalf of the University College. The President, having returned thanks for the cordial welcome accorded to the Association, called upon Mr. Edward Laws to read the following paper:—

"*The Archæological Survey of Pembrokeshire.*"

"At a meeting held by the Committee of the Archæological Survey of Wales in the year 1895, it was decided to ask Mr. Henry Owen and myself to undertake the survey of Pembrokeshire. Had we

been present at that meeting most likely we should have declined the honour, knowing well how difficult the task would prove, but we were absent, and after some grumbling put our shoulders to the wheel.

"Three pounds had been granted by your committee for the purchase of maps, and we were allowed full discretion as to which we should purchase, provided they were 6 in. ordnance maps of Pembrokeshire.

"The first step was to find out what had been accomplished by other societies. "The Society of Antiquaries of London" have already published surveys of Kent, Herts, Cumberland, Westmoreland and North Lancashire, but as they strictly confine their attention to Pre-Roman, Roman, and Saxon antiquities this scheme is inapplicable to the County of Pembroke. For it is impossible to declare whether some of our most interesting remains are Pre-Roman, Roman period, or Post-Roman. Who would dare to date our camps, for instance? And the Celtic inscriptions are not an easy nut to crack.

"I have written 'Roman period', instead of Roman, for of the latter pure and simple we have scarcely any remains. There are coins in quantity, a bronze dagger, discovered near Cilgerran in the last century, perhaps a fibula found on Stackpole warren, and the fragment of a Samian patera which I dug out of a cave near Tenby. These pretty well exhaust the supply. Of Saxon remains we have absolutely none.

"Whereas on the quarter sheet which includes the Pencaer district there are more cromlechs than all objects marked by the Society of Antiquaries in the important county of Kent.

"After prolonged consideration, Mr. Owen and myself finally decided to undertake three things:

"1st.—The compilation of a county bibliography.

"2nd.—To mark the 6 in. ordnance sheets, which include the County of Pembroke, with symbols indicating the following objects:

Camps or spaces enclosed by earthworks.
Camps or spaces enclosed by stone walls.
Camps or spaces enclosed by banks or walls at right angles.
Earthworks which do not enclose a space.
Settlements as shown by hut foundations, animal bones, shells, etc.
Interments, barrows, graves, megalithic remains, cromlechs, rocking stones, meinihirion, holed stones, circles, etc.
Inscribed stones, with Ogam or Roman lettering.
Early Christian sculptured stones and crosses.
Traces of quarries, mines, and smelting.
Roads and track-ways.
Stone implements or flint chips.
Bronze implements.
Pottery.

Coins.
Ecclesiastical remains (mediæval).
Military remains (mediæval).
Domestic remains, mansions, birthplaces of celebrated persons, etc. (mediæval).
Battle Fields.
Holy Wells.
Places connected with legends or folk-lore.
Miscellaneous.

"3rd.—To open a column in the *Pembroke County Guardian*, and invite the public to send notes thereto on Folk-lore, Archæology, History and Ethnology of the County of Pembroke.

"This programme we have carried out to the best of our ability.

"Mr. Owen has prepared what I think you will consider a model county bibliography, of which that gentleman observes, 'In presenting to the committee the bibliographical index of Pembrokeshire I should like to state the principles by which I have been guided. There is, doubtless, a diversity of opinion on the subject, and, as I understand the Association has in view similar indexes of the other Welsh counties, it is desirable, and it may be possible, to arrive at some definite plan. This is, of course, an index of printed matter only, and my own feeling is, for many reasons, to make it as concise as is consistent with reasonable fulness, the object being to direct students to the places where they may acquire information, but not to acquaint them with all they may learn when they get there. The groundwork is formed by books relating wholly to the county or some part of it, and then to books which have important references thereto; whether such references are of sufficient importance it is not always easy to determine. I have, with some hesitation, excluded biographies of natives or residents, unless these biographies relate to county matters; to include them would largely increase the size of the work, with no increase of information about the county. I have also excluded, but without hesitation, books having no relation to the county written by such persons. I have admitted maps, but not views.'

"With the assistance of the following gentlemen I have filled up forty quarter sheets of the 6 in. ordnance maps:—

H. G. Howarth, Esq., R.A.
Rev. Evan Jones, B.D., Newport.
Col. Lambton.
Arthur Lascelles, Esq.
Henry Mathias, Esq.
Henry Owen, Esq.
Rev. Jas. Phillips, Haverfordwest.
Elliot Stock, Esq., Manorbier.
Rev. J. S. Tombs.

Dr. Wall, M.D., Pembroke.
Mr. H. W. Williams, Editor of the *Pembroke County Guardian.*

"Our wish is to produce each quarter sheet as a work complete in itself, with a cover on which will be printed the code of symbols, map marked with these symbols numbered, and two sheets, one containing schedule of places symbolled, number, locality, object, notes and references. The other blank, that the owner may add future discoveries.

"I exhibit a printed specimen. We hope by this plan to interest land owners and occupiers, clergymen and others, who do not profess archæological tastes, in our Survey.

"3rd.—Mr. H. W. Williams, at our request, opened a column in the *Pembroke County Guardian*, which he has termed 'Yn Amsang ein Tadau', The Antiquaries' Column. This has been running now for ten months, and still continues to be filled with matter of value. I should state that Mr. Williams' paper is published at Solva and Fishguard, and circulates principally in the Welsh-speaking portion of Pembrokeshire. This we consider a matter of no slight importance, for though English Pembrokeshire has been pretty well exploited, the Welsh portion is to most people an unknown land. I would add that no man has done more (I am inclined to say so much) for the survey than Mr. H. W. Williams. To him we directly owe the discovery of two inscribed stones, besides other valuable objects.

"But perhaps you would like to know what we consider to be the most valuable finds which have come to light through the instrumentality of our Survey.

"In the first place, the discovery of two new inscribed stones, one at Carnhedren, the other at Rickeston Hall, are certainly due to the researches of Mr. Williams, which researches were undertaken on account of our Survey. The Carnhedren stone, I may add, has been purchased, and removed into Carnhedren church by the liberality of my colleague, Mr. Henry Owen. I can give you a good illustration of the desirability of examining well-beaten ground. The other day, while we were surveying St. David's Head, we discovered (I think beyond question) that the well-known stone camp on the promontory is but a portion, and a very small portion, of the original fortification.

"There is a wall (much injured, but still to be traced) running from Porth Llong on the north to Porth Melgan on the south. In this stone wall the cell sentry-boxes which characterise Carn Coch by Llandeilo, and Carn Vawr on Strumble Head, are very clear. There are hut circles, varying in size within, and the long spur flanking walls ending in a circular outwork without. I believe Treceiri has the same distinctive forms of fortification.

"Then we have been told strange tales. Some time at the beginning of this century, a member of the Tudor family of Tenby lived at Manorbier. On his ground stood an inscribed cross, and this good man,

while objecting to the cross as a relic of Popery, still reverenced it as a sign of salvation. He therefore buried his inscribed cross in the churchyard, and there it still lies somewhere among the graves. The Rev. D. Jenkyn Evans, Vicar of Pontfaen, contributed a paper to our Antiquaries' Column on a custom relating to the treatment of the dead in that district. Formerly—that is to say towards the end of the last century—before a corpse was placed in the coffin, a rope was tied under the arms, and the dead man was drawn up the wide chimney until the head looked out of the top. The body was then let down, placed in the coffin, and reverently buried. Houses are pointed out where this disgusting ceremony is reported to have taken place, and many neighbours corroborate the Vicar's story.

"Again, in Cwm Cerwyn, the Hell Hounds are still occasionally heard, though not so often as formerly. They are known as 'Cwn y bendith y mammau' (the hounds of the holy mothers). Now, who were the Holy Mothers? They were the same as the fairies, I am told, but that carries us no further. Professor Rhys suggested that they really were the three great Celtic goddesses who presided over nature. They are well known in Germany.

"Any member who takes up the survey of a county will find it a very good corrective of self-conceit. About twenty-five years ago, being in want of a hobby, I thought I would study the County of Pembroke, a small district in my own immediate neighbourhood. But I soon found that to know even a small slice of the world requires universal knowledge. The result of my experiment is that I am ruined as an archæologist. I have no special subject, but am a mere smatterer. While admitting this sad fact, I always flattered myself that I did thoroughly understand my native county, and now, alas! I find I know absolutely nothing about it."

In the discussion which followed, Col. Morgan, R.E., Mr. James Davies, and others took part. Prof. John Rhys expressed a hope that the satisfactory results already obtained from the Pembrokeshire Section of the Archæological Survey of Wales would induce other counties in the Principality to commence work on their respective sections.

The usual vote of thanks having been proposed by the Editor, and seconded by Mr. Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A., the meeting terminated.

On Wednesday, September 9th, there was no regular meeting, but an informal gathering of members took place at the Belle Vue Hotel, to consider Mr. Edward Laws' and Mr. Henry Owen's proposals with regard to the Archæological Survey of Pembrokeshire.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10TH, 1896.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association was held at the University College, at 9 p.m., to receive the Annual Report of the Association, to elect officers for the ensuing year and new members, and to fix the place of meeting for 1897.

The Committee submitted the following Annual Report for 1895-6.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Archæological and Historical Works written by Members of the Association.—The following books by members of the Association have been published during the past year.

"Welsh Folk-Lore." By the Rev. Elias Owen, F.S.A. (Oswestry: Woodall, Minshall and Co.)
"Rambling Sketches from the Old Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff." By C. B. Fowler, F.R.I.B.A. (Cardiff: Western Mail.)
"The Legend of Perseus." By E. Sidney Hartland, F.S.A. (D. Nutt.)
"The History of Babylonia." Edited by Prof. A. H. Sayce. (S. P. C. K.)
"Patriarchal Palestine." By Prof. A. H. Sayce. (S. P. C. K.)

The Journal.—The papers contributed to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* during the past year are quite equal in interest and importance to those which have appeared in former volumes of the Journal; but it will be seen from the following classified list that, whilst the Mediæval and Early Christian periods have received almost more than their due share of attention, the Romano-British and Prehistoric periods are sadly neglected.

Classified List of Papers published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* between July 1895 and July 1896.

Prehistoric Period.

"Notes upon some Bronze and Stone Weapons discovered in Wales." By Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A.
"Human Frontal Bone from Strata Florida." By Worthington G. Smith, F.L.S.

Romano-British Period.

No papers.

Early Christian Period.

"Epigraphic Notes." By Prof. J. Rhys, LL.D.
"Goidelic Words in Brythonic." By Prof. J. Rhys, LL.D.
"Discovery of the Tombstone of Vortipore, Prince of Demetia." By E. Laws, F.S.A.
"Lewis Morris's Notes on Some Inscribed Stones in Wales." By Edward Owen.

Mediæval Period.

"The Architectural History of St. Mary's Church, Conway." By Harold Hughes, A.R.I.B.A.
"Cochwillan, Caernarvonshire." By Harold Hughes, A.R.I.B.A.
"Flintshire Genealogical Notes." By E. A. Ebblewhite, F.S.A.
"Notes on Border Parishes." By M. L. Dawson.
"Notes on Ancient Welsh Measures of Land." By A. N. Palmer.

The Archæological Notes still leave much to be desired; and we must again impress upon members, and especially the Local Secretaries, the importance of reporting discoveries of antiquities and other matters of archæological interest to the Editor, so that a permanent record of such things may be preserved. Discoveries are often reported in the daily and weekly papers, which excite attention for the moment, and then are completely forgotten. In this way information that would be of the utmost value to antiquaries is practically lost, instead of being communicated to persons who could make use of it for scientific purposes through the medium of the *Archæologia Cambrensis.*

The proceedings of the Launceston Meeting have been fully reported. The Association is greatly indebted to Mr. Otho B. Peter and Mr. R. Burnard for the portions of the Report relating to Launceston and Dartmoor contributed by them; and a special vote of thanks should be accorded to Mr. Arthur G. Langdon for allowing the free use of his very valuable series of hitherto unpublished drawings of Cornish antiquities; and to Dr. G. Norman, of Bath, for permission to reproduce his photographs taken during the excursions.

Mr. Harold Hughes also has to be thanked for the use of his drawing of Conway Church and of Cochwillan.

The following book on subjects relating to Welsh history and archæology, not written by members of the Association, have been received for review in the Journal.

"Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie." Edited by Kuno Meyer and L. C. Stern. (D. Nutt.)

Mr. Harold Hughes reports as follows with regard to the Cross at Penmon.

Report on the erection of an Ancient Cross at Penmon, Anglesey.

"In September 1895, I received instructions from Mr. J. Lloyd Griffith, the Local Secretary for Anglesey, to make arrangements for the erection of the Ancient Cross, formerly used as a lintel of a window in the building known as the Refectory, at Penmon, Anglesey, which had been removed at the expense of the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"With the consent of the Rev. T. L. Kyffin, the Vicar of Llanfaes with Penmon, the work was immediately put in hand, and the

cross erected in the centre of the south transept of Penmon Church.

"The cross is let into a massive square base, made of limestone from the neighbouring quarry of the Anglesey Limestone Company.

"In May of this year (1896) I was further requested by Mr. J. Lloyd Griffith to have the following inscription carved on the base-stone:—'This cross, formerly used as a lintel of a window in the Refectory, was removed to this place for its better security and preservation, at the cost of the Cambrian Archæological Association, 1895.'

"The work is now completed. The inscription commences on the northern, and is carried round the four faces of the base-stone.

"25 August, 1896. HAROLD HUGHES."

Printing, publishing, and storing Stock of Journal.—It is recommended that these questions be left in the hands of a sub-committee, consisting of

Archdeacon Thomas.
J. Lloyd Griffith, Esq.
Canon R. Trevor Owen.
Canon Rupert Morris.
J. Romilly Allen, Esq.

The adoption of the Report was proposed by Canon Rupert Morris, seconded by Mr. Edward Owen, and carried unanimously.

Election of Officers and New Members.—The Officers of the Association were all re-elected, there being no changes. The following new Members were elected at the Aberystwyth Meeting:—

ENGLISH AND FOREIGN.

The Right Hon. Lord Swansea.
Astor Library, New York.
Brigade-Surgeon Griffiths, Junior United Service Club, London.
T. E. Morris, Esq., 57, Great Ormond Street, London.
B. F. Stevens, Esq., 6, Trafalgar Square, London.
The Rev. William Matthew Thomas, Billingborough Vicarage.

NORTH WALES.

Rev. D. Morgan, Llantrisant Rectory, Anglesey.
John Edward Lloyd, Esq., Tanllwyn, Bangor.
G. H. Underhill, Esq., Llandulas.
The Rev. J. Felix, Cilcain Vicarage, Mold.
Mrs. Leslie, Bryntanat, Llansantffraid, Montgomeryshire.
Thomas Price, Pentreheylin, Llantysilio.
Pierce Ironside Bax, Esq., St. Asaph.

SOUTH WALES.

Lieut.-Col. H. Davies-Evans, Highmead, Cardiganshire.
The Rev. D. D. Evans, Llandyfriog Vicarage.
T. J. Waddingham, Esq., Hafod, Devil's Bridge.
Sir Arthur C. Stepney, Bart.
C. W. Mansel Lewis, Esq., Stredeny Castle, Llanelly.
The Rev. John Thomas, Langharne Vicarage.
The Right Hon. Lord Aberdare.
The Hon. Aubrey Vivian, Parc le Breos, Swansea.
C. B. Fowler, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Cardiff.
George E. Halliday, Esq., 14, High Street, Cardiff.
Frank T. James, Esq., Penydarraw House, Merthyr.
Benjamin Jones, Esq., 2, Park Terrace, Merthyr.
J. P. Lewis, High Street, Merthyr.
J. Hobson Matthews, Esq., Cardiff,
J. Llewellyn Morgan, Esq., Bryn Taff, Llandaff.
J. J. D. Nicholl, Esq., Merthyr Mawr, Bridgend.
J. Rogers Rees, Esq., Wilts and Dorset Bank, Cardiff.
T. F. Roberts, Esq., M.A., Principal of University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.
The Rev. D. L. Prosser, Aberystwyth.

The three retiring Members of Committee were:—

Rev. Ll. Thomas.
Egerton Phillimore, Esq,
H. F. J. Vaughan, Esq.

The first two were re-elected, and in place of the third Mr. T. Mansel Franklen was chosen.

Place of Meeting for 1897.—Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, was fixed upon for the place of meeting for 1897.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1896.

A Reception was given to the Members of the Association and invited guests by the Principal at the University College.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

THE ARMS OF SIR RHYS AP THOMAS, K.G. — The arms of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, within his Garter, on the roof of the Ante-Chapel to the Lady Chapel, in St. David's Cathedral, are mentioned by the author of the note on "Coats of Arms in St. David's Church", which is incorporated in Browne Willis's book, and may be seen there at the present time.

The mention of them in the note is followed by the remark by Mr. Lewis, to whom the note was submitted before publication, "*Argent a Cheveron, Sables, between three Ravens proper*, was given by Sir Uryen Rheged."

In Browne Willis's book the arms are engraved as No. X, and noted "Urion Reged; *Argent a Cheveron between* 3 *Ravens Sable.* Sir Rees ap Thomas also bore these arms. On whose account they were rather set up here."

In Jones and Freeman's book, p. 133, we have "10. *Ar. a chevron sa. between* 3 *ravens ppr.*—Sir Rhys ap Thomas".

Among the short pedigrees given as an Appendix to Laws' *Little England beyond Wales*, the arms of Sir Rhys, and of his father, are frequently blazoned as above, save that the birds are generally described as Choughs, and the question is are Choughs the more correct description?

Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* of 1860 gives the arms of Lord Dynevor as *arg.*, a chevron, between three crows, *sa.*, for Rice.

The question of the nature of the birds—whether ravens, choughs, or crows—could be settled by a reference to the Heralds' College, but an inquiry in this journal, though quite futile, will serve as a text for some remarks on a curious habit of old writers on heraldry, which led them to attribute to their subject a fanciful antiquity.

Heraldic devices, as we now use the term, were invented in the latter half of the twelfth century.

If anyone desires to investigate the subject, ample authority for this statement can be found in *A Guide to the Study of Heraldry*, by J. A. Montague, and in *The Pursuivant of Arms*, by J. R. Planché.

Ralph Brooke, York Herald, in his *Catalogue*, writes: "King *Richard* the first, did beare for his Armes in his Panis or Shield, one Lyon rampant: and this is the first Armes that ever I could see any authoritie for: but afterward he bare three Lyons passant gardant."

In Green's *Short History of the English People*, it is related as an incident of the battle of Hastings, that a cry arose that the Duke of Normandy was slain. "I live", shouted William, as he tore off his helmet, "and by God's help will conquer yet". If he had borne arms he need not have uncovered.

No doubt tribal and national, and even personal, symbols are

ancient, and still survive in savage communities as Totems; but old writers went much further than this, and attributed coats of arms to distinguished persons of all ages. The classical quotation is taken from the *Third Part of the Boke of St. Albans*, where it is written, according to Dallaway: "Criste was a gentylman of his moder be halue and bare cotarmure of aunseturis. The iiij Euangelist berith wittenese of Cristis workys in the gospell with all thappostilles. They were Jewys and of gentylmen come, by the right lyne of that worthy conqueroure Judas Machabeus, bot that by succession of tyme the kynrade fell to pouerty, after the destruction of Judas Machabeus, and then they fell to laboris and ware calde no gentilmen. and the iiij. doctoris of holi chirch Seynt Jerom Ambrose Augustyn and Gregori war gentilmen of blode and of cotarmures."

In the Plates attached to a memoir on the Painted Chamber in the Palace at Westminster, published in vol. vi of *Vetusta Monumenta*, Old Testament heroes are gay with surcoats and shields bearing heraldic devices. All the Kings of the Heptarchy had fictitious coats of arms, and so had the Welsh Kings, back to Cadwallader and King Arthur; and why should *Sir* Uryen Rheged go without? He flourished, we are told, in the fifth century. Enderbie was most benevolent in clothing the naked. National saints were often given coats of arms. Everyone knows St. George's Cross and St. Andrew's saltire. St. Edward the Confessor's arms, *azure, a cross fleurie, between five martlets or.*, appear in several coats connected with Westminster, and the arms of St. Thomas of Canterbury, *argent, three choughs proper*, appear in the arms of that city. It may be freely confessed that the choughs of St. Thomas are as mythical as the ravens of Rheged.

The solution of the question of Sir Rhys ap Thomas' arms is not found by denying arms to Uryen Rheged; but the denial, if it prevails, bars the solution which seemed so obvious to old genealogists, that Sir Rhys got his ravens by descent from *Sir* Uryen.

In considering the question of the origin of arms borne by a Welshman of West Wales, we must remember that it was not till the fifteenth century that any such Welshman would have been likely to acquire a coat of arms. The life of courts and camps was lived far away from West Wales; and although no doubt the Norman and English families who at that time occupied the castles of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, with their following of armed men, had for generations past borne "arms", yet the Welshmen, even supposing they had land and influence, and could levy a large following of supporters, would never have required similar distinctions.

Very occasionally a man like Owen Glendower would get into fashionable society, and would then acquire a coat of arms, but the most considerable Welsh leader who remained at home would not be likely to trouble himself about such vanities. Griffith ap

Nicholas, grandfather of Sir Rhys, who fell at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, was a very powerful man in West Wales, and lived a turbulent life: but he was probably a rough-and-ready warrior, and had little to do with the customs of chivalry. Griffith's son, Thomas, after the Battle of Mortimer Cross, went to the Burgundian Court, and there became an accomplished man of the world. Thomas was a notable fighter in tournaments, and no doubt had his coat of arms, which would descend to his son, Sir Rhys.

Did the Heralds give Thomas for his arms three ravens or three choughs?

There does not seem much ground for supposing that the Heralds of the period would have known anything of Uryen Rheged or his ravens, but they knew St. Thomas of Canterbury and his choughs; and we know that at a later date those choughs figured in the coats of arms of Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey, and of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, both of whom had to apply to the Heralds for arms. It may however be argued that Thomas Cromwell's choughs had not an independent origin, but were derived from Cardinal Wolsey's.

Fenton gives the arms of Uryen Rheged as three choughs, which seems to complete the futility of the discussion. Some light may be thrown on the question by the first paragraph of the Preface of *Royal Heraldry*, by Willement, especially the concluding words of it: "Many have been the attempts, by authors possessed of considerable classical learning, to trace the origin of heraldic distinctions up to the most remote antiquity; these, have, however, been generally conducted without due discrimination between individual and hereditary symbols; and many have attributed, by way of anticipation, such arms to the ancestors as were, in reality, first adopted by their descendants."

Tenby. EGERTON ALLEN.

THE ROLL OF PLEAS OF THE GREAT SESSIONS OF THE COUNTY OF DENBIGH.—I lately had an opportunity of examining the Roll of Pleas of the Great Sessions of the County of Denbigh for the year 1625-6. I had not the time to read it through, nor did I dare to imperil my weak eyesight by a too close or prolonged examination of it. But a transcription of the few notes I made may be interesting to some readers of *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

The material of the roll is parchment, closely written over, on both sides, in abbreviated Latin.

The roll is endorsed:—"Denbigh Pl'ita de magn' Session' . . . . . Anno primo Caroli Regis", and bears the following title:—"Pl'ita apud wrexham in com. Denbigh coram Thoma Chamberlayne e[t] marmaduco lloyd militib^s Justic. dni Regis magne Sessionis sue com. p'dict ad magn. Sess. . . . . Regis Com. illius tent apud wrexham p'd'ctam die lune nono die maji Anno regni dni Caroli

dei gratia Anglie, Scotie, ffranc. et hibernie regis fidei defen. etc., primo. mutton."

The following is the first entry :—

"Johes Griffith dat dno regi sex solidos et octo denar . p. licencie concordandi cum Ric'o Price gen'so in pl'ito convencionis de uno messuagio duobis cottag. tribus gardin quindecim acr terr tribus acr' prati quindecim acr pasturi et duabus acr bosc. cum ptin in llanganhavall et llangwyfen et h'et surr' p. pacem admiss. coram Justic in p'ria e [?]."

I give also two or three other characteristic entries :—

"Katherina que fuit ux howeli ap howell p. R'c'um Thelwall Attorn suū p. l'r'e Regis de dote vnde nihil h'et pet, vsus Johem ap John David terciam partem unius messuagii unius gardini quatuor acr terr et quatuor acr pastur cum ptin in Acton vt dotem suam p'dcti Howeli quondam viri sui vnde nihil h'et", etc.

"Johes lloyd nup de Stanstie in com p'dcto yom. als dns Johes lloyd de Stanstie in Com Denb yeom. sum. fuit ad respondend Joh' ap hugh ap John Jerwerth de pl'ito qd reddat ei duodecim libr quas ei debet et iniuste detinet eo, et vnde idem Johes ap hugh ap John Jerwerth, p. Evanū lloyd Attorn. sm dic.," etc.

"Evanus ap John ap hugh nup de Skibion in com. p'd'cto gen. Agnes vx eius Eliceus ap Dauid nup de llysallet in com p'dco yoman henricus ap Richard nup de llysallet in com . pdco et margareta Owen nup de llysalet vid. attach. fuerunt respondend ffulconis ap William meredith de pl'ito quare vi et Armis," etc.

I notice the names of the undermentioned gentlemen of the county:

John Wynne of Melay, otherwise John Wynne ap William of melai, gent.
Robert Wynne of Voylas, Esq.
John Kenrick of Marchwiell, gent.
Richard Eyton of Eyton, gent.
John Griffith Rees, lately of Pantglyn, gent.
John Holland of Llanelian, gent., and Jane his wife, otherwise Jane Williams, widow.
William Erthig, gent., and John Erthig, his son and heir apparent.
Humphrey Dymmock, esq.
Hugh Eyton and Maria his wife.
Robert Midleton of Ystrad Ganon.
Fulk Midleton.
Thomas Lloyd of Bodlith.
Thomas Mostyn, esq., and Gwen his wife, otherwise Gwen Parry of Dysarth, widow of the Bishop of St. Asaph.
Thos. Midleton, junr., knight.
Robert Wynne, gent., Thomasine his wife, and Cadwaladr Wynne his son and heir apparent—messuages and lands in Price, Havod y maith Kerrigydridion [notice the spelling of this last name].

Richard Langford, gent., and John Langford, his son and heir apparent.
John Powell, lately of Ruabon, otherwise John Powell, citizen and clothworker, of London.
John Powell, lately of Ruabon, otherwise John Powell of Hoseley, gent.
Robert ffoulke of llechryd, gent.
Hugh ap Jeu'n, executor ot will of Hugh ap William Griffith of Dyncadfell, defunct.
Fulk Hughes of Llanyvyth, gent.
John ap John wyn of Sonlley, yeoman, and David ap Owen of Moreton Anglicorum.
Elis Allington of Gwersyllt, gent.
Robert Lloyd of Moreton Wallicorum, gent.
Francis Trafford and Elizabeth his wife.
Rice or Richard Parry of Llanrhayader, gent.
Thomas ap Rees lloyd of Gyffylliog, gent.
—— Wynne of Garthmelio, gent.
Owen ap Jeuan David ap Robert of Garthewin, gent.
William ap Robt. Wynne and Robert ap William ap Robert Wynne of Llangerniew, gentlemen.
John ap Harry of Llangerniew, gent.
William ap Harry of Llangerniew, gent.
John Moris of Carwedvynyth, gent.
John Jones of Meriadock, gent.
Humphrey Lloyd, attorney.
Daniel Parry, attorney.
David Yale, attorney.
Edward Williams, attorney.
Henry Thomas, attorney.
Samuel Powell, attorney.
Samuel Parry, attorney.
John Lloyd, attorney.
Thomas Lloyd, attorney.
Richard Thelwall, attorney.
Evan Lloyd, attorney.

Wrexham. ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

MEETING AT HAVERFORDWEST, 1897.—The presidency of the Annual Meeting at Haverfordwest has been accepted by Sir Owen H. P. Scourfield, Bart.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WALES: PEMBROKESHIRE SECTION.—As several sheets of this Survey have now been printed, it will greatly facilitate progress if subscribers who wish to have their Quarter Sheets of the Maps marked with the Symbols will either forward them to Mr. Morley, c/o. E. Laws, Esq., F.S.A., Tenby, or will authorise Mr. Arnett, the local agent for the maps, to procure them.

Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. XIV, NO. LIV.

APRIL 1897.

SLEBECH COMMANDERY AND THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.

BY J. ROGERS REES, ESQ.

I.—Introductory.

Emerson once said: "Genius is the activity which repairs the decays of things, whether wholly or partly of a material and finite kind"; and again: "Every master has found his materials collected, and his power lay in his . . . . . love of the materials he wrought in." In both instances he was referring to "the poet", and I sometimes think that, in reality, our proverbial dry-as-dust, be he known as antiquary or archæologist, is no mean poet. He may not utter a song; but his re-creations of the past are in many instances fuller of gorgeous pageantry and the thrill of life than aught revealed to us in the stately verse of many an acclaimed Parnassian. I question very much whether any one can persistently and successfully devote his days and years to the study of old-time documents and weather-worn stones and mortar without the inner fire of imagination to give pointedness to his aims, life to his cold gleanings, reality to his logical conclusions. Without imagination a stone is but a stone; and remains, pregnant with old-time tales,

but so much available material for easy conversion into cheap villas.

To wander through Pembrokeshire with keen delight, knowledge then is needed—dry, hard results of stubborn research into the history of its past; research in which no pains have been spared—gripped close into satisfying realism by kingly imagination.[1] Then, every pathway in the mist-enveloped land of the ancient Druids is crossed by objects of interest,

"Because they, living not, can ne'er be dead."

Life moves again in ancient stateliness and glamour, and the glory of "Little England beyond Wales" is renewed to us who live and earn our bread in this prosaic ending of the nineteenth century.

In choosing a subject for research—although, indeed, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it almost seems that the method is reversed, and the subject chooses the individual, so strange and unaccountable are the ways in which one becomes interested in something which resolutely clings to him and *will not* be shaken off until it has had completest attention paid it—in choosing a subject for research, it is well to find it not too old, otherwise there is little work but for the imagination. Concerning Slebech, for instance, we know just sufficient to be able to reconstruct on a basis of history the life led there by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem during their four hundred years' occupation of it, which extended from about 1150 to 1540.

[1] Mr. Crockett has, in some such way, succeeded in making interesting a portion of Northern Britain. Before settling down to write his admirable novels he is careful to become perfectly acquainted with his district; and to get thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the times in which his characters live and act, he ransacks every book he can lay hands on having reference to the period. The rest is a matter of imagination. His success is, I think, unquestionable, notwithstanding the decided opinion given by a very wicked publisher to the late Anthony Trollope that "The historical novel is not worth a damn!"

As to the place itself: Slebech Hall, which, by the way, is a comparatively modern building occupying the site of the ancient Commandery, is in the occupation of Baron de Rutzen, the present owner of the estate, and is charmingly situated on the banks of the Cleddau, midway between the towns of Haverfordwest and Narberth, from either of which places it is within easy driving distance. But the pleasantest way of getting to it—in the summer time, at least—is by boat from the Great Western Railway terminus at New Milford, going up with the flow of the tide and returning with its ebb.

The old Commandery has hopelessly disappeared,[1]

[1] I think I am correct in stating that there is no document or picture in existence giving any idea of what the old house was like. One fact, however, is tolerably clear: it was built for purposes of defence. I am inclined to think that externally it differed little from the neighbouring Picton Castle, except in size; and that when the newer building took its place many points of similarity were retained. I always think of it as a smaller Chirk Castle. To any one who would like to do a little mental re-building on his own account, the following items might prove of assistance; but in no case must the above-mentioned fact be ignored: the original Slebech House *was built for defence.* The state of the district, and the peculiar position of the Knights of St. John in it, demanded this. Even so late as the fourteenth century, a yearly payment was made from Slebech to "two chief men of Wales, for maintaining and protecting the Bailiwick against the swindlers and scoundrels of Wales, *who are very fierce in those parts.*"

In Parker's *Domestic Architecture* (London: Parker, 1882), there are (vol. i, p. 197), a plan and particulars of the old Commandery at Chibburn in Northumberland; (vol. i, p. 249), reference to Temple Balsall, once the Templars'; and (vol. iv, p. 308) mention of Stroud Manor House, also the Templars'. Wallen's *Round Church at Little Maplestead* (London: Weale, 1836), contains several etchings and much letterpress bearing upon the Hospitallers in that district. In Addison's *Knights Templars* (London: Longman, 1853) are plates of the preceptories of Temple Bruere (p. 153) and Swingfield (p. 160); and on p. 98 of vol. iv of Davies' *West Gower* (Swansea, 1894) one of the Sanctuary at Penrice. Rodley Temple is pictured on p. 317 of *The Graphic Illustrator* (London: Chidley, 1834); whilst Hugo's *History of Mynchin Buckland* (London: J. R. Smith, 1861) and *History of Moor Hall* (London: Nichols, 1866) tell, in words and pictures, what is known

and the church is fast following, being now roofless and dilapidated. It is, in short, a difficult matter to look upon any considerable portion of the ruins and to associate it with the Knights. The church evidently formed an integral part of the Commandery, which got sadly knocked about and wasted by fire in the time of the Civil War—just a century after the disappearance of the Hospitallers from Pembrokeshire—when, it is said, Colonel Horton made a bonfire of the whole of the Slebech books and manuscripts, thus sweeping out of existence everything that could tell the local story of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

It is highly probable that some such papers were so destroyed, but not all; for, according to Fenton's MS. list[1] of the Slebech documents seen and handled by him, there still existed, in 1810, some of vital importance to Hospitaller-students, and of date anterior to Horton's bonfire. Then again, such deeds as the principal grants of lands, houses and churches were probably kept at Clerkenwell, the chief house of the Order in England, or at Malta, or wherever the Hospitallers had their head-quarters at the time. That it is not impossible that some of the documents relating to the knights at Slebech are to be found in private hands, has been shown me by a late addition to my

of the Hospitallers in these two places. In the old *Mirror* (vol. vii. p. 49), there is an interesting copper-plate, together with particulars of the prior of St. John's House in Well Street, Hackney; and in the *European Magazine* there is a picture of the Templars' ancient house at Hackney, dated from the "Bible, Crown and Constitution" in Cornhill, May 1st, 1805; whilst in the 1894-5 vol. of the *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society*, there is a plate of the so-called Hospice of the Knights of St. John at Newcastle, Bridgend. There are also several Hospitaller illustrations and much cognate letterpress in Pinks' *History of Clerkenwell* (London: Herbert, 1881). But I think these are sufficient; Malta alone has quite a separate literature of its own.

I have referred to Templar houses equally with those of St. John, as they were built for practically the same purpose, and, in most cases, in conformity with the requirements of the district.

[1] Now in the *Middle Hill* collection in the Cardiff Free Library.

own library, in the form of several vellum-bound volumes of MS. which once belonged to one of the priories of the Order. But the merest introduction to the romance attending the discovery of medieval documents would demand many more pages than we can spare just now; including, as it necessarily would, particulars of the late find by M. Hartwig Derenbourg, among the Arabic MSS. in the Escurial, of the autobiography of the famous poet-statesman Osama, a contemporary of Saladin in the days we must perforce look upon as emphatically *the* crusading age.

It is to Malta, I think, that the historian of the Slebech of the Hospitallers will chiefly have to look for material other than he will find printed in these pages. In the *Archæological Journal* for December 1850, Mr. Milward referred to an old volume lying in the Public Library of Malta containing the accounts of the property belonging to the Hospitallers in England and Scotland. "Unfortunately," he says, "these accounts are very difficult to decipher." But, prior to this, in the winter of 1838-9, the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, being in Malta, had inspected the MSS. in the Valetta Library, and coming across the above-mentioned volume had made a careful transcript of it, which was issued by the Camden Society in 1857, having as its title: *The Knights Hospitallers in England; being the Report of Prior Philip De Thame to the Grand Master Elyan De Villanova for A.D.* 1338. This we shall have occasion to refer to again.

But to return to Slebech: the vill, which stood a little to the west of the church, and where the vassals of the Commandery lived, has been swept away. Sufficient indications, however, remain to show the position of the pier in use at the time of the Knights, as well as the passages which led from the shore into the cellars of both church and house. These, I should think, were often used by hard-pressed fugitives in search of sanctuary but unable to reach the upper

path. Within either of these passages safety was found from the red-hand of vengeance. The hanging-gardens, which extend over a considerable surface of what must once have been irregular ground, have their fertile southern slopes united by flights of steps which at one time led to the very margin of the sea. Fenton[1] suggests that the gardens were formed about the year 1700; but there is no reason to conclude that they were not in existence during the days of the Knights; and I find more than one mention made in Hospitaller literature of garden paths leading from Commandery chapels to terraces, from which it was easy to leap into a waiting boat. To the east of Slebech, and separated from it by water or mud, according to the state of the tide, is a tumulus known as the Sacred Isle, out of which, tradition says, was dug the immense sword still preserved at the Hall. If so, it must have been hurriedly hidden there by the dispossessed Knights in the days of the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry, as it appears to be none other than the one used at the ceremony of installation among the Hospitaller brotherhood.

If it be true that there is no spot so full of interest as that whereon brave men have walked and died, then Slebech certainly calls for many a waking dream. As we wander about the erstwhile home of the Knights, we have satisfying visions of—

> "Warriors strong,
> Whom neither marching far, nor tedious way,
> Nor weighty arms, which on their shoulders hung,
> Could weary make, or death itself dismay."

"Perchance many of them lie entombed beneath the ground on which we tread; for ofttimes, in ages past, has been heard here the solemn dirge or funeral chant of some brave crusader, who languished and died beneath the stroke of that victor whom no prowess could resist, and was then, with solemn pomp, borne by his brothers in arms, who grieved his loss and committed his frail body to the parent dust, in a few years no more to be remembered."

[1] *Historical Tour*, p. 296.

II.—The Knights of St. John.

Pious Christians had awaited with awe and trembling the coming of the thousandth anniversary of the crucifixion of Christ, expecting some great event to occur—they scarcely knew what, or whether for good or ill. But when this period had passed without the anticipated commotion, a great religious enthusiasm rolled over Europe, like some mighty wave, and everyone seemed to feel that it was incumbent on him to do something or other, with considerable trouble attached to the doing, to show how earnest was his faith, how real his ardour in the cause of his religion. "At this time," says a contemporary writer,[1] "there began to flow towards the Holy Sepulchre so great a multitude as, ere this, no man could have hoped for. First of all went the meaner folk, then men of middle rank; and, lastly, very many kings and counts, marquises, bishops; aye, and a thing that never happened before—many women bent their steps in the same direction."

But prior to this—between the years 1014 and 1023—some Christian merchants had founded a hospital at Jerusalem for the reception of the comparatively few pilgrims who in those days visited the Holy Land. This did its work so thoroughly that its reputation soon spread through Europe; and, as a consequence, contributions came in from all quarters. Moreover, some of the pilgrims drawn to such congenial duties, remained as helpers instead of returning home. Such was the humble beginning of the mighty Order of St. John of Jerusalem.[2]

In the year 1093, a pilgrim, known as Peter the Hermit, returned to Europe with his heart full of sorrow and indignation at the barbarities and hard-

[1] Ralph Glaber, quoted on p. 15 of *The Crusades*, by Archer and Kingsford. (London: Unwin, 1894.)

[2] At first the hospital and church of the Order were dedicated to St. John Eleemon or the Almoner, but were subsequently re-dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

ships which Christian sojourners in Jerusalem endured at the hands of the infidel rulers of the Holy land.[1] Christendom was soon aflame; for "the finest result of the religious spirit in the middle ages was to produce that disinterested enthusiasm which, as soon as some distress of humanity became flagrant, immediately created societies for help and rendered self-denial popular. For example: one of these distresses was seen in the power of the infidel, and the Crusades were the consequence."[2] The story of the Crusades our readers will find in other pages.

The warlike spirit rampant on every hand soon called forth in the hearts of the Hospitallers a great hunger which failed to find satisfaction in the monotonous duties of daily care for the sick and afflicted. And so, when Raymond du Puy succeeded Gerard (who died in 1118) as master of the Hospital, he proposed that to the original vows of poverty, obedience and chastity, the Brethren should add a third obligation, that of knightly defence of the Christian religion. This proposition was hailed with delight, and straightway the entire body bound themselves, in the presence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, "to defend the Holy Sepulchre to the last drop of their blood, and to combat the infidels wherever they should meet them."[3] About this time the Order was first divided into three classes,

[1] In 1065 the government of Syria had been wrested from the more refined and humane Arabian tribes by the fierce and intolerant Turcomans who, coming from the wild regions beyond the Caspian Sea, had taken and sacked Jerusalem, butchering the garrison placed there by the Sultan of Egypt, the inhabitants of the town, and the pilgrims. All the sacred edifices were destroyed by these ruthless invaders, except the Holy Sepulchre, and *that* was only retained for the sake of the tax levied upon its visitors who, however, were treated by the fierce conquerors with every imaginable cruelty and indignity.

[2] M. Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, 1892 edn., p. 38.

[3] The organisation of military monks prevailed amongst the Arabs of Spain and of the East long before it was adopted by the Latin Christians.

viz,, knights of justice, religious chaplains, and serving brothers. Religious dames were attached for purposes of the Hospital.

From this time forth the Holy Land witnessed the brave deeds and hardy endurance of the Knights of the White Cross in the warfare carried on against the infidel. Ever in the front of the great armies of Crusaders which Europe sent to the East, their doughty doings became the subject of laudatory song and shouted applause throughout the length and breadth of the Western lands.

In 1289 they removed their head-quarters from Palestine to Cyprus, passing thence to Rhodes in 1310. There they were besieged by the Turks in 1480, and again in 1522, soon after which they were compelled to surrender the isle. In 1530 the Emperor Charles V of Spain gave them Malta, where they remained until Bonaparte took possession of it in 1798, and practically put an end to the position and influence of the erstwhile mighty Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

It has been justly said that the transactions of the White Cross Knights, from the date of their organisation on a military basis until the island of Rhodes was wrenched from their grasp, is the history of Christendom for more than four hundred years.

These warrior-monks had possessions in England as early as 1101, when the priory of Clerkenwell, which continued their head-quarters in this country so long as the Order held its footing here, was founded by Lord Jordan Briset. Later on, in 1185, this priory was dedicated by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, then on a visit to Europe.

The Order in England shared the fate of the monasteries at the Dissolution by Henry VIII; and in 1540 the Knights of St. John were turned out of their home at Slebech, and dispossessed of all their South Wales properties.

It might be well, perhaps, to insist just here on the distinction between the two rival Orders of Knights

Hospitallers and Knights *Templars*, especially as some who have undertaken to write of Slebech and its former residents have, to say the least, been essentially original in their statements.

The Knights of St. John were known as the White Cross Knights from the colour of the cross they wore on their cloaks and carried on their banners, that of the Templars being red. In the early days of their existence, they were called simply Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. When they added military duties to those of the Hospital, their title changed to that of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. Their subsequent residence in Rhodes caused them to be known as Knights of Rhodes; whilst later on they were distinguished as Knights of Malta, by reason of their head-quarters being situated in that island. At all times they were entirely separate and distinct from the Knights Templars, whose properties, however, were transferred to them when that Order was suppressed.

It is, perhaps, necessary to add that the Templars never possessed either the Commandery or church of Slebech.

III.—Their Settlement in Pembrokeshire.

Early in the twelfth century, Wizo the Fleming was granted the Lordship of Daugleddau.[1] To us he is

[1] "The next year (1105. Holinshed has 1107; Powell 1108)—a dismal and calamitous accident happening in the Low-countries, proved very incommodious and prejudicial to the Welsh; for a great part of Flanders being drowned by the overflowing of the sea, the inhabitants were compelled to seek for some country to dwell in, their own being now covered with water; and therefore a great many being come over to England, they requested of King Henry to assign them some part of his kingdom which was empty and void of inhabitants, where they might settle and plant themselves. The King, taking advantage of this charitable opportunity, and being in manner assured that these Flemings would be a considerable thorn in the side of the Welsh, bestowed upon them very liberally what was not justly in his power to give, and appointed them the country of Ros, in Dyved, or West Wales."—Caradoc's *History of Wales*,

known chiefly as the builder of Wiston Castle (Castell Gwys), and the donor, directly or indirectly, to the Knights Hospitallers of estates sufficient to warrant their establishing a Commandery of their Order in Pembrokeshire. His first act undoubtedly was to insure the safety of his body, the second that of his soul.

Probably nothing but rude earthworks existed on the spot where Wizo soon built a fortress, which, in 1146, was strong enough to defy all the attacks of Cadell, Meredith and Rhys, sons of Gryffith ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, who found themselves "too weak to master it", until Howell ap Owen Gwynedd, "a person famously remarkable for martial endowments," came to their assistance with "certain battering engines".

Referring to Slebech as one of the earliest subordinate establishments of the Hospitallers, Fenton says:[1]

"It has not been yet precisely ascertained by whom, or at what time, it was founded. Camden and the *Monasticon* attribute its foundation to Wizo, and Walter his son, whom Speed calls his brother;[2] only as they appear to have contributed more largely than the other benefactors to its endowment, as having granted Slebech itself, with the advowson of its church, as well as that of several other churches in Daugleddau, that tract of Pembrokeshire lying betwixt the two rivers called Cleddau, the barony of which Wizo possessed, to the Knights Hospitallers."

The earliest authentic information we possess of the connection of Wizo and his son Walter with the churches of Daugleddau is to be found in the Chartulary of St. Peter's, Gloucester, where several documents set forth particulars of an ecclesiastical quarrel.

1812 edn., p. 127. See *Arch. Camb.*, April 1850, for other extracts *re* the settlement of Flemings in Pembrokeshire.

[1] *Historical Tour*, p. 288.

[2] Speed was probably misled by some such document as "The Return of the Sheriff of Pembrokeshire", in the Pipe Roll of the Exchequer, now attributed to the 21st year of Henry I (5th Aug. 1120 to 4th Aug. 1121), in which three Pembrokeshire Flemings are named—Godebert, Walin and Witson.

The following brief summaries of their contents, arranged chronologically, will suffice for our immediate purpose:—

1113-15.—Wilfrid, Bishop of St. David's, is willing that the monks of Gloucester shall have the churches, lands and other possessions in his see, which God had given them, on condition that he (Wilfrid) has the rights and dues from the churches. He also confers on the monks the right of admitting and changing the officials of the churches as they may think proper.

1115-47.[1]—Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, confirms to the Abbot and convent of St. Peter's, Gloucester, the gifts of Wyzo the Fleming, to wit: the church of his castle of Dungledi, and all the churches and chapels of the whole of his estate; also the power of changing the officers of the churches.

1115-35.—King Henry issues a precept to Walter, son of Wyzo, instructing him to reinstate the Abbot and monks of Gloucester in the possessions which Wyzo had given them, from which they had been unjustly ousted.

1115-35.—King Henry issues a precept to Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, instructing him to see to the enforcing of the above.

1115-35.—King Henry to the Bishop of St. David's (Bernard not named), to the same effect as the previous precept; but in this, the church of Dungledi *only* is mentioned.

1115-47.—Walter, son of Wytso (evidently in obedience to the King's precept), grants to the Abbot and convent of St. Peter's, Gloucester, the church of the castle of Wytso of Dungledi, with all the churches and chapels of his estates.

1139-48.—Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, confirms to the Monastery of St. Peter's, Gloucester, the church of Dungledi and all the chapels and tithes belonging thereto, by gift of Wyzo and his son Walter.

1148-57.—Radulf, Prior of St. Mary's, Worcester, declares that Hamelin, Abbot of Gloucester, had abandoned the dispute between the two churches, and had relinquished all Gloucester's rights in Dungledi church in favour of Worcester on condition that Worcester should pay Gloucester half a mark yearly on the Feast of St. Michael.

1151-57.—John, Bishop of Worcester, confirms the above.[2]

From the foregoing, it is evident that Wizo died

[1] Wrongly dated 1152. Bernard had then ceased to be Bishop.

[2] For the complete documents in their original Latin, see *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ* (London: Longmans, 1863), vol. i, pp. 228, 262-6.

prior to 1135; and I question whether he himself actually gave anything to the Hospitallers, notwithstanding the repeated statements we find that this, that, or the other, was the gift of Wizo, his son Walter, and Walter, the son of Walter. It appears evident that Wizo's benefactions were in favour of the Monastery of St. Peter's, Gloucester; and that immediately after his death, Walter his son, who succeeded to the estates, did his best to transfer his father's gifts, probably to the Hospitallers. It is to "Walter the son of Wizo", the precept of King Henry is sent, instructing him to reinstate the Abbot and monks of Gloucester in the possessions which Wizo had given them, and from which they had been unjustly ousted; and it is he who, in obedience to the King's commands, makes the confirmatory grant of the church of the Castle of Wizo, with all the churches and chapels of his estates, etc. Afterwards (about 1155), these possessions, by an arrangement between the two houses, passed from the monastery of Gloucester to the priory of St. Mary's, Worcester; but it was not a "clean" transfer: a perpetual charge of half a mark yearly was secured to the transferors.

Soon after this, Henry I (who, as we have seen, interposed to straighten matters between Walter and the monks), being dead, and also King Stephen, the Hospitallers, by some means or other—probably by the assistance of the Walter named above, or his son Walter—found themselves in actual possession of what Wizo had given to the monastery of Gloucester. The transfer from Gloucester to Worcester, without his consent, might have furnished Walter with an excuse for recovering the gifts of his father and handing them over to the Hospitallers, who were clearly much in his favour. Anyhow, a furious struggle appears to have arisen between the Priory of Worcester and the Knights Hospitallers; and it seems that David, Bishop of St. David's (1147-76), was appealed to, to judge between the rival claimants; for we find him confirming to the

Hospitallers six of the twelve churches in dispute, to wit: Wiston, Slebech, Walton, Clarebaston, Ambleston and Boulston—as if he were endeavouring to compromise matters by an equal division of the properties. But this proved unsatisfactory, and the question was laid before the Pope, who straightway invested Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter (1161-84), with power to decide thereon; with the result that all the rights which the aforesaid monastery had "in the churches, lands and possessions of Dungledi" were assigned unto the brethren of the Hospital. But, in spite of this, I question whether the Knights of St. John ever actually possessed these properties otherwise than as perpetual tenants of St. Mary's, Worcester; for at the Dissolution of the Monasteries it was found that Slebech paid "a certain pension of £7 per annum" to the Prior of Worcester.[1]

In the above-mentioned confirmation to the Hospitallers, Bishop David of St. David's (1147-76) names the following churches as already in their possession:—Mynwere, Rhosmarket, Amroth, Dresdryer,[2] Sarnnelay,[3] Penrice in Gower, and Amlot.[4] Prior to this, his predecessor in the Bishopric (Bernard,[5] 1115-47) had confirmed to the Hospitallers the Church of St. Leonard, of the Castle of Ros.[6]

Bishop David's successor (Peter, 1176-98), confirmed

[1] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. iv, p. 389.

[2] Troed-yr-aur, in Cardiganshire. [3] Query? Sarn Helen.

[4] I have been unable to identify this: it is apparently neither Ambleston nor Amroth.

[5] In the *Middle Hill MSS.*, *Edwardus*. He is, however, placed before Bishop David (1147-76), and cannot well be the Edward, *alias* Jorwerth, *alias* Gervase (1215-30).

[6] The only reference I have been able to find to the Castle of Ros is in the volume of *Middle Hill MSS.* numbered 19,880, now in the Cardiff Free Library. It is but meet that here, in my early mention of this magnificent collection, to which all future historians of Pembrokeshire must needs be largely indebted, I should acknowledge the fact that had I earlier become acquainted with its wealth I should have been saved many hours of unnecessary reference and toilsome analysis.

to the brethren of the Hospital the churches of Letterston, Landegest,[1] Woodstock, Rudbaxton, Boulston, and the chapel of Picton.

Gervase, who succeeded to the Bishopric of St. David's in 1215, confirmed the rights of the Hospitallers to the pensions and churches already in their hands, making particular mention of the church of Ambleston, with its chapels of Rinaston and Woodstock, and the church of Penrice, in Gower; together with a house in Swansea which John Penrice had built for the use of the Order.

By the year 1230 these grants and confirmations had become numerous, and the Hospitallers accordingly made request to Bishop Anselm that he would simplify matters by giving them one confirmatory document to include all. This was done, and the following is a copy of Fenton's transcript of what he terms one "of the most ancient and authentic documents now extant" having reference to Slebech.

It must, however, be said of this copy that it is a careless piece of work, and incomplete, notwithstanding Fenton's admission that it was his good fortune to have had a most intimate acquaintance with the Slebech papers, not only in his "friend Mr. Symmons's time by his kind favour and indulgence", but also in the exercise of his "profession as a barrister, since the place had changed masters."

In the *Middle Hill MSS.* (vol. 19,880) is a late sixteenth-century transcript of this same document, and the points of variance between it and Fenton's work will be seen in the foot-notes which follow.

NOTATIONES EVIDENCIARUM SEU MUNIMENTORUM PERTINENTIUM AD PRECEPTORIAM DE SLEBECH.[2]

Confirmatio Dni Anselmi Epi.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes literas visuris vel audituris Anselmus Dei Gratia Menev: Eccles: humilis minister eternam

[1] Llanfair-nant-y-gof.

[2] See Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, Appendix, p. 62.

in Dño salutem. Ad noticiam vrãm volumus pervenire nos literas venerabilis fratris nři Gervasii bonæ memoriæ, Men: Epi predecessoris nři inspexississe sub hac forma. Omnibus setæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Gervasius Dei gratia Men: Epũs eternam in D^no^ salutem. Noverit universitas vřa nos confirmaciones predecessorum nostrorum Petri et Gervasii bonæ Memoriæ Men: Epořum in hæc verba inspexisse; Omnibus Sctæ matris Eccliæ filius ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit G——— divina permissione Men: Epũs salutem in D^no^ Noverit universitas vestra; nos cartam bonæ memoriæ predecessoris nři in hæc verba inspexisse; Petrus Dei gratia Men: Epus universis sacrosanctæ matris Ecctiæ salutem. Noverit universitas ořa, frates dilecti in domino, quod nos ad instantiam venerabilium fratrũm nostrorum Scři Johannis hospitalis herosolimitani aures et anim: inclinantes scripta eorum autentica et originalia sř hiis quæ in diocesi Men: canonicé adepti sunt, audivimus et inspeximus justis ergo peticionibus eorum satisfacere volentes ea ipsis authoritate Epali corroboranda dignum duximus et plené confirmanda sũp quibus quin ea roñablr adepti sunt hesitatio esse non potest. Illas itaque possessiones et libertates et jura eis nřa confirmamus quæ eis pacifice et juste pertinent in diocesi nřa, quacunque largitione Comitum, Baronum, militum et aliorum fidelium Dei, tam Francorum quam Wallensium et Flandrensium prefato hospitali et fratribus ejusdem collata sunt quæ proprius deximus distinguenda vocabulis. In Pebidiauc ex donacione Rob^ti^ filii Humfridi, Ecctiam de Landegof et duas carucatas terræ arabilis, cum omnibus pertinenciis et libertatibus suis, præter capellariam *Vñi.*[1] Ecctiam de Villa Letardi cum pertinencius suis ex dono Yvonis filii Letardi. Ecctiam de vado Patricii cum pertinenciis suis ex dono Philippi le Poer, duas carucatas terræ in Welshook ex dono Phil: de Kemeys. In Roos ex dono trium Baronum, Witli filii Haions, Robti filii Godeberti, et Riči filii Tancardi totam villam de Rosmarche cum ecctia et molendino, terra et universis pertinenciis et libertatibus suis. In villa de Haverford ex dono predicti Riči, sex burgagia cum pertin: et libert: suis. In Coferun duas carucatas terræ ex dono Robti filii Ricardi. In Dungledi ex dono Wiȝ et Walteri filii ejus et Walteri filii ejusdem Walteri Ecctiam Sanctæ Mariæ de Castro Wiȝ et terram de sťa Maria Bergha, &c. et omnes Ecctias et Cappellas de feodis suis de Dungledi, &c. scilicet Ecctiam Sři Martini de Villa Clarenbaldi, Ecctiam de Amleston cum cappellis suis scilicet de Villa Reineri et de Wodestok, Ecctiam Sři Petri de

[1] In the *Middle Hill MS.*, Dñi (*i.e.*, Domini).

Waletuna, Ecclam de Rudepagstona, Ecclam de Prendegast, Ecclam de Villa Osmundi, Ecclam de Boleston cum cappella sua de Piketon, totam villam de Slebech cum ecclia molendino piscatura et terris et omnibus pertinenciis, &c. Et cum quædam ex hiis litigiosa fuisset inter monasterium Wigorniæ et frs hospitales controversia, omnis coram Bartholomeo Exon: Epo judice delegato auctoritate summi Pontificis extincta est. Ita quidem quod omne jus quod prefatum monasterium in ecclesiis predictis terris et possessionibus de Dungledi habuit hospitali et fratribus ejusdem prorsus resignavit. In Pembrockshire, ex dono Roberti filii Lomeri totam terram suam cum Ecclia de Mynwere, &c. Ex dono Willi filio Geraldi et Odonis filii ejus totam Villam de Redebord, &c. Ex dono Willi le Poer septem bovatas terræ super Blakedone ex dono Willmi Herrizon et concessione Willi de Narberth Ecclam de Amroth cum quinquaginta acris terræ de sanctuario et duas carrucatas terræ, &c., Ex dono *Hanerandi* unam carucatam terræ super Berngdona Manerium et Villam quæ vocatur Dolbryvawr,[1] &c. Item, in Dungledi ex dono Phil: filii Wiz et Henrici filii sui scilicet Willamel et Borchinfield, quinque carrucatas terræ, ex dono Walteri filii Wiz: dimidium carrucatæ terræ super Stokebũgia, ex dono Henrici filii Phil: unam bovatam terræ in Allagrestona. In Lanstephan ex dono Galfridi Marmion et hæredum ejus ecclam Sti Stephani de Landstephan, cum quinquaginta acr terræ et unam carrucatam terræ inter Goer et longam forestam et piscaturum in Tâv cum omnibus aisiamentis ejusdem Villæ de Lanstephan in bosco et plano in viis, &c. et unam navem cum passagio de Towy. In Kidwely duo Burgagia et 12 acras terræ ex dono Willi de Londoniis. In Goher ex dono Henrici de novo burgo Ecclam de Lochor, &c. et in eadem villa unam burgagium cum altero burgagio in Villa de Sweynsea.[2] In villa de Sweynsea burgagium Willi filii Palmeri et duodecim acras terræ quas Einon et fruter ejus dederunt. Ex dono Robti fil: Walteri tertiam partem totius feodi Brictricii, et unam acram prati et triginta acras simul ad construendam capellam Sti Johannis Bptæ., &c. Ex dono Robti de Mona ecclam de Portheynon et unam mansurum juxta ecclam et sex acras terræ quas Thomas filius sacerdotis tenuit, et decem acra de feodo Oxeriwiche, &c. Ex dono Heliæ Tortesmaris, 12 acras et parvulum angulum augmentationis. Ex dono Willi de Turberville Ecclam de Llanridian cum cappella sua Villæ Walter et

[1] "et Villam quæ vocatur Dolbryvawr" does not occur in the *Middle Hill MS.*

[2] "cum altero burgagio in Villa de Sweynsea" is not in the *Middle Hill MS.*

Ecctiam de Llandunnor et Ecctiam de Rossilly, &c. In Kemeys ex dono Robti. fil: Stephani Ecctiam S^ti^ Bernachi de Blaentâv et centum acras terræ, &c. In novo burgo in Kemeys unum burgagium ex dono Witti fil: Martini. Ex dono Mauricii fil: Witti de Henllys 15 acras terræ apud Berry.[1] In Emlyn ex dono Jordani de Cantitona et confirmatione Witti fil: Geraldi Ecctiam de Castellan et 20 acras terræ prope Ecctiam adjacentes. In Cardigan ex dono Rogeri Com: de Clara Ecctiam de Stradmeurig, &c. Ex dono Resi fil: Griffini terram de Stradmeurig sicut ipsius Carta testatur. Ex dono predicti Comitis Ecctiam de Trastrahir, &c. and 100 acras terræ in *Hamduna* et tria burgagia in Villa de Cardigan. Ex dono Walteri Apelgard unam carucatum terræ a parte occidentali Castelli Resi fil: Bledri. Ex dono Simonis Hay Ecctiam de Kilymaenllwyd. Ex dono Cadwgani fil: Griffini totam terram de *Betmenon*, &c. Item ex dono Rici fil: Tancardi Ecctiam de Garlandestona cum 120 acris terræ, &c. Item ex dono Resi fil: Griffini totam terram de Rystud cum Villa et ecctia et molendino, &c. Ex dono Witti de Brusia et Meurig fil: Adæ ecctiam S^ti^ Michis de Nantmelan, &c. Ex dono Domini Penkelly Ecctiam Scti Meugan, &c. Ex dono Witti fil: Eliduri unam carucatum terr: in Pembrockshire. Ex dono Robti fil: ejusdem duo messuagia et duas bovatus terræ ad Stakepol. Ex dono Witti Marescalli Com: de Pembrock, Ecctiam de Castellan, Emelin, et totam terram de Castellan, Emelin, et Eschurmânhi, &c. In Goher ex dono Johis de Brewose Ecctiam Scti Yltinti, et totam terram illam quæ vocatur Mallewoed et Borlakestand, &c. Ex dono Robti de Penrice Ecctiam S^ti^ Andreæ de Penrice, &c. Ex dono Johis *Blaen magnel* Ecctiam de Penmayne. Ex dono Maelgwn, jun: fil: magni Maelgwnis Dimidiatem terræ illius quæ vocatur *Merthir kinlas*. Ex dono Robti Bured totam terram suam in Burlake. Ex dono Robti Carpentarii de Carmarthen medietatem molendini de *Landlothe* extra Muros Villæ de Carmarthen.[2] Ex dono Raymondi fil: Martini 100 acras terræ in Benegerduna. Ex dono Johis fil: Raymundi Ecctiam de Martletwye. In Cardiganshire ex dono Resi fil: Griffini Ecctiam de Lansanfreyt et totam terram quæ pertinet ad villam de Lansanfreyt. Et ut una concessio et confirmatio perpetuis temporibus firma et stabilis permaneat presenti scripto sigillum nostram duxim apponendum. Datum apud Lanwadin consecrationis nostræ, anno primo.

Valete.

[1] This gift of land at Berry does not appear in the *Middle Hill MS.*

[2] The whole of this, from "Ex dono Maelgwn" to "Villæ de Carmarthen", is wanting in the *Middle Hill MS.*

TRANSLATION.

NOTICE OF THE EVIDENCES OR RECORDS RELATING TO THE PRECEPTORY OF SLEBECH.

The Confirmation of Bishop Anselm.

Unto all the faithful in Christ who shall see these present letters or hear them: Anselm, by the Grace of God, humble minister of the church of Menevia, wisheth eternal health in the Lord. We will it to be made known to you that we have inspected the letters of our venerable brother Gervase of good memory, Bishop of Menevia, our predecessor, under this form: Unto all the sons of our holy mother the Church, to whom this present writing shall come, Gervase, by the grace of God Bishop of Menevia, wisheth eternal health in the Lord. Know ye that we have inspected the confirmations of our predecessors Peter and Gervase[1] of good memory, Bishops of Menevia, in these words: Unto all the sons of our holy mother the Church, to whom this present writing shall come, G——— (Geoffrey) by divine permission Bishop of Menevia, wisheth health in the Lord. Know ye that we have inspected the charter of our predecessor[2] of good memory in these words: Peter by the grace of God Bishop of Menevia, unto all the sons of our holy mother the Church sendeth greeting. Know ye, beloved brethren in the Lord, that we inclining our ears and minds to the importunity of our venerable brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, have heard and inspected their authentic and original writings concerning those things which in the diocese of Menevia they have canonically obtained; and willing to satisfy their just petitions, we have caused these things to be assured to them and fully confirmed by episcopal authority, because upon what has been reasonably obtained there can be no doubt. We therefore by our authority confirm those possessions liberties and rights which peaceably and justly belong to them in our diocese, through the liberality of Earls, Barons, Knights, and other faithful people of God, as well French as Welsh and Flemish, unto the aforesaid Hospital and the brethren of the same, which we have caused to be specified in these proper terms. In Pebidiauc, by the grant of Robert,

[1] Should be Geoffrey. The several Christian names in the early part of the document are indicated by their respective first letters only: thus A. (Anselm), G. (Gervase), P. (Peter), and G. (Geoffrey).

[2] "Our predecessor Peter of good memory."

son of Humphrey, the church of Landegof and two carucates of arable land with all their appurtenances and liberties except the Lord's chapelry. The church of the vill of Letard with its appurtenances, by the grant of Yvo the son of Letard. The church of the ford of Patrick with its appurtenances, of the gift of Philip le Poer. Two carucates of land in Welshook of the gift of Philip of Kemeys. In Roos, by the gift of the three Barons, William son of Haion, Robert son of Godebert, and Richard son of Tancard, the whole vill of Rosmarche with the church, mill and lands, and all their appurtenances and liberties. In the vill of Haverford, by the gift of the aforesaid Richard, six burgages with their appurtenances and liberties. In Coferun, two carucates of land of the gift of Robert son of Ricard. In Dungledi, of the gift of Wiz,[1] and Walter his son, and Walter son of the said Walter, the church of St. Mary of the Castle of Wiz, and the land of St. Mary Bergha, etc.,[2] and all the churches and chapels of the fee of Dungledi, etc.,[3] to wit, the church of St. Martin of the vill of Clarenbald, the church of Amleston,[4] with their chapels, to wit, of the vill of Reineri and of Wodestok, the church of St. Peter of Waletun,[5] the church of Rudepagston, the church of Prendegast, the church of the vill of Osmund, the church of Boleston with its chapel of Piketon,[6] the whole vill of Slebech[7] with the church, mill, fishery and lands, and all appurtenances, etc.[8] And inasmuch as all that certain dispute between the monastery of Worcester and the brethren of the Hospital has been settled before Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, the judge delegated by authority of the supreme Pontiff; so indeed that all the right which the aforesaid monastery had in the aforesaid churches, lands and possessions of Dungledi, it has lately assigned unto the Hospital and to the brethren thereof. In Pembrockshire, of the gift of Robert son of Lomer, all his

[1] Wizo or Witho.

[2] "With their liberties."

[3] "With all their appurtenances and liberties."

[4] "Almenolfestun."

[5] In the *Middle Hill MS.* the following variation occurs:—"The church of Blessed Peter of Waletun the church of Almenolfestun, with their chapels, to wit: of the vill of Reineri and of Wodestoke." This is probably the correct reading, and Rinaston and Woodstock were chapels to Walton East and Ambleston, not to Clarbeston and Ambleston, as set forth by Fenton. In another document, however, in the *Middle Hill* collection, the church of Amenalston is mentioned, "with its own chapels, to wit: of the vill of Ryneri and of Woodstoke."

[6] "Pincheton." [7] "Slebache." [8] "And liberties."

land with the church of Mynwere, etc.[1] Of the gift of William son of Gerald, and Odo his son, the whole vill of Redebord, etc.[2] Of the gift of William le Poer, seven oxgangs on Blakedone. Of the gift of William Herrizon, and by the concession of William of Narberth, the church of Amroth,[3] with fifty acres of sanctuary-land and two carucates of land, etc.[4] Of the gift of Hanerand one carucate of land on Berngdon Manor, and the vill which is called Dolbryvawr, etc. Also in Dungledi, of the gift of Philip son of Wiz, and Henry his son, to wit, Willamel and Borchinfield,[5] five carucates of land. Of the gift of Walter son of Wiz, half a carucate of land upon Stokebũgia.[6] Of the gift of Henry son of Philip, one oxgang of land in Allagreston. In Lanstephan,[7] of the gift of Geoffrey Marmion and his heirs, the church of Saint Stephen of Landstephan,[8] with fifty acres of land and one carucate of land between Goer and long forest, and a fishery in the Tâv, with all the easements of the same vill of Lanstephan, in wood and in plain and in ways, etc., and one vessel with the ferry of Towy. In Kidwely,[9] two burgages and twelve acres of land, of the gift of William de Londres. In Goher, of the gift of Henry de New Burgh, the church of Lochor,[10] etc., and in the same vill one burgage, with another burgage in the vill of Sweynsea. In the vill of Sweynsea,[11] the burgage of William son of Palmer, and twelve acres of land which Einon and his brother[12] gave. Of the gift of Robert son of Walter, the third part of the fee of Brictric,[13] and one acre of meadow, and thirty acres with it for the construction of the chapel of St. John the Baptist, etc. Of the gift of Robert de Mona,[14] the church of Portheynon[15] and a mansion near the church, and six acres of land which Thomas the priest's son held, and ten acres of land of the fee of Oxeriwiche,[16] etc. Of the gift of Helia Tortesmaris, twelve acres and a little corner over and above. Of the gift of William de Turberville, the church of Llanridian[17] with its

[1] "With all their appurtenances and liberties." "Of Mynwere" does not occur in the text of the *Middle Hill* copy; but "Mymaere" is written, in another hand, in the margin.

[2] "With its appurtenances and liberties", which is the usual interpretation of Fenton's "etc."

[3] "Amtrud."

[4] "With their appurtenances and liberties."

[5] "Willansel and Bocchinfeild."

[6] "Stokebury" in the text: "Stokeburgia" in the margin, in a different hand.

[7] and [8] "Landestephan."

[9] "Kidweli."

[10] "Lochud."

[11] "Sweyneshea."

[12] "Goroneu, sons of Loarht."

[13] "Brictric Canut."

[14] "Robert de Mara."

[15] "Portheinan."

[16] "Oxenwiche."

[17] "Lanriden."

chapel of Walterstown, and the church of Llandunnor,[1] and the church of Rossilly, etc. In Kemeys, of the gift of Robert son of Stephen, the church of St. Bernach of Blaentâv, and a hundred acres of land, etc. In New Burgh in Kemeys, one burgage of the gift of William son of Martin.[2] Of the gift of Maurice son of William de Henllys, fifteen acres of land at Berry. In Emlyn, of the gift of Jordan de Cantiton, and by the confirmation of William son of Gerald, the church of Castellan,[3] and twenty acres of land lying near the church. In Cardigan, of the gift of Roger, Earl of Clare, the church of Stradmeurig,[4] etc. Of the gift of Res son of Griffin, the land of Stradmeurig, as is testified by his charter. Of the gift of the aforesaid Earl, the church of Trastrahir, etc., and a hundred acres of land in Hamduna,[5] and three burgages in the vill of Cardigan. Of the gift of Walter Apelgard, one carucate of land on the west side of the castle of Res son of Bledri.[6] Of the gift of Simon Hay, the church of Kilymaenllwyd.[7] Of the gift of Cadwgan son of Griffin, the whole land of Betmenon, etc. Also of the gift of Richard son of Tancard, the church of Garlandeston with one hundred and twenty acres of land, etc. Of the gift of Res son of Griffin, the whole land of Rystud, with the vill, church, mill, etc.[8] Of the gift of William de Brusia, and Meurig son of Adam (Qy. Ada), the church of St. Michael of Nantmelan, etc. Of the gift of the lord of Penkelly, the church of St. Meugan, etc. Of the gift of William son of Elidur, one carucate of land in Pembrockshire. Of the gift of Robert, son of the same, two messuages and two oxgangs of land at Stakepol.[9] Of the gift of William Marescal,

[1] "Landimor."

[2] "William, son of William, son of Martin."

[3] "Castelhan emelin."

[4] "Strotmeurich."

[5] "Homdon."

[6] "Bleder."

[7] "Kilmaenloc, with all their appurtenances and liberties."

[8] "And their appurtenances and liberties, as the charter of the same witnesseth."

[9] The *Middle Hill MS.* variation will be of interest to students of Pembrokeshire place-names:—"Of the gift of William, son of Eilard, one carucate of land in Penbrocsire: of the gift of Robert, son of Elidr, two messuages and two oxgangs of land at Stakepol." See also foot-note to Alleston, in our "Schedule of Possessions" further on.

The following, which is of considerable assistance in any analysis of the Confirmation, is omitted altogether by Fenton:—"And whereas by our predecessors of good memory, Wilfrid, Bernard and David, bishops of Menevia, this was allowed to them by special privilege, that they might constitute and amove at their will their chaplains and clerks ministering in their churches who should not

Earl of Pembrock, the church of Castellan Emelin and all the land of Castellan Emelin and Eschurmanhir, etc. In Goher, of the gift of John de Brewose, the church of Saint Yltint[1] and all that land which is called Mallewoed and Borlakestand,[2] etc. Of the gift of Robert de Penrice,[3] the church of St. Andrew of Penrice, etc. Of the gift of John Blaen magnel,[4] the church of Penmayne.[5] Of the gift of Maelgwn son of Maelgwn the great, a moiety of the land which is called Merthir kinlas. Of the gift of Robert Bured, all his land in Burlake. Of the gift of Robert Carpentarius of Carmarthen, a moiety of the mill of Landlothe, outside the walls of the town of Carmarthen. Of the gift of Raymond son of Martin, one hundred acres of land in Benegerdun. Of the gift of John son of Raymond, the church of Martletwye.[6] In Cardiganshire, of the gift of Res son of Griffin, the church of Lansanfreyt, and all the land which pertains to the town of Lansanfreyt.[7] And that our grant and confirmation may remain for ever firm and stable, we have caused our seal to be appended to the present writing. Given at Lanwadin, in the first year of our consecration.[8] Farewell.

have been instituted by them. We, not willing to detract anything of their custom from them, do grant unto them the same liberty, saving unto us and our successors the episcopal right and custom. And that these things remain firm and unshaken, we have communicated them and affixed our seal thereto (*This apparently ends Peter's Confirmation.*—J.R.R.). Now we (*evidently Anselm.*—J.R.R.), upon the writings of our predecessor G. of good memory, approving the grant and confirmation, have strengthened the same by affixing our seal, do grant and have confirmed unto the said Hospital and to the brethren there dwelling, whatsoever things have since been canonically used in our diocese, which we have caused to be expressed in our own words. In Emelin" ("of the gift of William Marescal," and so on, as above).

1 "Saint Yltint vanik." 2 "Mullewood and Borlakesland."

3 "Penris." 4 "Blaneaighel."

5 "The church of Saint John Baptist of Penmaine."

6 "The *Middle Hill MS.* reads:—"In Penbrocsire, of the gift of Raymond, son of Martin, the church of Martheltwi, with its appurtenances and liberties, and two carucates of land on Binigeresdon."

7 "And all the land which belongs to William of Lansafreit, with all their appurtenances and liberties, according as the charters of the aforesaid donors upon the premisses first made expressly testify." 8 1230-31.

(*To be continued.*)

CARVED AND INCISED STONES AT TREMEIRCHION, FLINTS.

BY REV. C. A. NEWDIGATE, S.J.

AMONG the "Notes on Inscribed Stones in Wales", collected in the last year's volume of *Arch. Camb.*,[1] by Mr. Edward Owen from Lewis Morris's MSS. of the last century, there are notices of two mediæval inscriptions in Dymeirchion or Tremeirchion Church. I make these my excuse, if excuse be needed, for a few notes on the present state of the sculptured mediæval remains in this parish.

The church itself contains no features of special interest. It consists of a single rectangular body without distinction of nave and chancel; the north transept and south porch are modern. A bell-gable, two plain pointed doorways, and a small, much-injured, two-light Perpendicular window of rather unusual design, in which have been set some interesting fragments of stained glass collected from the east window —are almost the only architectural features remaining of the original structure. The north wall, though 3 ft. in thickness, leans badly outwards, and needs to be supported by massive buttresses. Inside, chancel and nave are disfigured by a plaster ceiling. The western gallery has been removed; a few beaded oaken beams let into the ceiling—fragments, perhaps, of an earlier rood-screen—remain to show its former position.

More interest attaches to the monumental and other remains connected with the church; and to these we will devote the following notes.

[1] Pp. 129-144.

I.—Effigies.

The church contains two effigies of the thirteenth or fourteenth century; a third has been removed to the neighbouring college of St. Beuno.

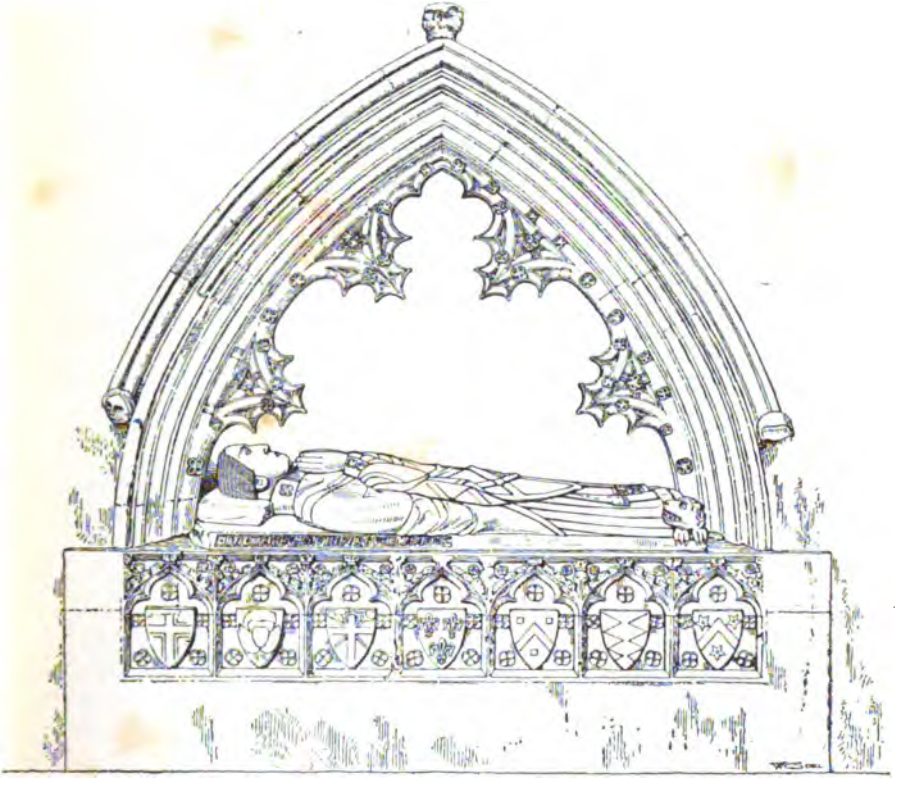


Fig. 1.—Tomb and Effigy of Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug in Tremeirchion Church.

No. 1. The supposed effigy of Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug (fig. 1). This lies on a recessed altar-tomb on the north side of the chancel, covered by a lofty decorated canopy of stone, which the ill taste of a former generation has painted black in imitation of oak.[1] The figure,

[1] The present vicar, the Rev. E. J. Edwards, to whom I am happy

which is fairly well executed and in remarkably good preservation, having lost only the extremities of the toes, represents a priest fully vested in amice, alb, maniple, stole and chasuble. The chasuble is ample over the back and arms, and obtusely pointed in front, and is simply adorned with a narrow marginal orphrey, and the usual pallium-shaped one down the centre, which is also very narrow and branched near the extremity. Stole and maniple are fringed at the extremities. There is a high projecting amice. The embroidery of the apparels on alb and amice is chiefly in the form of round quatrefoils, which also occur freely in the decoration of the tomb and canopy. Similar quatrefoils are used to adorn the effigies of St. Jestyn at Llaniestyn, of King Pabo at Llanbabo, and other monuments of this period. See *Arch. Camb.*, 1st Ser., ii, p. 324 ; 4th Ser., v, p. 112 ; 5th Ser., xii, p. 125.

The features are of a masculine type, with low forehead, large nose, and prominent lower jaw. The hair is long and straight, and falls stiffly over the ears. There is a short fringe over the forehead, and the usual clerical tonsure. A pair of large hands are joined before the breast. The feet rest on a prostrate lion. The shoes appear to have been shortly pointed, but have lost their extremities.

At the terminations of the label over the canopy are carved small heads of a male and a female, possibly the father and mother of the deceased (fig. 2). The former has the same long back hair and shortly-fringed front hair as the effigy, but no tonsure ; and a pair of diminutive hands are joined in prayer beneath it. The latter inside a thick hood wears a frilled kerchief, the edges of which meet under the chin ; beneath this appears the front hair cut square over the forehead. Compare with this the headdress of the effigy of Eva at Bangor, *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., xii, 125.

to acknowledge myself indebted for much kind help given in preparing these notes, vainly attempted some years ago to have the paint removed ; it was found impracticable.

Along the outer edge of the slab which supports the effigy runs the inscription, deeply cut in clear Lombardic capitals :—

✠ HIC JACET DAVID F'. KOVEL F'. MADOC.[1]

This inscription occupies 2 ft. 9½ ins., the whole length of the slab, the ends of which are broken, being 6 ft. 2 ins.

Although the above reading is at variance both with that of Morris, who read ROVELL, and with that of Archdeacon Thomas[2] and the writer of the Report in *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., iv (1887), p. 347, who give

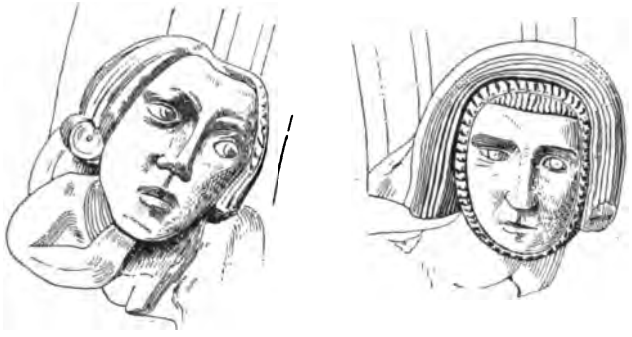


Fig. 2.—Human Heads terminating Label Moulding over Tomb in Tremeirchion Church.

DAVID AP HOVEL AP MADOC, yet the letters are so clear that I have no hesitation in believing it to be the correct one. The only question can be as to the initial letter of the second name ; but this is distinctly neither R nor H, but the ordinary Lombardic K ; and it seems unlikely that the sculptor could have carved a K by error for an H. I am not aware of any other occurrence of KOVEL or Cowell as a mediæval Welsh name ; but I am told that the name is at the present day common in the Isle of Man, and occurs also in Ireland, which suggests that it may be at least of Celtic origin.

[1] The second F'. has been accidentally omitted in fig. 1.
[2] *Hist. of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 307.

The front of the tomb is divided into seven panels, having crocketted ogee heads and containing escutcheons. The subjects of these, counting from the left, are as follows :—

(1) Instruments of the Passion: cross, nails, hammer, pincers and scourge.

(2) Hopelessly defaced. At the three corners of the shield are faint traces of quatrefoils similar to those already mentioned.

(3) Instruments of the Passion: cross, spear, reed and sponge, crown of thorns.

(4) Three fleurs-de-lys.

(5) A chevron between three billets.

(6) A pale fusily.

(7) A chevron between three mullets pierced.

The Passion emblems on escutcheons Nos. 1 and 3, as well as the position of the tomb on the north side of the chancel and its elaborately decorated canopy, suggest that this recess may have been designed to serve not only for the burial of the priest David but also for the Easter Sepulchre, in which were reserved the Crucifix and the Blessed Sacrament from Good Friday to the morning of Easter Sunday. It is well known that previously to the Reformation the north side of the chancel was often coveted as a burial-place for this very reason.[1]

[1] For instance, Thomas Windsor in 1479 wills "that there be made a plain tomb of marble of a competent height, to the intent that it may bear the blessed Body of our Lord at the time of Easter, to stand upon the same; and mine arms and a convenient scripture to be set about the same tomb." I am not, however, aware of any such instance as early as the fourteenth century, to which we must probably refer the Tremeirchion tomb. On the history of Easter sepulchres see Bridgett's *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, vol. ii, pp. 243-256, or Mr. A. Heales's excellent paper in *Archæologia*, vol. xlii (1869). Other local instances of recesses in the north wall, probably intended for this purpose, occur at Cwm and Llanfwrog. At Caerwys there is a handsome decorated recess on the *south* side of the chancel, which may have been removed from the north side when the present north aisle was added to the church.

Escutcheon No. 4 is probably also sacred; the fleur-de-lys being a common emblem of the Blessed Virgin.

The last three are evidently heraldic. Cannot Mr. Edward Owen, or others learned in Welsh heraldry and genealogy, derive from them some light towards the identification of the occupant of this tomb? He is commonly supposed to be the same as Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug, said to have been vicar of Tremeirchion and canon of St. Asaph about the middle of the fourteenth century, and author of a Welsh translation of the *Officium B. Mariæ Virginis.*[1] Pennant—who, by the way, read the inscription DAVID AP RODERIC(!) AP MADOG—writes of him: "He was vicar of this place, and dignitary of St. Asaph; prophet and poet; and had a great concern in regulating our prosody. The *Daroganeu*, or prophecies of Robin Dhu, so celebrated in North Wales, I believe properly belonged to Dafydd, who flourished in 1340, above a hundred years before the time of Robin."[2] But neither in Pennant nor in later writers do I find any reference to authorities.

To be sure, the villagers have some stories about our Dafydd; but as these appear to rest on the sole authority of a former curate, the Rev. T. Pughe, it may be questioned how far they can claim to rank as genuine popular traditions. One of them accounts for the place of burial. Dafydd Ddu, it is said, had been in life a practiser of the black art, and had bargained that after death the Evil One might carry off his bones, be they buried within the church or without. To evade the contract, he had himself buried neither in the church nor out of it, but in the wall. Of another story Dafydd himself is the victim. His mother, who dwelt in the neighbouring village of Cwm, was near her end, and Dafydd was so distressed thereat that he swore to kill the first person who should say that she was dead. One day his brother, Robin Ddu, who was vicar of Cwm, came to him and said sadly,

[1] See *Myv. Archaiology*, ed. 1870, pp. 367-377.
[2] *Tours in Wales*, ed. 1883, vol. ii, p. 134.

"Dafydd, she who brought thee into this world is no more." "What!" cried Dafydd, "my mother is dead?" "Nay, thou must kill thyself, Dafydd, for thou hast said it the first." But the story loses in the translating; it wants old Edward Jones to tell it, and in his native tongue.

Edward Jones, who is now well over seventy years of age, told me that as a lad he had helped his father to open Dafydd's tomb. This was done by order of Mr. Pughe, who was curate at the time. They found a skeleton on the bare foundation-rock, 6 ft. or 7 ft. below the tomb, but nothing else; and having left the remains in the church porch overnight (in mortal dread lest Satan should come and claim his property), reinterred them on the following morning in the same spot.

No. 2. The other effigy in the church is that of a knight, crosslegged, in thirteenth-century armour, and bearing on his shield a lion rampant within a bordure. There is no inscription, but the effigy is traditionally appropriated to Sir Robert Pounderling, a governor of Disserth Castle. It is sadly worn and mutilated, having for a long time lain on the floor of the church near the western door; it is now on the sill of the transept window.

As this effigy has been excellently drawn in *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. vii, p. 178, and fully described by Mr. S. W. Williams,[1] there is no need to add more here. Mr. Williams compares it to several English monuments of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. As a Welsh example, we might perhaps cite an effigy in Towyn Church, Merioneth, said to be that of Gruffydd ap Adda of Dolgoch.

No. 3 is a rude effigy, or rather fragments of an effigy, of a priest in sacred vestments (fig. 3), now preserved at St. Beuno's College, whither it was

[1] Though I must acknowledge that, in spite of careful examination, I quite failed to discover the lacing of the left legging there depicted.

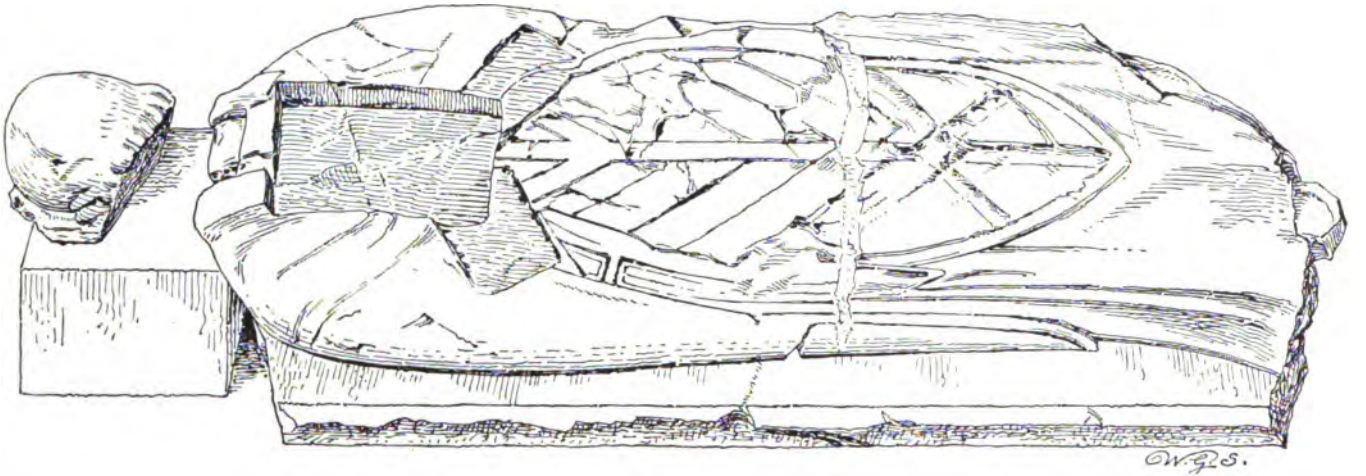


Fig. 3.—Effigy of Priest at St. Beuno's College.

removed from the churchyard in 1862. This monument, which has suffered much from weather and neglect, is chiefly interesting from the manner of its construction. The body is carved in low relief on a slab of Gwespyr sandstone of very inferior quality and shaly texture, 7 ins. or 8 ins. thick in the thickest parts, and 2 ft. 4 in. broad. From the neck to near the extremity of the alb it measures 4 ft. 8½ ins., the feet and lower margin of the alb being broken off. For the head and hands, which required to be carved in higher relief, a more durable material was chosen. Part only of the head now remains, from the nose and ears upwards. At the best this was a rude piece of carving; at the present time the features are almost effaced. There is a small round tonsure on the crown of the head; the hair was apparently short. The other piece, from which the hands and forearms were carved, is lost; but an oblong excision on the breast of the figure, 11 ins. by 9 ins., and 2 ins. deep, with smaller excisions half an inch deep projecting diagonally outwards from its lower corners, marks the place of its insertion.

In this effigy all the ordinary eucharistic vestments are shown. The chasuble is similar in shape and adornment to that of effigy No. 1, but more acutely pointed; the amice, the ends of the stole, and the narrow maniple are now barely distinguishable. There is no trace of any apparel on the alb. Three twists of the girdle are very clearly cut beneath the right elbow; on the left it is covered by the maniple.

As the slab is chamfered along the right side only, its original position when within the church must have been against the north wall. It is said to have once covered a sarcophagus, but of this I can discover no traces. It never bore an inscription.

II.—Incised Coffin-lids.

No. 1. The Hunyd slab. This stone was "lying loose" in the churchyard when seen in the last century

by Lewis Morris, who thus records the inscription on it:—

Hic Jacet Hunyd uxor Karwet fil' Hywel cui' a'i'a req'iescat in pace.

Since his time the stone has been lost sight of, and Mr. Edward Owen, when he published Morris's notes last April, believed that either stone or inscription had perished. The fact is, the slab has been ruth-

Fig. 4.—Fragment of Inscribed Sepulchral Slab near Tremeirchion.

lessly cut to pieces for building material. Two fragments, representing together about one-third of the whole, and possibly a third, are all that I can now discover after careful search; these are built into the churchyard wall close to the western entrance.[1]

The more important fragment (fig. 4), which lies by the southern gatepost, just above the ground, and faces towards the village, has inscribed along its edge, in large Lombardic capitals, the letters CET : HVN.

[1] This part of the wall was built in 1864, when the churchyard was

Below these is a small strip of interlacing ornament; the rest of the surface is completely worn away. This stone is about 4½ ins. thick and 1 ft. long; its breadth is 1 ft. 9 ins. at the top, 1 ft. 8 ins. at the bottom.

The second fragment is inserted higher up on the same wall, unfortunately with its face towards the gatepost; but it is just possible, where the mortar has fallen away, to detect the letters WE. These letters, though much broader than the others, being in fact spread over nearly 6 ins., are evidently a part of the same inscription. As this fragment is of an even width of 1 ft. 7¼ ins., it appears that the slab did not taper regularly from top to bottom, and the letters may belong to either the KARWET or the HYWEL of the recorded inscription.

No. 2. A small coffin-lid, 2 ft. 10 ins. long, and in width tapering downwards from 1 ft. 2½ ins. to 1 ft. was discovered a few years ago close to the north-west corner of the church, in digging a drain through the churchyard. This is now affixed to the churchyard wall, inside. It bears no inscription; only a rudely carved calvary cross with a circular head of the simplest design. It is broken across the middle, but otherwise excellently preserved.

The other incised coffin-lids at Tremeirchion are scarcely worth mention. One, used as a seat in the porch, once bore a circular-headed cross, now effaced. Another, the threshold of the churchyard gate already mentioned, has a similar cross of simple but neat design, just distinguishable when the dust is removed, and a cross-hilted sword on the left side. A third, which forms a step of the western door, is now inaccessible as the doorway is boarded up; it was seen there by Professor Westwood fifty or more years ago, and is mentioned by him in *Arch. Camb.* (vol. i, p. 441, note) as being similar to one at Cilcain, which he describes

enlarged, but the materials are probably those of the former wall. The posts of the western gate are inscribed with the initials of the churchwardens, E.I., and R. H., and the date 1731.

and illustrates, with a cross fleuri of "simple but extremely elegant and characteristic design."[1]

III.—The Churchyard Cross.

This very interesting relic of the fourteenth or fifteenth century no longer occupies its former place of honour. After having for two centuries or more been shifted from place to place in the churchyard as useless lumber, it was at length, in 1862, purchased for £5 of the parish authorities by a local archæologist, the late Mr. J. Youde Hinde, of Rhyl, who found it lying neglected underneath a yew tree; and by him presented, together with the effigy described above (No. 3), to St. Beuno's College, where both are now carefully preserved.

The cross—or rather cross-head, for shaft and pedestal are lost—has been already described by the Rev. Elias Owen in his *Old Stone Crosses of the Vale of Clwyd*, where it is also illustrated by some not very accurate woodcuts. While fully acknowledging my indebtedness to this valuable work, I venture to think that the following notes, the result of more frequent opportunities for examination, and the accompanying views, drawn from photographs, will be found to supplement or correct Mr. Owen's account in some few details.

The stone is 3 ft. 4 ins. high by 2 ft. 0½ ins. wide, and 11 ins. thick at the base. It is carved from a block of Gwespyr sandstone, similar to that of effigy No. 3, but

[1] A *third* example of the same pattern was exhumed, with one or two other mediæval fragments, during recent restorations at the neighbouring church of Caerwys.

Let us hope that at least in the future parish authorities may come to realise, before it is too late, the value of these simple memorials of mediæval art. Enough mischief has been done already, and not all of it by Cromwell or the reformers. It is less than thirty years since Gwytherin church was restored; at that time two good coffin-lids described by Pennant (*Tour*, ed. 1883, vol. ii, p. 175) were *mutilated* to serve—one for a chancel-step, the other for a paving-stone in the porch!

of better consistency. The sculpture, ill-measured, ill-proportioned and unfinished as it is, must on the whole have been effective before time and neglect disfigured it; this is still evident from the illustrations. Front, back and sides are adorned with ogee-headed

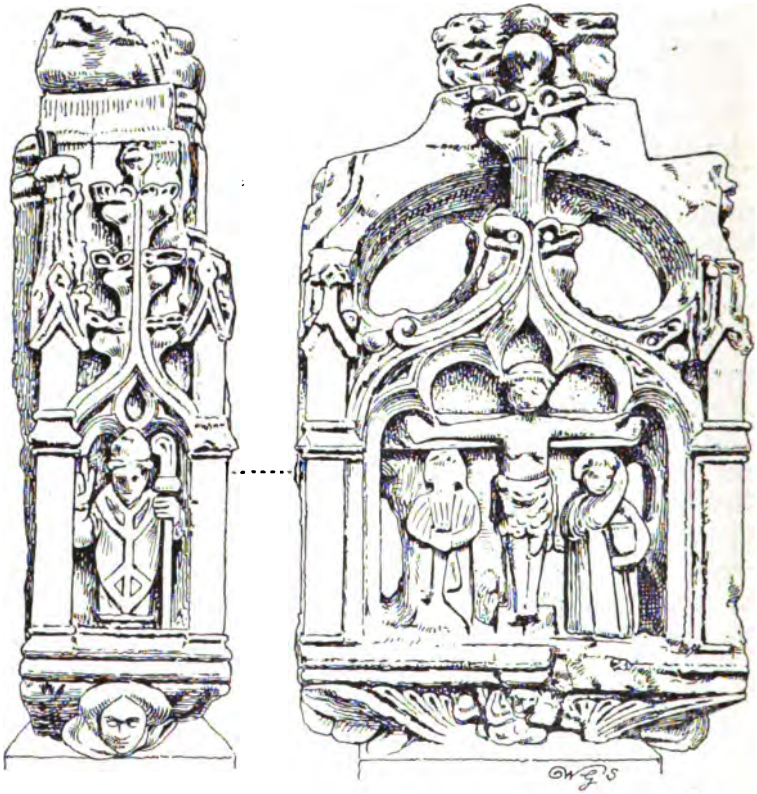


Fig. 5.—Head of Churchyard Cross from Tremeirchion, now at St. Beuno's College.

niches, cusped and crocketted, with long finials and flanked by pinnacles, and are supported by demons and angels.

The principal compartment (fig. 5) contains the crucifix, with the Blessed Virgin and St. John. Our Lord's head is erect and crowned with thorns; His

arms are extended horizontally, the feet crossed and the right side pierced.[1] The Blessed Virgin's face is broken off. She appears to wear a loose outer garment with sleeves (?), the inner garment only being cinctured at the waist. Her arms hang before her, with hands

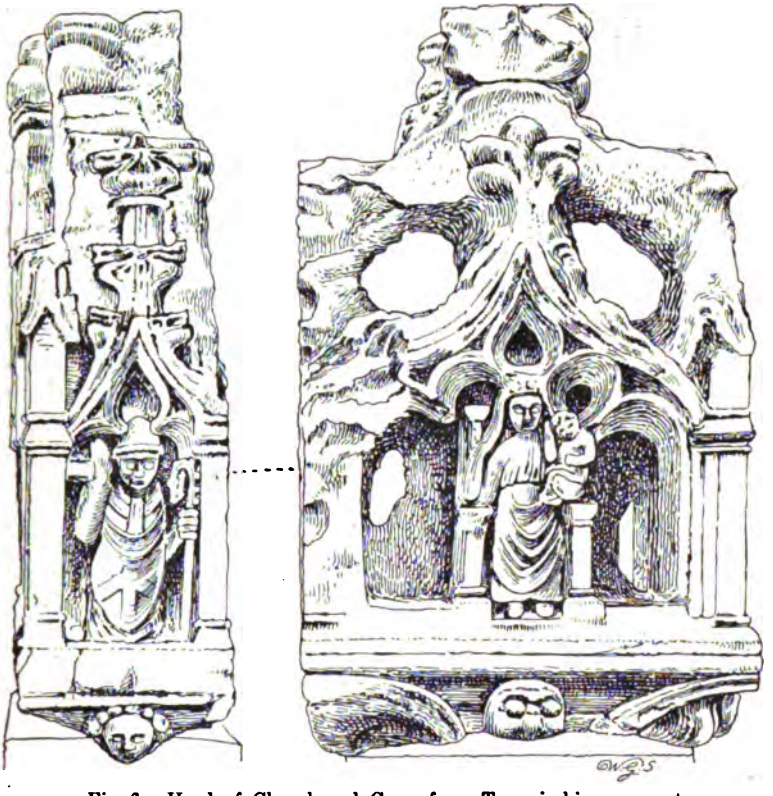


Fig. 6.—Head of Churchyard Cross from Tremeirchion, now at St. Beuno's College.

crossed. St. John is represented with a thick head of hair; his right arm, which is abnormally long, seems to protrude from beneath a sort of cope, the hand being

[1] The figure of the crucifix on the west face of the churchyard cross at Newmarket, Flints, is a replica of this. A woodcut in *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., viii, p. 73, represents (not very accurately) the Newmarket cross as seen from the *east*.

pressed to the left side of his face. In his left hand he holds a book.

The back compartment (fig. 6) represents the Blessed Virgin seated, with the Child on her left arm. I cannot ascertain the nature of her head-dress, which the sculptor has made continuous with two of the cusps of the canopy. It has the appearance of a large cylindrical cap, with a long veil hanging down over the shoulders; but is perhaps intended for a crown. The meaning of the carving on her right is also difficult to make out, owing to a fracture of the stone. I do not think with Mr. Owen, that it represents merely the hand raised in blessing. To me it seems rather to resemble a large-headed sceptre, or perhaps a chalice; and as the church is dedicated to Corpus Christi, this last emblem would be especially appropriate. The Holy Child carries a globe in His left hand; the right hand is raised to bless.

The two side niches contain ecclesiastics vested in pontificals; each wears mitre, gloves, and a long chasuble with the pallium-like branched orphrey, and holds in the left hand a crozier turned inwards. The one to the right of the crucifix (fig. 5) is singularly dwarfed: his right arm, raised in benediction, is longer than his body. The other (fig. 6) is better proportioned. The crozier in his left hand is jewelled. He, too, is blessing with his right hand, in which, curiously enough, he appears also to hold some small object such as a scroll. It is impossible to say with certainty what saints these two figures are intended to represent. The most probable conjecture, perhaps, identifies them with St. Beuno, who certainly preached in these parts[1], and who

[1] Besides the testimony of the eleventh- and twelfth-century "Lives" of St. Beuno and St. Winefride, we have local evidence of his presence (1) at Gwyddelwern, in the dedication of the church, in another Ffynnon Beuno and a Gwern Beuno; (2) at Gwespyr, in a Capel Beuno which existed up to the Reformation, whence the village was sometimes called Trebeuno (Thomas, *Hist. of the Diocese*, p. 293); (3) at Holywell, in a third Ffynnon Beuno, St. Beuno's stone at the well, and Gerddi Beuno. In his later years St. Beuno founded the monastery at Clynnog in Carnarvonshire, whence he

has given his name to the holy well of the village, and St. Asaph, the patron saint of the diocese, to whose church on the Elwy that of Tremeirchion was at first a chapelry.[1] In sculpture such as this, the position of the crozier can hardly be regarded as a proof that the bearer was not intended for a bishop.

Fig. 7.—Head forming Water-outlet of St. Beuno's Well, Tremeirchion.

This churchyard cross is the subject of a poem, "Y Grog o Rhiw Dymeirchion," by the Welsh bard, Gruffydd ap Jeuan ap Llewelyn Fychan, who flourished

would be rightly represented in mediæval art as an abbot with crozier and mitre.

[1] Thomas, *Hist. of the Diocese*, p. 307. The prebendary of Faenol is still rector of Tremeirchion, and receives half the tithes.

temp. Henry VII and Henry VIII. This is printed in full in Mr. Owen's work.

IV.—Ffynnon Beuno.

We have mentioned St. Beuno's Well, and will conclude this paper with a brief notice of it. Ffynnon Beuno is by the roadside, half-a-mile south of the church, just opposite one of the lodges of Brynbella; the name is associated with a vigorous controversy waged among geologists a few years ago over the discoveries in the neighbouring bone-caves. The accompanying sketch (fig. 7) represents the outlet of the well, which is in the form of a human head and bust, rudely carved in stone, discharging the water from its mouth. The figure is about 2 ft. 6 ins. high and 1 ft. 2 ins. thick; its sides are completely concealed by masonry. The spring itself rises in a large rectangular bath, 10 ft. by 18 ft., and 3 ft. or 4 ft. deep, protected by a high wall all round. Two or three steps, now inaccessible, descend into the water at one of the corners. Both figure and tank are undoubtedly mediæval; but no architectural features remain such as might help to fix the date.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

BY PROF. JOHN RHYS, LL.D.

SINCE my Notes in the April number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1896 were published, I have seen a good many of our inscribed stones again, and there are others which I have now seen for the first time. But before proceeding any further, I wish to rectify various inaccuracies in my last paper, beginning with the drawing on p. 98. The minuscule Latin letters on it should coincide, so far as they go, with those in the drawing on the page opposite: that is to say, the *Et* and the *R* should be on the same level, as they, in fact, represent the beginning and end of the first line *Et singno cr.* By some accident,[1] the whole of the right-hand edge has been placed too high to the extent of three lines of the Latin legend. Then, in addition to my footnote on p. 100, I have to remark that the vowel notch preceding the Ogams for *magl* was not regarded by me as a part of the writing; and, on turning to my notes, I find that I noticed several unevennesses before *magl*, perhaps four in number, but on the whole I did not think them vowel notches. This applies to the drawing on p. 98 and also to the one opposite; the latter further suggests that the Ogam on the right edge ends so low as to come near the first line of the Latin: that is not the case, the scores being close to the breakage. On p. 99 I alluded to the stone having four crosses on it, and in the 5th line from the bottom the word "third" is to be corrected into "fourth". I

[1] The blocks were placed purposely thus, in order to economise space and to avoid having the blocks at different levels. The beginnings and endings of the lines of the inscription on the wide face were inserted expressly to show the relative levels of the crosses on each of the narrow faces.—ED.

must say that I am now more impressed than ever by the desirability of having photographs of this stone published; three at least would be necessary in order to do it justice; but perhaps a photograph from a cast of it would be still better. The Editor informs me that he regards the Latin as being one of the earliest specimens of our minuscule inscriptions, and in any case the stone is very important.

The two stones from Caswilia are now lying in the churchyard at Brawdy, where I had a look at them last September in the company of Mr. Henry Owen, Mr. Laws, and Mr. Williams of Solva. This afforded me a far better opportunity of examining the two stones than I had before. *Vendogni* I read as before, with a faint possibility of its being *Vendognea*. Instead of reading the other stone as *M(a)qu(i) Quagte*, as given on p. 104, I should now say that the *aqu* is certain, while the *m* is imperfect; I am still in doubt as to *Quagte* or *Quegte*. The *i* of *maqui* occupied a part of the edge where it bulged out, and the notches were accordingly all the more exposed to accident.

The Carn Hedryn stone has, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Owen and the good offices of Mr. Williams, been set up inside the porch of the neighbouring church of St. Jude. We visited it together, and satisfied ourselves that the proper name is *Rinaci* and not *Pinaci*. I may here mention that the recent discoveries of inscriptions in Pembrokeshire have been brought about by the activity elicited in connection with the archæological survey of the county undertaken for the Cambrian Archæological Association by Mr. Owen, Mr. Laws, Mr. Williams, and others associated with them in that excellent work. I regard it as a worthy example set for the other counties of Wales to follow.

I have remarked, p. 110, on the peculiarity of the G on the Henfynyw stone. I meant the small twist at its top, as shown in the photograph. I have since noticed that the same sort of G with the same twist occurs in CORBALENGI on the Dyffryn Bern stone in the

parish of Penbryn, which I had opportunities of visiting this summer. The "Corbalengi" stone might be easily photographed so as to show the exact form of the letters, including the peculiarity of the G, which seems to have escaped the notice of the late Prof. Westwood as well as others. The twist is also a conspicuous feature of the first *C* in the name *Tunccetace* at St. Nicholas. At p. 111 the printer has, in the sixth line from the bottom of the text, incorporated a suggestion of mine which was intended for him alone. "The letter meant," and the letter which I still mean, is И (and not N upside down), that is to say, an *N* with its oblique line so placed as to join the foot of the first perpendicular to the top of the second: it occurs in the first two lines of the Caldey Latin inscription, as will be seen on turning back to the drawing facing p. 98.

As to the Llanddewi stones, pp. 113-7, I have to say that I had overlooked the inscribed portion which figures on p. 116. On visiting the stones again with Mr. Munro Hughes, at Llanddewi Church, where Mr. Davies of Compton House has, with true archæological instincts, replaced them, I found that the lettered piece I have alluded to formed part of one and the same stone with the fragment showing the key pattern (facing p. 114), and the fragment beginning with the letters LO (p. 114). Unfortunately, the fourth piece is wanting, and that should have on one of its edges the rest of the lines beginning with LO, and the commencement of the lines whose endings are given at p. 116. Its face would have probably shown some ornamentation as a pendant to the key-pattern to which I have alluded. The three pieces which I have indicated belonged to one stone; but there are two other stones there: the boat-stone and the shorter fragment (with two patterns) figuring on p. 116. I hope this will enable the reader to form a correct idea of these relics of antiquity, and to understand how two of the inscriptions were on a single stone.

With regard to the Llanllyr inscription, I should

mention that the stone is so difficult to photograph that at first no photograph could be got sufficiently successful to print; so I made no allusion to the attempt to procure one. Owing, however, to the perseverance of Miss Lewis of Llanllyr, we had at last the one which is printed facing p. 119; and I wish now to make amends for neglecting in the first instance to mention to whom the thanks of the Association are due. I took another opportunity of visiting Llanllyr, and the only point worthy of mention is, that I am somewhat inclined to read *r*, and not *n*, in the fourth place in the third line: the second limb of the letter seems to me shorter than the first. If this be right, the name which I had taken to be *Occon* should be regarded as *Occor*, but I cannot say that this makes me feel any "forwarder".

Lastly, p. 126, Pen y Mynydd, Ystradfellte, should not have been placed in Glamorganshire, but in the county of Brecknock. The exact site has still to be discovered, I am told.

CLYDEY, PEMBROKESHIRE.

There are three stones at Clydey, two in the church and a third in the wall of the churchyard. One of the former was, for a time, at a farmhouse called Dugoed, but it was brought back to Clydey a few years ago, and recently placed in the church. I say "recently", as there is some lichen still adhering to it. The Vicar was from home, but Mr. Davies, Vicar of Cenarth, who was with me, assisted in lifting the stone to a good light, where we had it washed. The result was that we made considerable progress with the reading as compared with my previous attempts. The difficulty chiefly arises from the fact that a cross with a sort of ⊥ shaft has been cut partly over the letters: these last seem to me to read:—DOBITVCI

FILIVS EVOLENG⊢

The first I falls in with the cross-bar of the shaft of the cross, but it does not wholly coincide with it; the C

has the peculiarity of its top end being prolonged towards the *I*; but possibly this is a survival of a feature of the ancient Latin cursive form of *c* indicated in Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæo-*

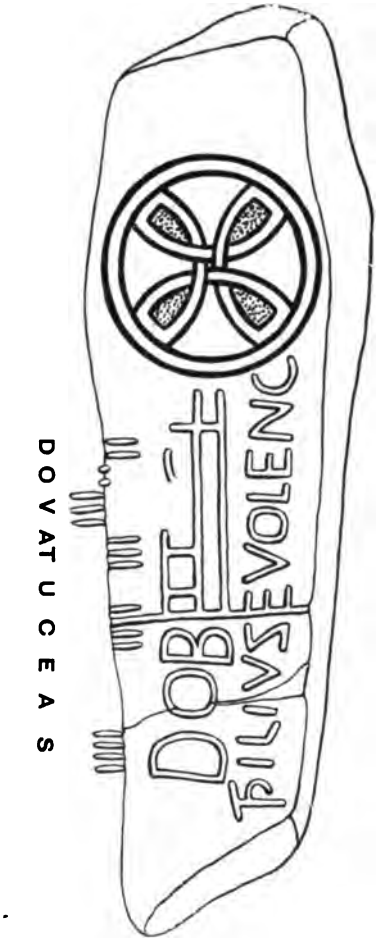
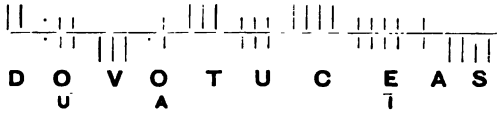


Fig. 1.—Inscribed Stone at Clydey, Pembrokeshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.
(From a rubbing by J. R. Allen, and a photograph by T. Mansel Franklen.)

NOTE.—On comparing the illustration with the rubbing and photograph again, I notice that the last letter but one of the second line of the Latin inscription should be a sickle-shaped G instead of a C. The final I is not distinct enough to say whether it is horizontal or vertical. The fourth letter of the Ogam is, I think, A, there being hardly room for the two strokes of an O. The eighth and ninth letters, E A, of the Ogam appear very faintly on the rubbing.—ED.

graphy: several instances will be found in his *facsimile* on page 207, and in the table opposite page 216, where the top portion of C and G are shown to have developed differently. The history of the latter letter will explain

the tag at the top of the G in CORBALENGI, referred to above. The S is very angular, especially at the top, so that it looks almost like a Z reversed. The horizontal I at the end of the second line is very slight, and it is possible that it is not a part of the writing, and that the letter was a perpendicular I, which is worn away. IACIT may have followed, but I can trace only *Dobituci filius Evolengi.* In that case *Dobituci* is a nominative, standing probably for an older *Dobitucis.* It is, on the whole, confirmed by the Ogam, which I now read :—



This I take to be a genitive, and the termination *eas* or *ias* probably stands for *i̲as*, which should exactly match a nominative *is.* There is a divergence in the consonants, the Latin legend having *B* and the Ogam V, which would seem to show that the sound was that of the *v* in this instance in both versions. The vowels are, unfortunately, difficult to guess with any exactitude; but those of *tuceas* or *tucias* leave very little room for any doubt. The first vowel was either *o* or *u*, and the second space suggested to me an *o*, where I had rather expected *a.* In any case, it was not *e* or *i*, as *Dobituci* would lead one to expect; and I should gather from the fact that the same obscure sound seems represented by *I* and by O, that it was the thematic vowel of the first part of a compound name to be analysed into *Dovo-tuc-* and *Dobi-tuc-*, rather than treated as beginning with the prefix *do* or *du.* The same name occurs also in Ireland, to wit, at Lamogue, co. Waterford, where the reading made out by the Rev. Ed. Barry is *Dovatuc-*. He and I have lately examined it together, and found this to be correct. He would equate the name with the *Dubthach* of later Irish, genitive *Dubthaig,* Anglicised *Duffy.* There is room here for some doubt as to the *u* of *Dovatuc-* becoming *a* in

later Irish, but whether this forms an insuperable difficulty or not in Irish, the name is, in a sense, more exactly represented in Welsh, namely, in *Tyfodwg* or *Dyfodwg*, in *Llan-Dyfodwg*, and *Ystrad-Dyfodwg* in Glamorgan. It is, however, to be observed that the Welsh looks like a sort of translation of the Goidelic name, on the supposition that its *do* was the honorific prefix so common in Irish saints' names, and represented in Welsh by *ty*, as in *Tysilio* and *Tyfaelog*. In other terms, the compound would seem to have been treated not as *Dovo-tuci* but as Do-Votuci, and accented accordingly in harmony with Welsh rules.

On closer examination, however, I am convinced that this is not satisfactory, and I venture to propose another explanation: treat the compound stem of the name as *Dovot* for an earlier *Dobot*, and from this you will find derived not only *Dovotuci(s)*, genitive *Dovotuceas*, but also *Dubthach*, genitive Dubthaig (for Dobotaca-s, gen. *Dobotaci*), and *Dobtha* (quoted in the genitive from the *Book of Leinster*, p. 352, col. 8, and the *Lebar Brecc*, pp. 14, 21, col. 2), by Stokes in his *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 347: the nominative was presumably also *Dobtha* (for *Dobotia-s*, genitive Dobotii). What these names may have originally meant I am not prepared to say: possibly they simply meant *advena*, and formed a group of Celtic equivalents to the Roman cognomen *Adventus*, the genitive of which occurred on one of the Dolau Cothi stones as *Adventi*; and we have traces of a corresponding *Adventa* in the feminine *Adwent* occurring in the pedigrees in Jesus College MS. 20; see the *Cymmrodor* viii, p. 86. I ought to say that the above conjecture is suggested to me by the Welsh verbal noun *dyfod*, "the act of coming". As to DOBITVCI, it would be worth the while to have a squeeze of the stone, as that might enable one to decide whether it is possible to read DOBVTVCI; but if the reading DOBITVCI stands, it must be regarded as a Brythonic variant of the name. That it had some existence would seem

to be confirmed by the spelling Ystrad *Dyfydog*, in Lewis Morris's *Celtic Remains*, p. 439, for *Ystrad Dyfodwg*, more commonly written *Ystradyfodwg*.

The affix *uc* in *Dovotuc-* is probably to be regarded as diminutival or endearing, and we have it in the genitives *Suaqquuci* and *Fannuci*, though belonging to another declension. *Suaqquuci* occurs in the Ogam on the Fardel stone from South Devon, and the stem *suaqqu* is probably of the same origin as the *soch* in the Irish word *socht*, "silence", so that the name suggests comparison in point of meaning with the Latin *Tacitus*. The other, *Fannuci*, is found in Pembrokeshire, namely, on the stone reading CAMELORIGI FILI FANNVCI, and it involves the same stem *fann* as FANONI on the Fardel stone already mentioned. In Irish the *f* becomes *s*, and we accordingly find *Fannuc-* and *Fanon-* represented in that language by *Sannuch* and *Sannan*: see Stokes's *Patrick*, pp. 305, 412. The termination *uc* is common also in the *Liber Landavensis* in such names as *Clotuc*, *Matuc*, *Suluc*, *Tutuc*, where it seems to take the place of the second element in the full names which these suggest, such as *Clot-ri*, *Mat-gueith*, *Sul-gen*, *Tut-gual*; but we have it also in prepositional compounds, such as *Dihiruc* and *Guoleiduc*, both borne by laymen in the same manuscript. One must not, however, confound this *uc* with that of district names like Morcannhuc, "Morcant's country, Glamorgan", or river names like that of a tributary of the Towy, called *Pyscotuc*, whose name means "abounding in *pyscot*, fish". The more common form of this termination is *auc*, *awg*, or *og*, as in *Brecheniauc*, now *Brycheiniog*, "Brychan's Country, Brecknock"; and this agrees with the *-ācu-s*, *-ācu-m* of Gaulish as handed down in Latin. In Irish, however, we have to correspond to it, not *āch*, but *ăch* as in *Dubthach*, *marcach*, "a horseman", Welsh *marchog*. So the Goidelic sequence seems to have been āc, ạc, ăch, while Welsh seems to have had āc, ạc, ōc, auc (and later, awg, og); but in certain instances in South Wales the length of the vowel was shortened under, as I take it, the

influence of the Goidelic pronunciation: hence such forms as *Pyscotuc*. If that should prove correct, it would suggest that there was a time when the short Goidelic vowel was of the same quality with the Welsh long one: the quality I mean is approximately that of *a* in the English word *all*. Lastly, it is not improbable that the influence of the *āc* series (genitive *āci*) on the *uc* series may be the explanation why *Fannuci* and *Suaqquuci* have *i* instead of *ias* or *eas*, like *Dovotuceas*.

RICKARDSTON HALL, BRAWDY, PEMBROKESHIRE.

Near Rickardston Hall is a stone which serves as a gate-post, on which Mr. Williams of Solva heard of an inscription. Mr. Owen, Mr. Laws, and the present writer, one day last August, accompanied him to see it. The stone stands almost 5 feet above ground, and measures across about 13 ins. by 12 ins. deep: it is a kind of green stone, which Mr. Williams described as quartz felsite. The inscription consists of two lines reading down the face thus :—

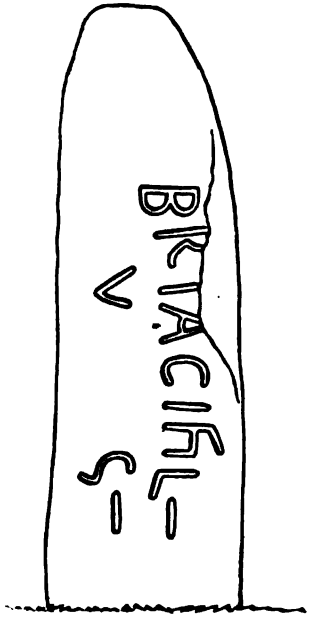


Fig. 2.—Inscribed Stone at Rickardston Hall, Pembrokeshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear. (*From a rubbing by Prof. Rhys.*)

The first line makes *Briaci fili*, for though a spawl is gone with the upper portion of the RIA, not one of those letters admits of any doubt, unless one should have it that the I was a T. The next I is rather faint, and the first I of FILI is attached to the lower bar of the F, as in some other instances. The final I of both lines is horizontal, and the second line ends with G ⊢, possibly GL ⊢; but at the last I

began to doubt the existence of the L. Earlier in the line one discerned a V, and imagined one also saw following it an A or an M. We were, however, unable to guess the second name; but I cherish a hope that when the stone has been placed under cover, and the lichen has been successfully cleaned away, it will be possible to read the whole inscription. We detected no trace of Ogam writing on the stone. [This stone has also since been removed to Brawdy.] The name, *Briāc-*, is in Welsh *Briawg*, or *Briog*, and, with the honorific prefix, Tyfriog, as in Llan*dyfriog*, in South Cardiganshire, and in Breton the name occurs in St. *Brieuc*. *Briog* is the reduced form of some such a name as *Briafail*, which represents an older form corresponding to the Chesters *Brigomagl-i:* so it looks as though *Briāci* stands for an older *Brigāci*.

In any case the affix āc is here used like *uc* instead of the second element in the full name Brigo-magl-. Sometimes they seem to have been used indifferently. Thus St. Cadog is known in modern Welsh partly as *Cadog* and partly as *Catwg*. The former is *Catocus* as a rule in the *Liber Landavensis;* but the full form *Catmailus* is also to be met with in that manuscript, and in the Life published in the *Cambro-British Saints*, the saint's baptismal name is given as *Catmail*, with the further statement that the Bretons called him *Catbodu*. This seems to mean that the saint was so universally known by the pet forms of his name, that the full form was a matter of doubt. Similarly, the full name of St. Briog rarely occurs in the Life of him, published in the second volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana*.

The reader, however, is not to infer that I regard our *Briac-i* as the saint; but I take the liberty of appending some remarks on the Life to which I have referred. It opens with the following statement, p. 163: "*Sanctus Briomaglus, Coriticianæ regionis indigena, parentibus secundum seculi dignitatem nobilibus ortus est.*" Here the full name is given as *Briomaglus*, but afterwards

Brioccius is the form regularly used. More interest attaches to the identity of the *Coriticiana Regio:* the same designation occurs again twice, namely on page 186, and we have *Patria Coriticiana* on the same page. Lastly, when the saint goes to be educated to St. Germanus, the latter is made to exclaim, p. 166, as he approaches him: "*Ecce de Coriticiorum gente puerum generis nobilitate clarum*", etc. Where, then, was the saint's country? The editor says in a footnote that it was the County of Kerry; but it would puzzle him, I think, to find any name of Kerry that could be identified with *Coriticiana.* He was naturally led to his conclusion by the statement in the Life, p. 171, that when the saint wished to return home from Gaul, he embarked on board a ship which was going *ad scene fluvium;* for there seems to be evidence that this was once the name of the river which drains Loch Currane between the counties of Cork and Kerry. But on the whole I find it far harder to believe that Coriticiana was Kerry, than to suppose that there is some mistake in the Life; or, what is more probable, that there was another *Scene Fluvius,* namely, in Wales, say the Cleddeu, the Teivi or the Aeron.[1] For one finds that *Coriticiana* equates letter for letter with our *Ceredigion,* "Cardiganshire," the *Ceretica Regio* of Giraldus, and the *Cereticiana* of an earlier writer, the reference to whom, I am sorry to say, I have lost. The name is usually—and doubtless correctly—regarded as derived from that of a chieftain *Cereticus;* and the older form of this latter name occurs probably in that of the Coroticus of St. Patrick's *Epistola.* Now the fact that there is a Llandy*friog* in Cardiganshire, and that the name *Briac-i* is attested in the neighbouring county of Pembroke, favours the view that *Coriticiana* was our

[1] The three sons of Nechtan Scéne, at war with the Ultonians, appear from a story in the *Book of the Dun Cow,* p. 62a, to have had their *dún* or fortress somewhere between Kells and Tara, and the scribe traces their name to *Inver Scene,* not likely in this case to have been in Kerry.

Ceredigion. Lastly, I ought to have mentioned that when St. Briog comes home and converts his people to Christianity, he builds churches among them, and especially one called in the Life (p. 174) *Landa Magna*,[1] a name to be expected in Wales rather than in Ireland. In fact, I should render it *Llan Fawr*, "Ecclesia Magna"; but the only *Llan Fawr* known to me in Cardiganshire consists of some old houses near Yspyty Cynfyn, in the North of the County. I trust, however, that some one of our readers may be able to point to a *Llan Fawr* in South Cardiganshire or in one of the adjoining districts of Pembrokeshire or Carmarthenshire.

LLECH IDRIS, TRAWSFYNYDD, MERIONETHSHIRE.

While on a visit at Glyn Malden last June, Mrs. Griffith and Miss Lucy Griffith accompanied me on a visit to the "Porius" Stone. I had seen it previously many years ago in drenching rain: then I accepted too readily the reading which I found in books, and hurried away to dry myself. On looking at it now more deliberately, I can discover no reason to suppose the seventh word to be XPIANVS: what I find is a P followed by an L, the horizontal portion of which is produced a little below the beginning of the A, just as described by Archdeacon Thomas in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1885, pp. 143-5: see also the old copy published by Mr. Edward Owen, 1896, p. 137. So the word is PLANVS, and between it and HOMO there is a space—not an unusually large space—with some four or five small marks or depressions in it. These, I take it, were there before the inscription was cut, and form the explanation why the P was not made nearer to HOMO. It is worthy of remark that the depressions to which I have alluded

[1] If *Landa Magna* is to be taken as Celtic in both words, it would now be *Llan Faen* = "the Stone Church" possibly; but I know of no church of that name.

do not at all coincide with any form of the letter x, so far as I could judge. The whole, then, reads:

Fig. 3.—Llech Idris, Trawsfynydd, Merionethshire.

As to the position of the word *Porius*, see my

Arthurian Legend, p. 385; but with reference to the exact meaning here of the adjective *planus*, I must leave the question to others who are more familiar with Christian Latinity. I notice, however, that the dictionaries give the word in post-Augustan times the meaning of low or humble. Lastly, *Porius* is a name which most of the scholars who have discussed the Castell Dwyran stone have ignored. I am reminded of this by the last number but one of the *Revue Celtique*, where M. d'Arbois de Jubainville[1] (xvii, 312) speaks of the inscription on that stone as a "très curieuse épitaphe de Voteporix". Why the name should be *Voteporix* rather than *Voteporigus*, as another spelling of *Voteporius*, I do not quite understand.

LLANELLTYD, MERIONETHSHIRE.

Whilst staying at Glyn Malden I visited also the stone at Llanelltyd. I had previously had a friendly corres-

[1] My own mistakes give me so much to do in the way of correction that I seldom find time to correct those of others; but now that I have touched on M. d'Arbois de Jubainville's summary of my notes in this Journal for July 1895, and April 1896, I may as well correct some of the errors in the page and a half in point (pp. 311, 312):—

On the Llanmadoc stone read GVANI and not GUANI. The inscription on the Loughor stone is *not* to be read LLICA: the last word is *lica*, but the preceding word I have failed to read, except one consonant which seems to be the Ogam for *l*, and that at a distance from *lica*.

The Llanarth inscription, *Guruoret*, is not "en caractères Ogamiques"—I should be much astonished had it been—but the stone has an Ogam group of digits on one of its edges.

The Llanllyr inscription is not in Roman capitals, as printed in the *Revue Celtique*, but mostly in minuscules.

The stone from Pen y mynydd (not Pen-y-mynyd) is not adequately represented as reading *Gluvoca*, as the legend shows a terminal *i* on the other edge, which is omitted. The readings which I summarized as those possible of the right-hand edge were given by me as GLUVOCA, with the suggestion that some such a
e s i ?
genitive as *Glevecattos* would cover what remains of the writing on the edge in question; but better would have been *Glevecen*—which is attested in old Cornish as *Gluiucen*, the name of a woman, in the Bodmin Manumissions: see the *Revue Celtique*, i, 333.

pondence concerning it with Mr. Owen, the Vicar, and I knew of the late Professor Westwood's account of it in the *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 157 and Plate LXXIV, 6. He read it :—

vestigiū Reuhic te
netur in capite la-
-pidis et ipsemet a-
-ntequam p(er)egre pro-
fectus
est.

I have no correction to make, but I cannot now read *Reuhic:* on the other hand, it would fit very well, namely, as *Reu. hic*, for *Reu* occurs twice in the *Liber Landavensis*, and once as the name of a priest. The first letter of all is partly gone, and I am not sure whether it was a *v* or a kind of *u*. I find rather more punctuation than is given in the *Lapidarium*, thus :—

Vestigiū . Re . . . . ic . te
netur . in . capite la
pidis . et . ipsemet . a
ntequam . pegre . pro
fectus
est

Prof. Westwood has not indicated the age of the inscription, but only remarked that it "is in very debased Hiberno-Saxon characters"; nor has he given his rendering of the words into English. I do not, however, see how to translate it except by supplying a verb after *ipsemet*, and construing the whole thus: "The footprint of Reu is here preserved on the top of the stone, and he himself was here till he went abroad." If this is approximately right we must have here an instance of the footprints of a man being taken note of previous to his setting out on a journey, or let us say, a pilgrimage. But all this raises the question as to a practice of solemnly marking a pilgrim's footprints preparatory to his taking leave of his friends: perhaps some reader of the *Journal* may be able to

inform us whether any such a practice has been known elsewhere.

TYDDYN HOLLAND, LITTLE ORME, NEAR LLANDUDNO.

In the course of the Eisteddfod at Llandudno last summer, I found time to visit the old inscribed stone hard by a cottage called "Holant", near the Little Orme. I see, on turning to the second edition of my *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, pp. 370, 371, that on a former visit years ago I read the inscription *Sanct... Filius Sacer...* on the supposition that the ends of the lines were gone, but I regarded FILIVS as very doubtful, though it seemed preferable to the ANVS of the late Canon Williams. In his *History and Antiquities of the Town of Aberconwy* (Denbigh, 1835), p. 137, he gave the following reading—as to where he found it, see Mr. Ed. Owen's valuable paper in the *Arch. Camb.* for 1896, p. 138 :—

SANCT
ANVS
SACRI
ISIS

I am now inclined to agree with him as to the two first lines, and to read :—

SANCT
ANVS
SACER
. . . S

I think that I now understand how one read ANVS. The A has a broad top A, and to its top is joined a V, and this makes a conjoint AN, which owing to the ample top of the A suggested to me the F of FILIVS; but I feel positive now that one cannot read FILIVS without reading the V part of the N as L, and supplying an I to make the IVS—both impossible, as I satisfied myself the other day. According to my present reading we have the proper name in full as *Sanctānus*, spelling what I should have expected in Ogam (in the

genitive) as *Sanctagni*. The name in Irish hagiology becomes *Sanctān*, and in Manx Gaelic it dropped the *c* and became *Santān* in the name of a parish Anglicized *Santon*, and even, I believe, *St. Anne*. In Welsh it has become *Sannan*, in the parish church of Llan-*Sannan*, in Denbighshire. I cannot read the third line as SACRI, but rather SACER, with the C and the

Fig. 4.—Inscribed Stone near Llandudno.

E ligatured. I do not, however, feel very certain about this, but the next line ends with an unmistakeable S; and had I no regard for the probabilities of the case I should read the last line INS. But if SACER is correct, one would expect the next line to be DVS,

completing the word *Sacerdus* for *Sacerdos*, just as *nepus* occurs for *nepos* in our inscriptions. In fact, ɑvs, with the D facing the other way, is a possible reading. I thought also of the spelling *Sacertus*, suggested by the Irish form of *Sacerdos*, namely, *sagart*, with a final *t*. Thus we seem to have an inscription which approximately reads *Sanctanus Sacerdus*, "Sanctān the Priest", and never was any longer than it is now. If the stone were to be placed under cover and subjected to a careful process of cleaning, it is possible that some of the doubts which I have indicated as to the exact reading would be dissipated. It has already been tampered with more than enough.

Towyn, Merionethshire.

The long stone in Towyn Church consists of two pieces, of which one forms a comparatively small portion. It has lettering on all its four faces, and altogether it is a great puzzle to me. It is remarkable in the first place as being in Welsh, and in this it stands almost alone, as the Welsh usually inscribed in Latin.

1. The reading of one side is CiNgeNcelen, which would seem to mean the "Corpse of Cyngen", though one would have rather expected *Celen Cingen*, but the placing of the genitive first is attested sometimes in old Welsh poetry. These letters are rather larger and bolder than the rest, and the two words complete the first inscription, which is followed by "the two semilunar marks", as they are called by the late Professor Westwood. The fourth letter seems to be a Hiberno-Saxon ȝ inverted, but it may possibly be a C. The form *Cincen* would be rather more archaic than *Cingen:* it is the same name which occurs as *Concenn* on the Pillar of Elisseg.

2. The next side as you roll the stone away from you is impossible to read satisfactorily. It begins like the other with a cross, and this is what I make of it:—

tengruicimaite | gu
adgan m
t a | r

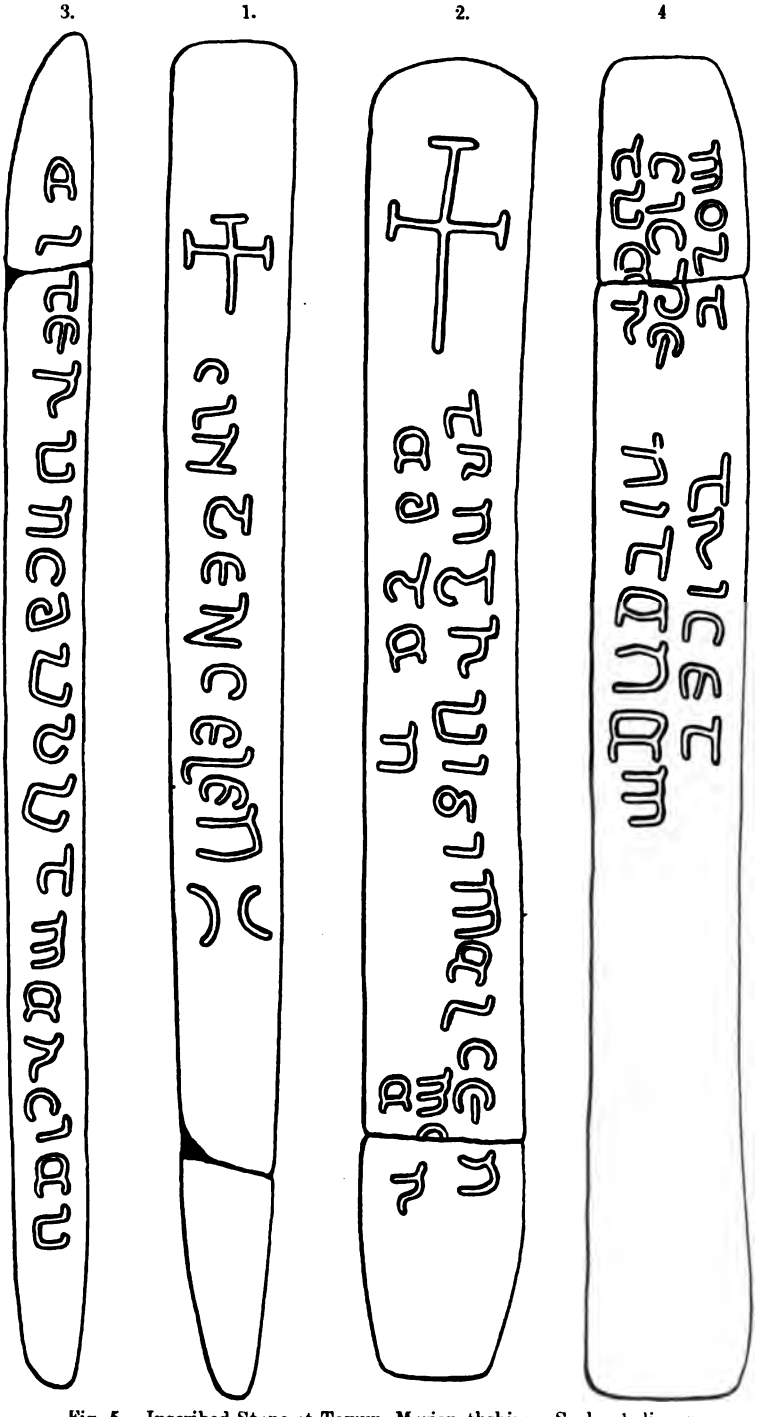


Fig. 5.—Inscribed Stone at Towyn, Merionethshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

Note.—Nos. 3 and 4 are placed bottom upwards, so as to make all the inscriptions read one way.

Above the first *r* there seems at first sight to be a line indicating contraction, but it is more likely a part of the *r* itself; and a letter has disappeared with the fracture, between *e* and *gu*, also between *a* and *r*, and before the *u* there would seem to have been a *t*. The *c* is imperfect, owing to a hole having been made at that point for a gate-hinge. The first part of the second line seems to make *Adgan*, which occurs as *Atgan* in the *Life of St. Cadoc*. The Rev. John Williams (*Ab Ithel*) tried to make out the name of *Cadvan* here, as the stone is, for some reason or other, known as St. Cadvan's Stone; but whether this ever meant anything more than a guess, based on the fact that the church is dedicated to that saint, it is hard to say; for it is to be borne in mind that it has not always been there: see the footnote in Westwood's *Lapidarium*, p. 158.

3. Giving the stone another turn away, you come on the next side, the reading on which runs in the direction contrary to that on the sides which have been briefly described. The reading begins on the small piece, and so far as I can guess it is this:—

anteruncdubutmarciau

Ab Ithel, according to Westwood (*Lap.*, p. 159), read it as making in modern Welsh *ar tu rhwng dybydd marciau*, which I should render "On (the) side between (the) marks will come *or* will be." I suggested, when I wrote about this stone before, that an *n* had once existed at the end of the word *marciau*. Prof. Westwood could not find it, and I have now looked for it in vain. But *marciau* is the plural of *marc*, 'a mark', which is merely the English word borrowed. In no orthography known to me could *te* be rightly equated with Welsh *tu*, "side". *Runc* may be equated with *rhwng* "between". As to *dubut*, it is not a good representative of *dybydd:* one would rather expect *dibid* or *dobid*, but *t* for the dental spirant, now written *dd*, was common enough at one time, for instance in the *Stanzas of the Graves*, in the "Black Book" of the

twelfth century. As to the two first letters in this line, I should read them *an* and not *ar:* the fracture passes through the consonant, but I am persuaded it was *n*. The word *an* might mean what is in modern Welsh *yn*, "in"; otherwise it suggests the Breton definite article *an*, which might be regarded as leading us back to St. Cadvan, who is supposed to have been a Breton, not to mention that *Adgan* is a name attested in Brittany. On the whole, I am inclined to a very different conclusion, namely, that the whole line is a jumble cut by somebody who had a superficial acquaintance with old Welsh.

4. The fourth side comes between 1 and 3, and it is more wonderful than the latter. It reads in the same direction as 3, but the reading consists of two portions separated (by a sort of oblique ridge of the stone) thus :—

molt
CICPe
tuar

tricet
nitanam

(*a*) The first portion has the fracture passing through it between the *l* and the *t*, through the *p* and between the *u* and the *a*. However, no letter is, in my opinion, subject to doubt, and this part reads *molt cic petuar*, which means either "the mutton-flesh of four" or "a wether (is) flesh of *or* for four". (*b*) The other part is in rather larger letters, and reads *tricet nitanam*, which I should transcribe into modern Welsh as "*triged, nid anaf*", which would mean "let it (*or* him *or* her) remain : it is not a blemish". It is impossible, I think, to construe it, as has sometimes been suggested, "May he rest without blemish." I fancied once that there is a stroke above the *i* of nitanam, or perhaps over the *ni*, but I am very doubtful, and what contraction it could be intended to indicate I could not say.

Looking at the whole of the lettering, one will notice that the *i* is formed like our letter l, or our numeral 1. The same tag to the left will be found

in the case of *n*, and of *u* which shows it twice, and I detect a trace of it in the form of the letter *l*, which in consequence becomes almost a z in the word *molt*.

I need hardly say that I have considerable misgivings as to this stone. Perhaps inscriptions 1 and 2 are genuine; but I can hardly think the rest is so, or divine its meaning. The former may have served as models for the lettering of the rest, for there is uniformity of lettering throughout. I have looked up some of the literature on the subject of this stone, namely, in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1848, p. 364; 1850, pp. 90-100 (Westwood and Ab Ithel), p. 205 (Wakeman), and p. 212, 1851, p. 59 (Thomas Stephens), 1874, p. 243 (Rhys); also the *Cambro-Briton*, ii, p. 121.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

Annual Meeting at Aberystwyth.

1896.

(*Continued from p.* 79.)

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1896.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I beg to thank the Members of the Cambrian Archæological Association for the great honour they have done me by electing me to the high office of President in succession to Lord Halsbury, Lord Chancellor of England, as well as to take the Chair on the Jubilee of this learned and distinguished Society. Though to me a source of great joy to see the Association after so many years of most useful work in its present flourishing state, yet that joy has over it a cloud of sadness, when I think that I am the only member who has belonged to the Association continuously now alive who was present here at its first meeting forty-nine years ago.

Though this meeting is not the fiftieth anniversary of its first assembly, yet it is the Jubilee of the starting of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, which was the private venture—and, I fear, not a profitable one—of two enthusiastic antiquaries, the Rev. Henry Longueville Jones and the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, who carried it on by their own exertions until the year 1849; when the Rev. William Basil Jones, then a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, but now the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of the diocese, over which he has presided so wisely and so well for twenty-two years, joined as third General Secretary, and with that year the first series of the *Journal* came to an end. I have to congratulate the Society on meeting again at Aberystwyth, after so long an interval, for on this day forty-nine years ago, on Tuesday, the 7th of September, 1847 (the 7th falling on a Monday this year), the first meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association was held in this town, under the Presidency of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne. There were present Viscount Dungannon, the Dean of Hereford, the Dean of Bangor, Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, the historian of Cardiganshire;

W. W. E. Wynne, and many other distinguished archæologists, who have now, alas! all passed away. The meeting was most successful, and the Association was fully started on that career of usefulness which it has maintained to the present day; but it had its vicissitudes like other bodies, as in those days few took interest in archæological pursuits, and subscriptions were not easy to get in; so that the Secretary, the Rev. W. B. Jones, had a difficult task to carry on the work of the Society: but which he did successfully to the year 1854, when he resigned his office, and was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Lowry Barnwell and the Rev. James Allen.

After the resignation of the Rev. W. B. Jones, perhaps I may be allowed to touch lightly on the work of those who assisted during the early life of the Association, beginning with the second series of the *Journal*. Of the original founders, the Rev. John Williams did not work long for the Association, but started a publication of his own, called the *Cambrian Journal;* but the Rev. Longueville Jones continued almost to the end of his life, and the latter part under the burden of grievous illness, to adorn the *Journal* both with his pen and his pencil.

Professor Freeman, who occupied the Presidential Chair at Abergavenny in 1876, was for many years a constant attendant, and contributed valuable papers and architectural sketches. Professor Babington, to within a few years of his death, was a constant attendant at all the meetings, and rendered much assistance in drawing up the rules of the Association, and aiding in all business matters connected with its welfare.

As I said before, in 1854 the Rev. E. L. Barnwell and the Rev. J. Allen, afterwards Dean of St. David's, became joint General Secretaries, which office the latter did not hold long, but to the perseverance, the industry and the liberality of the former is chiefly due that the Cambrian Archæological Association is in existence now. For more than twenty years he carried the Society through all its dangers—and they were many and great—and when he resigned in 1875 he was elected Treasurer, which office he held for nine years. His contributions to the *Journal* were numerous and valuable, particularly those on South Wales cromlechs.

I do not forget the many other names of persons connected with the welfare of the Society, and who contributed valuable papers to the *Journal*, for they are too numerous to particularise. Nor will I make any allusion to those who have carried on the work of the Association so well to the present time, and have edited the *Journal* with such marked ability, for these are too recent and too well known. During the last fifty years the Society has held meetings in the chief towns of Wales and the Marches, making known the objects and aims of the Association, which have brought forth papers on the history and antiquities of the neighbourhoods, which otherwise would never have seen the light. It has also taught the people in general what valuable remains, in the way of churches, castles, ancient houses, and megalithic structures they have among them,

and that they ought to be preserved. I have not the smallest doubt that if the Society had come into existence fifty or sixty years sooner, we should not now be lamenting the irretrievable loss of numberless monuments of antiquity. It is during the last hundred years that the chief mischief has been done, for during that time the great march of improvement has taken place in clearing the land, making the cromlech and the maen-hir to disappear before the plough and the harrow.

The *Archæologia Cambrensis* now numbers fifty-five volumes, containing most valuable papers on the history, architecture, and antiquities of Wales and the Marches; in fact, a storehouse of information for the future historian. Though the great architectural movement had begun before the Society came into existence, yet it has always used its influence in aiding the movement, and it is a pity it had no power to stay the spoiler's hand, in what I may call—to put it mildly—the injudicious restoration of many of the churches of Wales; but happily there is one great exception in the restoration of one of the grandest ecclesiastical buildings in the Principality.

After the Tenby meeting in 1851, a large number of members went to St. David's, where Mr. Freeman and the Rev. W. Basil Jones gave a lecture on the Architecture and History of the Cathedral; that was followed by their joint *History of St. David's;* and the result was that Dean Lewellin and the Chapter took the matter in hand, and began the great work of restoration. This was put into the able hands of Sir Gilbert Scott, aided by the munificence of Bishop Thirlwall and the Rev. J. M. Traherne, and the liberal contributions of the whole diocese; the great tower was put in a state of safety, other restorations were made, and subsequently carried out by the liberality and loving care of Dean Allen: who, I am happy to say, is still spared to see his beloved cathedral, which is now worthy of the great diocese, and in unique architectural details and thorough judicious restoration can be compared favourably with any of the smaller English cathedrals.

The Association has also at different times entered into friendly communication with the other branches of the Celtic race: with our near cousins in West Wales or Cornwall and Brittany, and also with our more distant relatives in the Isle of Man and Ireland.

In the year 1862 a meeting was held at Truro, under the presidency of Mr. Hussey Vivian, at the invitation of the Royal Institute of Cornwall, where we were most hospitably received—for we were not among strangers, but where there were many signs of a common origin. There were familiar names in the dedication of churches, like names of villages, and houses, and crosses, cromlechs and maen-hirs, much the same as those in Wales. The language is gone, the last person who spoke it having died in the latter part of the last century. The published literature is very scanty, consisting, as far as I know, only of the Cornish Drama, edited and translated by the late Mr. Edwin Norris, and the Cornish Dictionary, by the late Rev. Robert Williams, a work of great learning and research.

In the year 1865 the Society visited the Isle of Man, and a meeting was held at Douglas, under the presidency of His Excellency Henry Brougham Loch, Lieut-Governor of the Island. We received a hearty welcome, and were entertained with unbounded hospitality. There were many interesting remains of antiquity to be seen, more particularly the picturesque ruins of Peel Castle, Round Tower, and the Cathedral, alas! also now in ruins.

In the year 1889 the Society went to Brittany, and held a peripatetic meeting (if I may use such a term) under the presidency of M. de Dr. Closmadeuc: having no headquarters, but visiting the most interesting places in succession from Vannes to Morlaix. The Bretons are most interesting to Welshmen as being a kindred people, who departed from their fatherland in the sixth or seventh century, and have retained their language to the present day; and though the two peoples cannot understand one another, which is not to be wondered at, after having had no communication with one another for so long a time; and I have no doubt that if the inhabitants of Wiltshire and Yorkshire had been separated as long they would understand one another as little as the Bretons and Welsh at the present day. But it is very wonderful that two small nationalities, on the west of the two great kingdoms of France and England, should have retained their language, manners and customs to the present day. Though the advance of civilisation has been more rapid in Wales than in Brittany, yet many of the primitive customs we saw during our visit there were in full force in this country within my own recollection. During our visit we saw groups of men and *women* threshing the corn with great earnestness; but in this county, some sixty years ago, the good wife wielded the flail as deftly as her husband; the farmer grew the flax from which was made the "carthen" to winnow the corn, as we saw in Brittany; and all their clothing was made from the wool of the sheep bred on their own farms. In this country we have nothing to compare with the great megalithic remains, and at which we could only wonder and be silent as to the people who erected them, and what power they used for the purpose; but there was one thing we saw which we have not here, I am sorry to say: for by every cromlech, maenhir, and other object of antiquity worthy of preservation, there was a notice to show that it was under Government protection.

The churches in this neighbourhood, owing to the poverty of the country and the absence of good building stone, are generally poor and uninteresting, the greater number, with one exception, having been rebuilt or restored, so that every vestige of architectural peculiarity has been destroyed.

There is one exception, however, in the fine old Church of Llanbadarnfawr, which we saw to-day; for, though plain to severity, yet it is a grand old building, beautifully restored under the supervision of Mr. Seddon. May we express a hope that should the great diocese of St. David's be divided in some future and happier time, that the ancient See of St. Padarn may be revived, and Llan-

badarn become the fifth Cathedral of Wales. There is not much else to be seen in the way of churches till we come to the Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida, of which so little remains, but it has been most judiciously excavated, and its story well told by Mr. Stephen Williams.

Cardiganshire cannot boast of many castles like Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, there being only three—Cardigan, Aberystwyth, and the very small remains of Ystrad Meurig. Prehistoric encampments cover almost every hill-top, mostly of the same type, one of which was seen to-day on Pendinas.

The mine of archæological lore is not exhausted; and I hope there may be here to-night young aspirants who in the future will assist those who are now carrying on the work of the Association so industriously and so well, and that there may be here now some who may see it complete its century.

F. L. LLOYD-PHILIPPS.

EXCURSIONS.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 8th.—EXCURSION No. 1.

ABERYSTWYTH AND LLANBADARN FAWR.

Route.—Members assembled at 9 A.M. at the University College, and proceeded on foot to the CASTLE, at the south end of the sea front; thence across the River Rheidol, to the summit of PEN DINAS (*ancient earthwork*), 1 mile south;[1] returning to inspect the LIBRARY and MUSEUM of the UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

After LUNCHEON members assembled at 1.30 P.M. at the Railway Station, and were conveyed by carriage to LLANBADARN FAWR, 1 mile east (*Church and Early Crosses*); thence to the HEN GAER, 4 miles north-east (*Ancient Earthwork*); returning by the more direct road to Aberystwyth.

Aberystwyth Castle.—The ruins were inspected under the guidance of Mr. Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A., who explained the probable nature of the structure as indicated by the few existing remnants of masonry. The original castle was built by Gilbert de Clare in 1109, and its history is tersely summed up by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick in his *History of Cardiganshire.* He says that "it continued to experience all the vicissitudes of predatory warfare, alternately fortified and overthrown", until it was rebuilt by Edward I in 1277. The castle surrendered to Owen Glendower in 1404, but was afterwards retaken by the English. From 1408 it remained in the undisturbed possession of the English Government. During the Civil Wars it declared

[1] All distances and directions given from Aberystwyth, except where otherwise specified.

for Charles I, and was taken by the Parliamentary forces in 1646. The fragments of the keep and towers now standing are of the Edwardian period. Aberystwyth, or Llanbadarn Castle, as it was formerly called, occupies a strong position on a promontory at the mouth of the river Rheidol, and was one of the chain of fortresses round the Welsh coast which could be easily provisioned as long as their possessors held command of the sea.

The castle grounds are now laid out as gardens. The view of the town is somewhat spoiled by Mr. J. P. Seddon's glaring piece of coloured decoration (Science and Art paying tribute to Religion) on the new University buildings, and by the recently-opened railway to the top of Constitution Hill.

Mr. Bushel, who worked the neighbouring mines in the time of Charles I, was authorised by the King to erect a mint within the Castle. The pieces coined here were stamped with a feather, and some specimens are preserved in the College Museum.

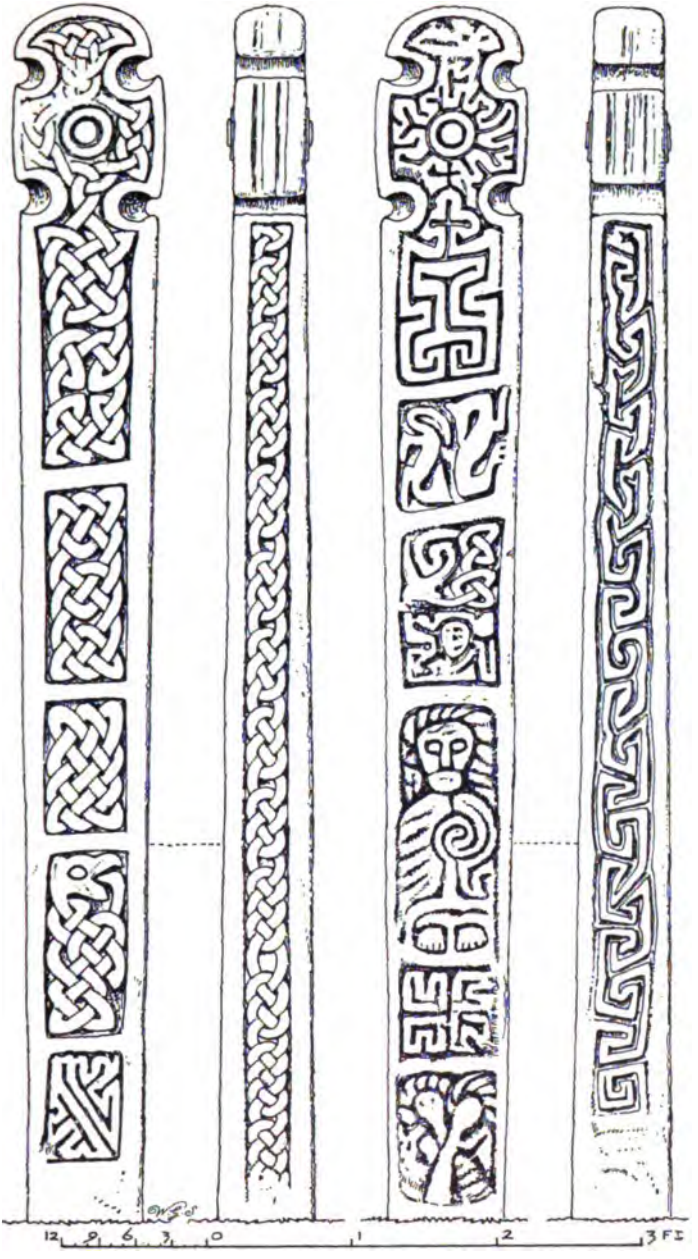
(Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 413.)

The University College, Aberystwyth.—The University buildings were described to the members by the Principal, by whom the party was conducted through the Library and Museum. The collection of antiquities contains a very miscellaneous assortment of relics, and is in its present state quite unworthy of the University, either for educational purposes or as a local museum. The University possesses a cast of the cross at Gosforth, Cumberland, whilst the early monuments of the same period in Wales are not represented either by casts or photographs.

Pen Dinas.—An extensive earthwork, on a hill 413 feet above sea-level, between the old mouths of the rivers Rheidol and Ystwyth. Here an animated debate took place between Prof. J. Rhys and other pundits as to why Aberystwyth should be called so when it is at the mouth of the Rheidol, and did not touch that of the Ystwyth until its course was artificially altered in recent times. One suggestion made was that Pen Dinas, which *is* at the mouth of the Ystwyth, was the original citadel of the district in the prehistoric period, and that the river name was subsequently transferred to the more modern place of residence on the lower ground.

Llanbadarn Fawr Church.—This is a well-proportioned cruciform structure, with a massive central tower surmounted by a low spire. We do not remember having seen another Gothic building of such a size quite without buttresses, although their place is to a certain extent taken by the batter given to the walls below the plinth moulding, which runs round the whole church on the outside.

Notwithstanding the severe simplicity of the Early English lancet windows, and the absence of ornamental details, the exterior is as striking as any to be found in Wales. There is no better test of an architect's capacity than that he should rely for the effect he wishes to produce solely upon the excellence of the masonry of his wall



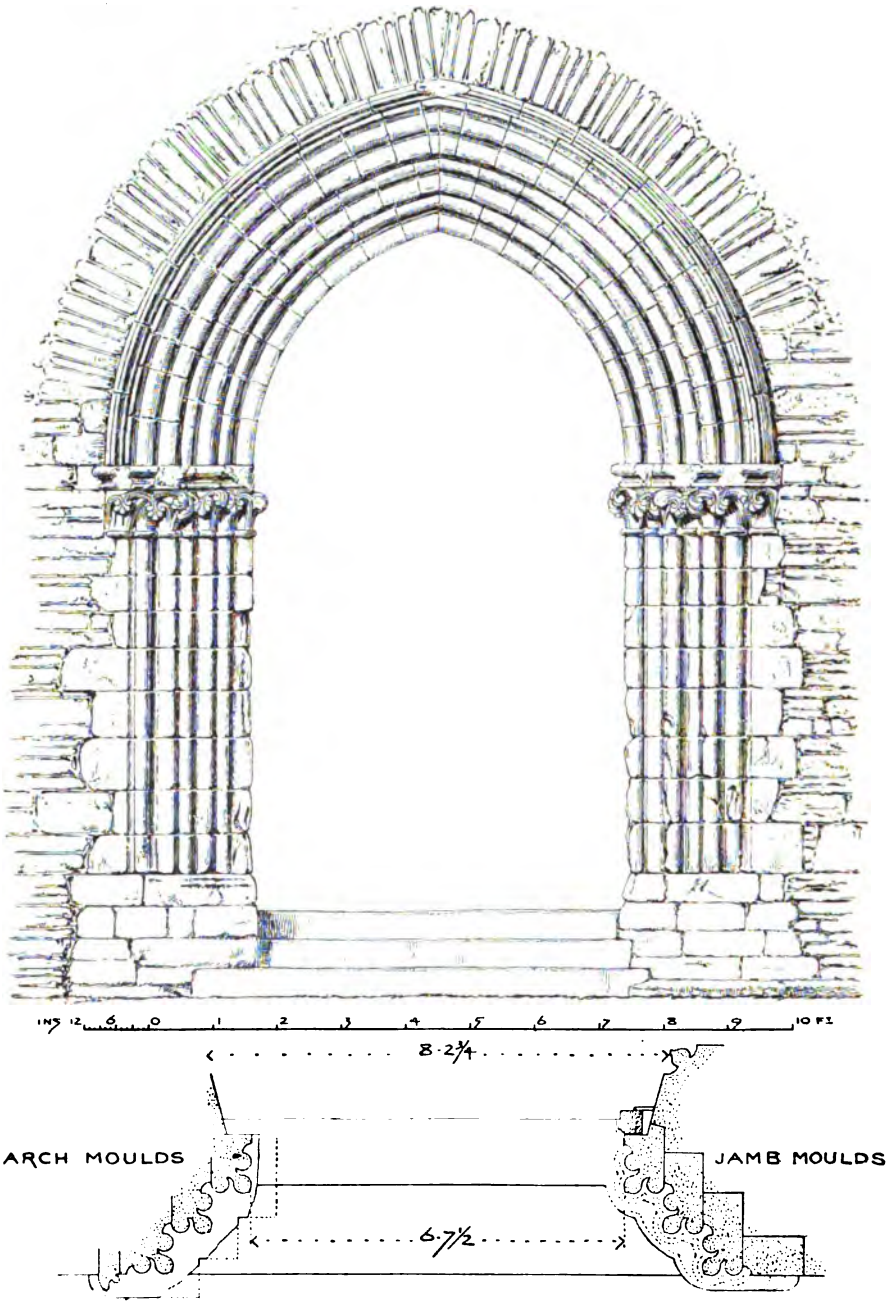
Cross at Llanbadarn Fawr,
Cardiganshire.

surfaces, the arrangement of his masses, and the care bestowed on assigning the proper proportions to the various parts of the structure. Almost the only bit of carved work in the whole of Llanbadarn Church is the beautiful Early English foliage with which the capitals of the columns of the south doorway are decorated. The interior is disappointing, and the red colour of the walls and the pitch-pine fittings are not in the best of taste.

The church is charmingly situated amongst luxuriant foliage at the foot of the hills on the north side of the Rheidol Valley, which here forms a *strath*, extending a mile across towards Pen Dinas. Llanbadarn was once the site of an ancient see founded by St. Padarn, an Armorican, at the beginning of the sixth century. It was ravaged by the Saxons in A.D. 720, and soon afterwards merged in the see of St. David's. Those who know their Giraldus will remember the lay abbot of Llanbadarn, who took his walks abroad carrying a spear instead of a pastoral staff, and the wicked inhabitants who prided themselves on having murdered their bishop. Had Gerald the Welshman been more of an antiquary and less of an ecclesiastic, he would have been delighted, and not shocked, to find these interesting manifestations of the ancient tribal system of the Celtic Church still surviving.

Opposite the south porch of Llanbadarn Church are to be seen two crosses standing in the churchyard, one of extremely rude and debased design, and the other a tall monolith 8 ft. 3 ins. high by 1 ft. wide by 6 ins. thick, ornamented with panels of interlaced work, key patterns, animals, and a human figure. In Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* this human figure is shown as a skeleton! and to give it greater reality as a symbol of death, an hour-glass, like those on the tombstones of the last century, is placed above. Prof. J. O. Westwood's representation in his *Lapidarium Walliæ* is almost as bad a caricature of the reality, viz., a saint, resembling those occurring on the pre-Norman crosses of Northumbria, which are evidently of Byzantine origin. The naked feet protrude below the drapery, the folds of which are conventionalised into spiral curves, a peculiarity also characteristic of the dresses of the figures on the Cross of Muiredach, at Monasterboice. Prof. Westwood's figure looks more like a man with the convolutions of his entrails seen by means of the X rays than anything else. The cross at Llanbadarn is somewhat similar in design to the one at Llanynnis, in Brecknockshire, and like it is made of hard volcanic rock, which has suffered so little from the effects of the weather that the toolmarks, apparently produced by a sharply-pointed pick, are still visible. Most of the early Welsh crosses are of sandstone, the few exceptions being those just mentioned and the one at Carew, Pembrokeshire.

(*Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. iv, p. 171; *Giraldus Cambrensis; Tour of Archbishop Baldwin*, by Sir R. Colt Hoare, vol. ii, p. 62; *Building News* for August 26th, 1870; *Architectural Association Sketch Book*, vol. vii, Pl. 22; Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 377; Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, pp. 147 and 148, Pls. 69 and 70.)



South Doorway of Llanbadarn Fawr Church, Cardiganshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{30}$ linear.

Yr Hen Gaer.—A fine ancient British earthwork of irregular oval shape, with a high rampart and ditch, which crowns the hill immediately above Gogerddan House, and lies a mile east of Bow Street railway station: a name which may indicate the line taken by the Roman road called the Sarn Helen, between Pennal and Llanio, though to the uninitiated it savours more of the police court. A stiff climb up a steep acclivity brought the party to the summit, 500 feet above the sea level. Yr Hên Gaer, the old fortress, is most appropriately named, as the whole place has an air of hoary antiquity. It would have required no great stretch of fancy to invent a fairy population for a scene so wild.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 9th.—EXCURSION No. 2.

LLANWNWS AND STRATA FLORIDA.

Route.—Members assembled at 9 A.M. at the Railway Station, and were conveyed by carriage through Llanilar, Pont Llanafan, Llanwnws, Ystrad Meyric, and Pont-Rhydfendigaid, to STRATA FLORIDA (16 miles south-east); returning by the more direct high-road through Ystrad Meyric.

Total distance, 34 miles.

On the outward journey stops were made at LLANILAR, 5½ miles south-east (*Church and remarkable Communion Cup*), and at LLANWNWS, 11 miles south-east (*Church and Inscribed Stone*).

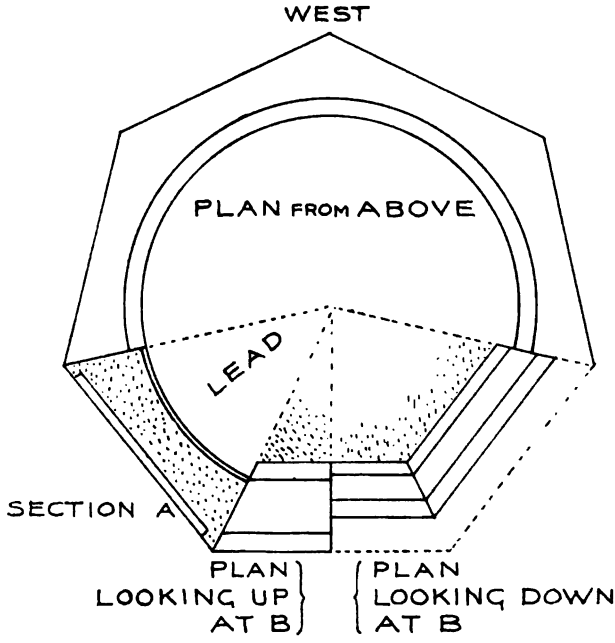
On the return journey no stops were made.

LUNCHEON was provided at the hotel at Pont Rhydfendigaid.

Llanilar Church.—This is a small unpretentious building, with a

Llanilar Church before Restoration.

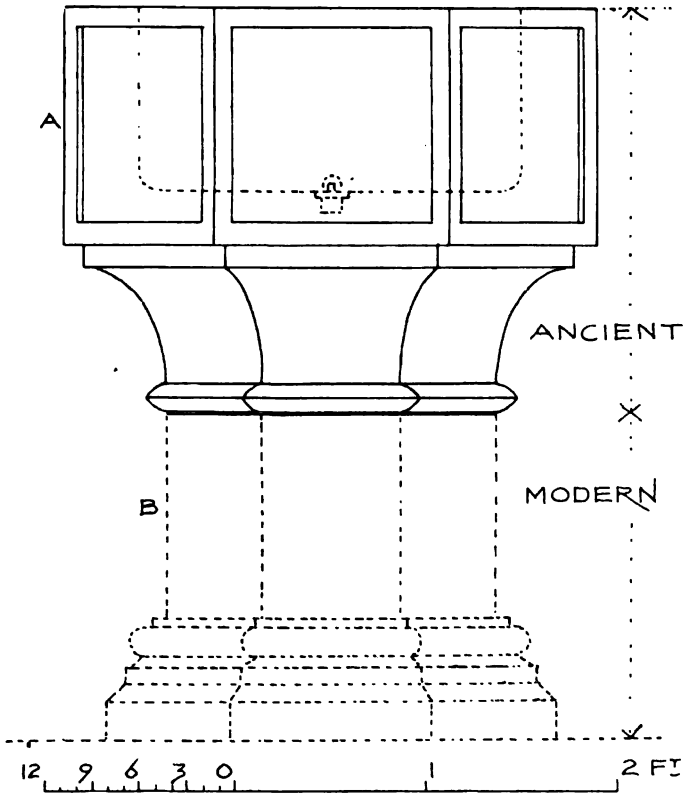
squat tower surmounted by a small spire. In the vestry the communion plate was exhibited. The chalice, a silver drinking-cup, set with Swedish coins, is a curious instance of the dedication of a secular vessel to the service of the Church. It was brought from Stockholm by John Parry, Messenger in Ordinary to their Majesties George I and II, and presented to the church of Llan Hilary in the last century.



Font in Llanilar Church, Cardiganshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

Llanwnws Church and Inscribed Stone.—In order to reach Llanwnws Church, the members were obliged to leave the carriages and wend their way on foot along a narrow by-road, far too steep and rocky for any wheeled vehicle to attempt to drive up it. The monument in Llanwnws churchyard, which the archæologists endeavoured to dicipher under climatic difficulties, is one of considerable interest on account of the peculiar formula of the inscription and the names mentioned on it. The stone is a little under four feet in height, and has on one of the broader faces an ornamental cross combined with a circle. At the right-hand upper corner is the χρς abbreviation of the name of Christ, and to the right of the shaft of the cross, and continued below it, the following inscription in Hiberno-Saxon minuscles of, perhaps, the ninth century, in eleven horizontal lines :

"Quicunque [*sic*] explicaverit hoc nomen det benedixionem pro anima hiroidil filius carotinn." This is very similar to the inscription on the cross-slab of St. Berecheart at Tullylease, co. Cork, which runs: "χρs—quicumque hunc titulum legerit oret pro berechtuire"; and to the entry in the Gospels of Mac Regol in the Bodleian Library

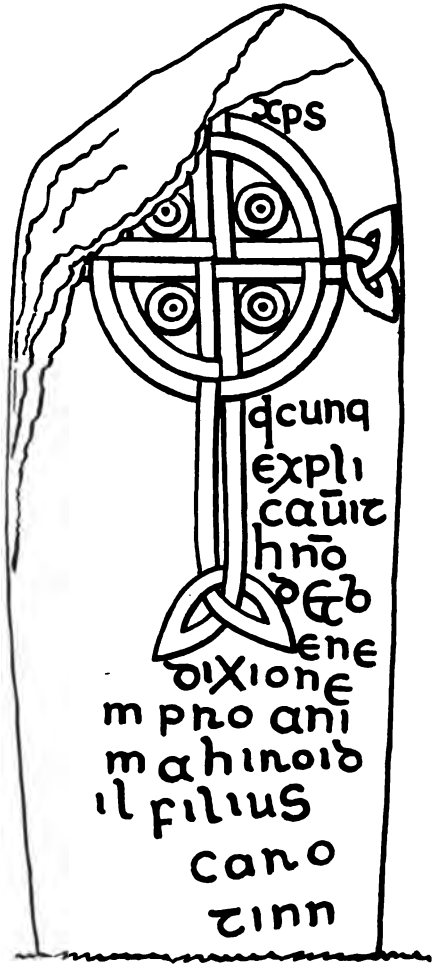


Font in Llanilar Church, Cardiganshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

at Oxford: "quicumque legeret et intellegeret istam narrationem oret pro Mac Reguil scriptori." Fortunately the exact date of the death of St. Berecheart is known, viz., December 6th, A.D. 839, thus helping to fix the probable age of the Llanwnws stone. It is a great pity that this remarkable relic of early Welsh Christianity is not placed inside the church, instead of being allowed to remain exposed to the weather. The situation of Llanwnws Church is on the highest ground between the valleys of the Ystwyth and the Teifi, a bleak

spot, sufficiently inaccessible to ensure the seclusion from the outer world that the Celtic saints prized so highly.

(Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 144, and Pl. 68; *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. v, p. 245.)



Inscribed Stone at Llanwnws, Cardiganshire.[1] Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.
(*From a rubbing by J. R. Allen.*

Strata Florida Abbey.—Strata Florida Abbey was examined under

[1] There are faint traces only of the horizontal bar over the h at the beginning of the fourth line to indicate the contraction for hoc. The termination of the horizontal arm of the cross in a Stafford knot is conjectural.—Ed.

the able guidance of Mr. Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A., who superintended the excavations on the site of the Cistercian monastery for the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1887. Amongst the most interesting features brought to light during the explorations were the beautifully carved foliage of the various capitals, the splendid encaustic tile pavements, and the monks' graveyard, preserved by accumulated *débris* of the ruined wall which fell upon it exactly in the same state as it was in the twelfth century, with the crosses at the heads of the graves still *in situ*. For a full account of the abbey we must refer our readers to Mr. Stephen Williams's work on the subject.

(Stephen W. Williams' *Strata Florida; Arch. Camb.*, 1st Ser., vol. iii, p. 191; 5th Ser., vol. v, pp. 5, 19, 24 and 187; 5th Ser., vol. viii, p. 303.)

THURSDAY, SEPT. 10th.—EXCURSION No. 3.

TOWYN AND PENIARTH.

Route.—Members assembled at the Railway Station at 8.50 A.M., and were conveyed by train to TOWYN, 12 miles north in a straight line, but 26 miles by rail round the estuary of the Dovey.

ABERYSTWYTH	dep.	9.0	A.M.
TOWYN	arr.	11.23	A.M.
TOWYN	dep.	6.4	P.M.
ABERYSTWYTH	arr.	7.20	P.M.

On arrival at TOWYN, members proceeded on foot to the PARISH CHURCH (*12th-century nave, 14th-century effigies, and St. Cadfan's Stone.*)

At 1.30 P.M., after LUNCHEON, members assembled at the Corbet Arms Hotel, and were conveyed by carriage to PENIARTH, 4 miles north-east of Towyn (*seat of W. R. M. Wynne, Esq., where the celebrated collection of Welsh MSS. is preserved*); going by way of LLANEGRYN, 4 miles north of Towyn (*Church, and fine carved rood-loft and screen*), and returning to Towyn by the direct road along the east side of the valley of the Afon Dysynni.

Total distance by train, 52 miles, and by carriage 10 miles.

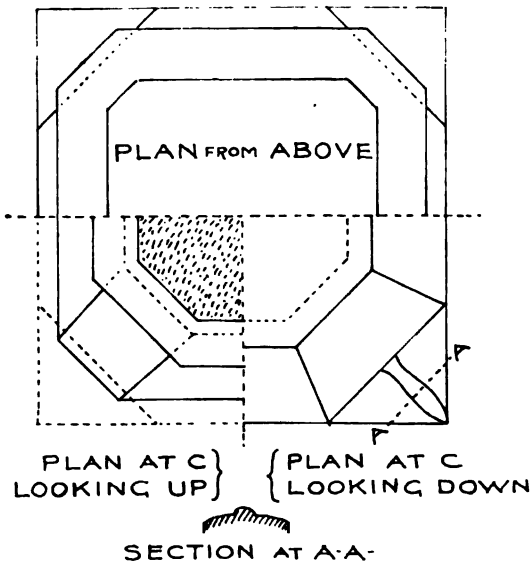
LUNCHEON was provided at the Corbet Arms Hotel at Towyn.

Towyn Church.—The building (dedicated to St. Cadfan, a native of Armorica, who came over to Wales about the year A.D. 516) is cruciform in plan, consisting of nave with north and south aisles, north and south transepts, central tower and chancel. The upper part of the central tower fell in 1692, but it has now been restored by the late Mr. John Prichard, architect, of Llandaff. What remains of the nave is early Norman work, extremely rude and simple. The arcades, though full of character, are composed of rough masonry

plastered over, and are devoid of any stone dressings. They are surmounted by clerestory windows of very minute proportions, with the usual expanding splays internally, and appearing from the outside as mere slits in the wall. The oak roofs of the nave and south aisle are of early Second Pointed work.

The PASCENT inscribed stone mentioned by Camden can no longer be found.

The inscription on the so-called stone of St. Cadfan is still a *crux* to the learned, although Prof. Rhys has endeavoured to make the



Font in Towyn Church, Merionethshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

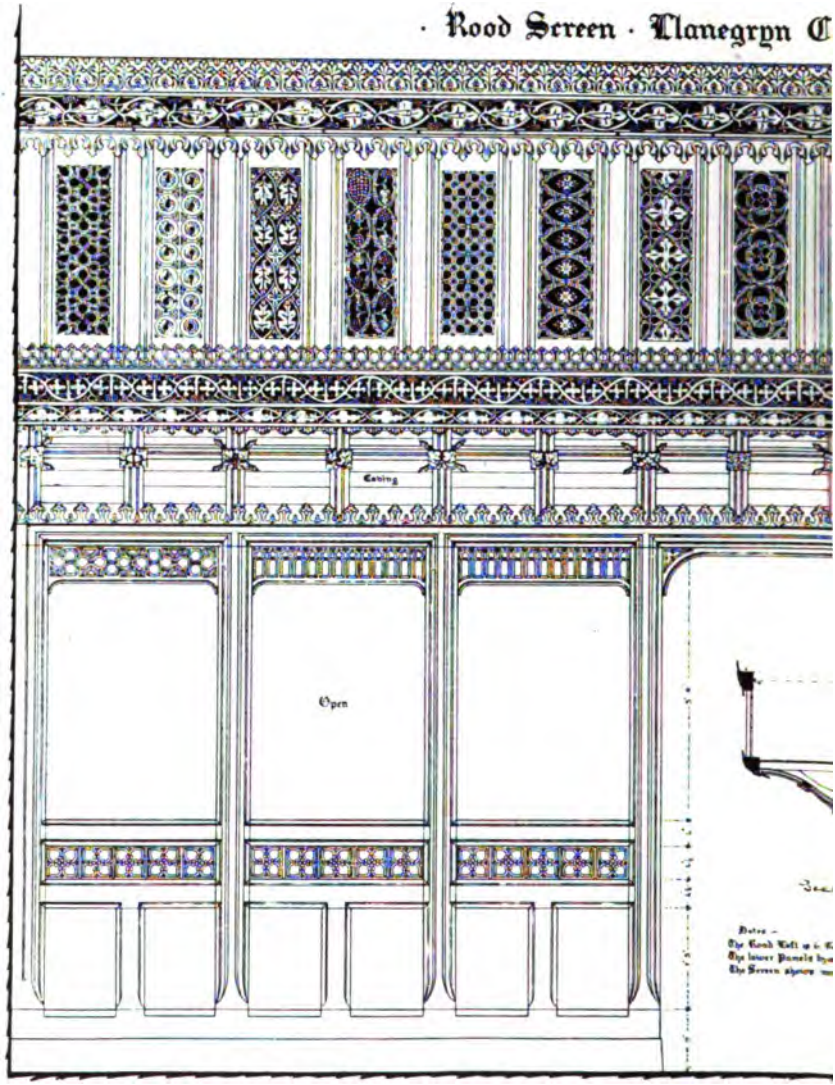
inscription yield an intelligible meaning. St. Cadvan's grave—a recumbent slab of slate with two short upright whin-stone pillars at the head and foot—is pointed out to visitors in the churchyard, and the pillars are said to be the *marciau* of the inscription on St. Cadfan's Stone.

The effigies in Towyn church have been fully described by Mr. M. H. Bloxam in the *Arch. Camb.*

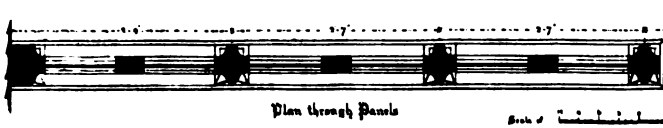
(Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 158, Pl. 75; *Arch. Camb.*, 1st Ser., vol. iii, p. 364; 2nd Ser., vol. i, p. 90; 4th Ser., vol. v, p. 243; and 4th Ser., vol. vi, p. 211; Camden's *Britannia* (Gough's ed.), vol. iii, p. 172.)

Llanegryn Church.—This is a small plain building, possessing a good timber roof, well pinned together with wooden treenails, and unusually fine carved rood-loft and screen. The church was restored

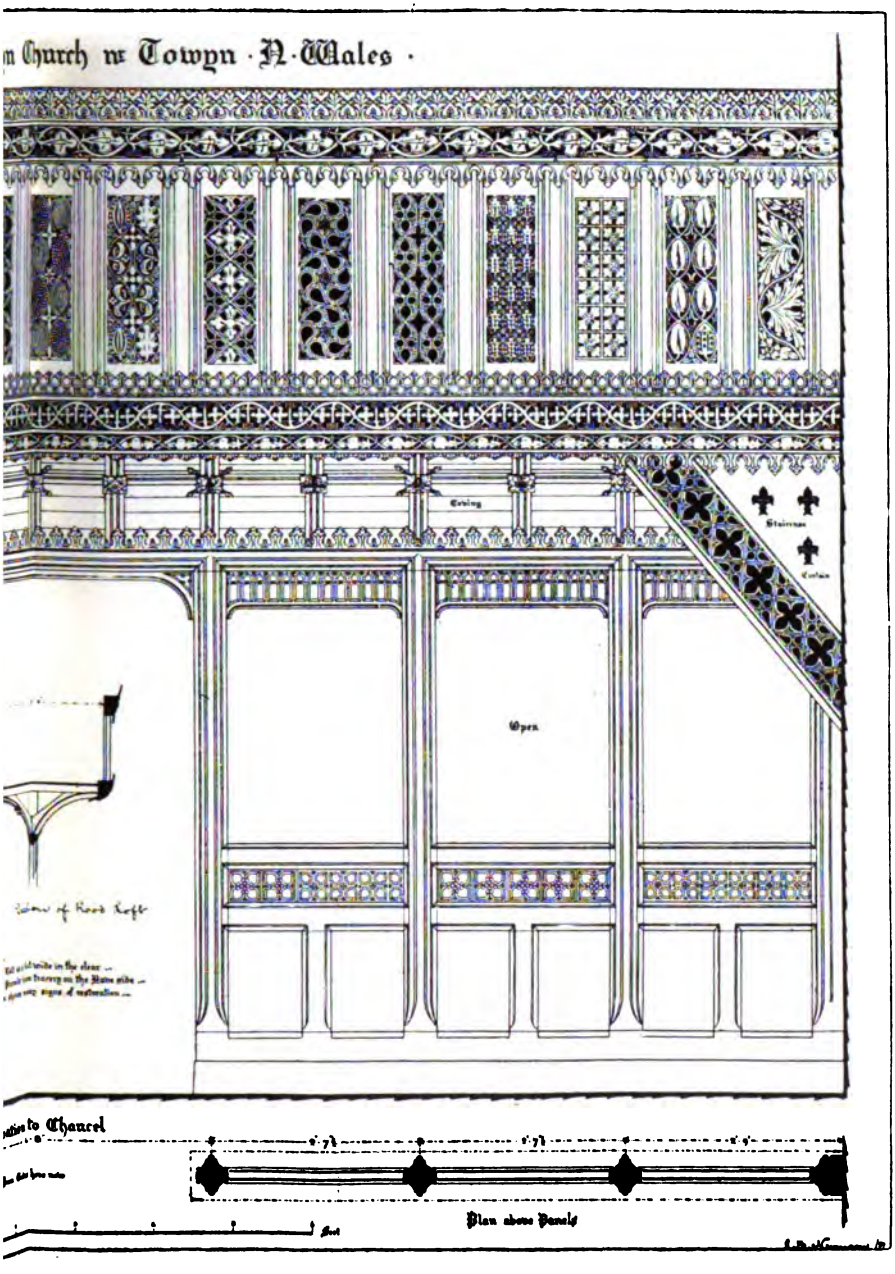
· Rood Screen · Llanegryn C



Elevation



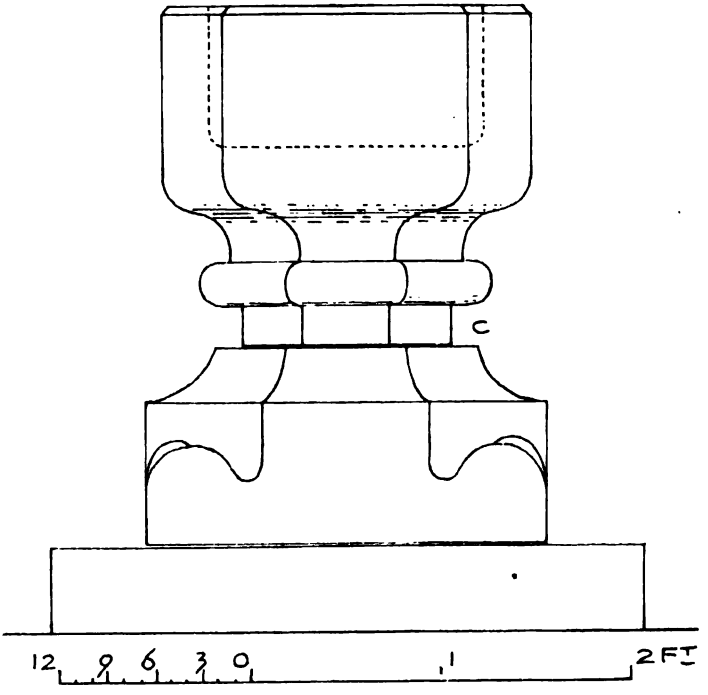
Plan through Panels


n Church nr Towyn · N · Wales ·
Ceiling
Staircase
Curtain
Open
Elevation of Rood Loft
Entrance to Chancel
Plan above Panels

by Mr. E. B. Ferrey, jun. Through the courtesy of Mr. E. B. Nevinson we are able to give a reproduction of his drawing of the screen which appeared in the *Architectural Sketch Book*, new series, vol. viii. A small stone with an incised cross upon it is built into the exterior wall of the church on the south side.

(*Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. x, p. 114; Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 167, and Pl. 77.)

Peniarth.—Here the members were hospitably entertained to

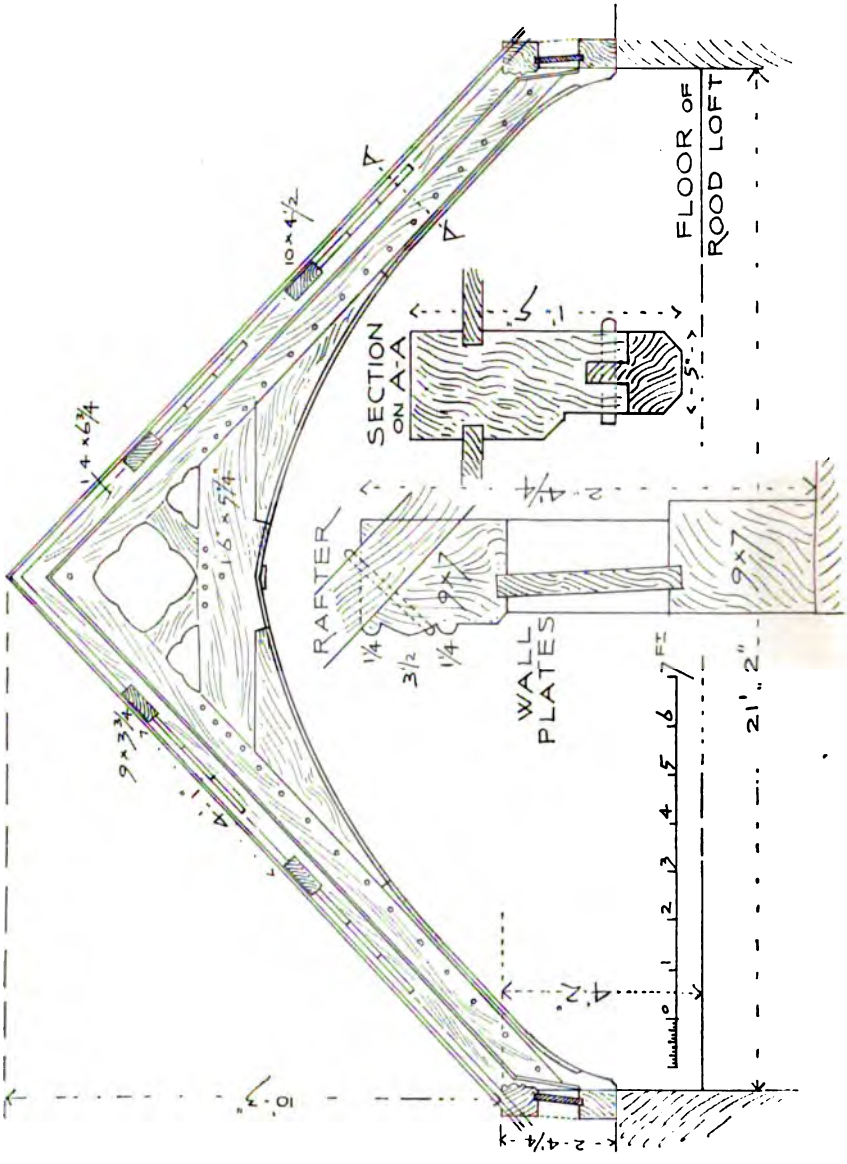


Font in Towyn Church, Merionethshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

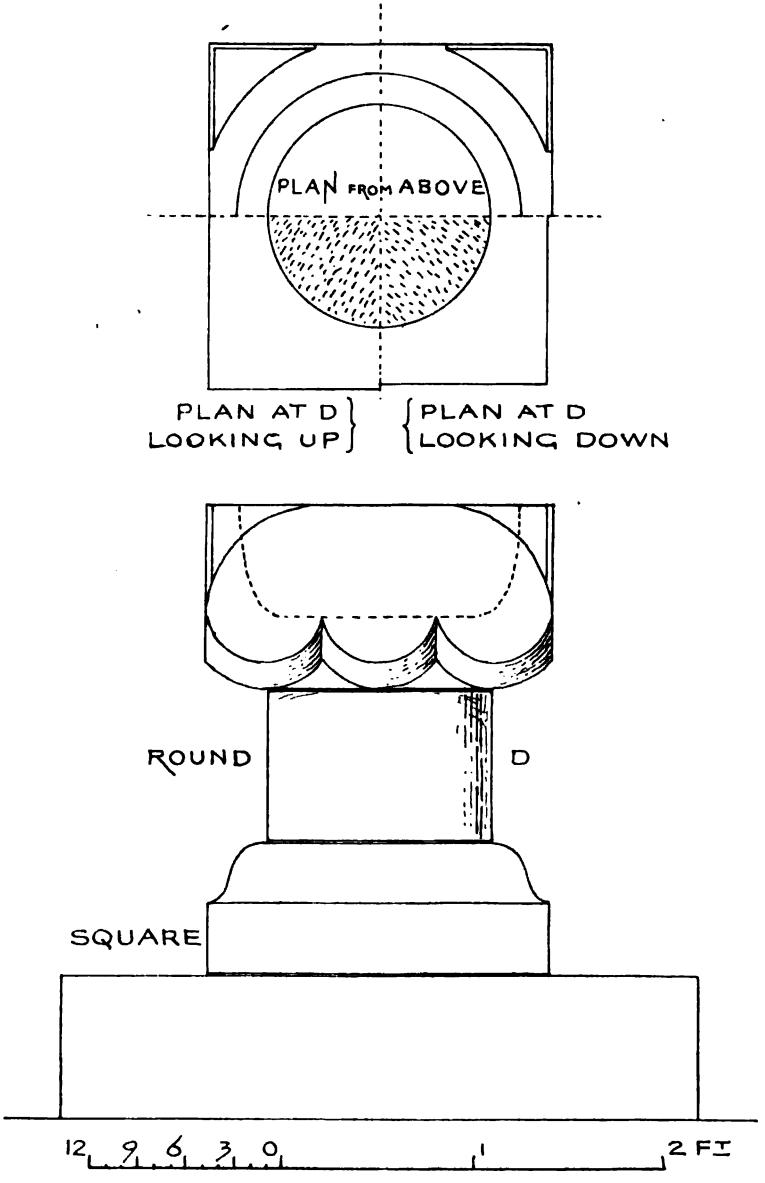
afternoon tea by Mr. W. R. M. Wynne and Mrs. Wynne, and allowed the privilege of inspecting the chief literary treasures amongst the Hengwrt MSS. for which Peniarth is so celebrated. The thurible found in Corwen in 1858 was also exhibited.

In a summer-house beside the Afon Dysynni, which runs through the grounds, were seen some very beautiful fragments of carved architectural details, brought from Castell-y-Bere, 4 miles north-east of Peniarth.

(*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. vii, p. 105, and 3rd Ser., vol. xv, p. 299; 4th Ser., vol. v, p. 159.)



Roof of Llanegryn Church, Merionethshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{48}$ linear.



Font in Llanegryn Church, Merionethshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 11th.—EXCURSION No. 4.

ABERAERON AND LLANDDEWI ABERARTH.

Route.—Members assembled at 9 A.M. at the Railway Station, and were conveyed by carriage to Aberaeron, 16 miles south-west of Aberystwyth and Henfynyw, 2 miles south-west of Aberaeron by the high-road which follows the coastline of Cardigan Bay; going and returning the same day.

On the outward journey stops were made at LLANRHYSTYD, 9 miles south-west (*Church*); at LLANSANTFFRAID, 10 miles south-west (*Church*); at LLANON, 11 miles south-west (*Chapel of St. Non*); at LLANDDEWI ABERARTH (*Church and Inscribed and Sculptured Stones*); and at HENFYNYW (*Church and Inscribed Stone*).

On the return journey no stops were made.

Total distance, 34 miles.

LUNCHEON was provided at the Feathers Hotel, Aberaeron.

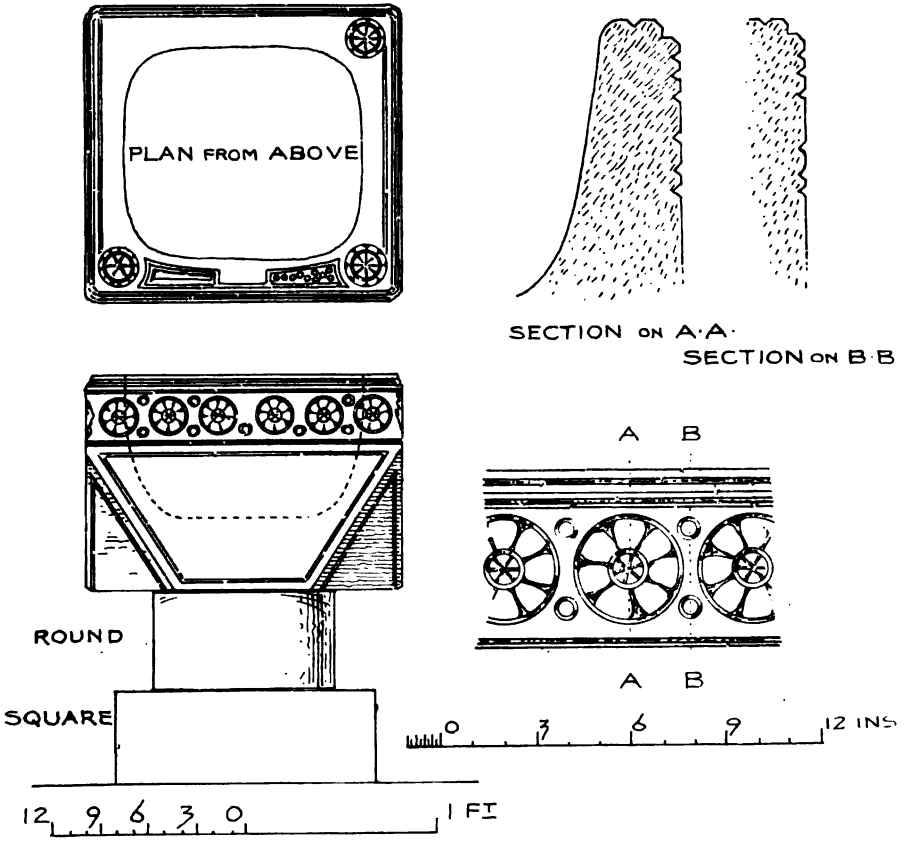
Llanrhystyd.—A village situated near the point where the little river Wyrai runs into the sea. It was destroyed by the Danes in

Llanrhystyd Church.

A.D. 988. Leland mentions a large building here, which may have been a nunnery. A house in the parish, called Monachty, would appear by its name to have some connection with a religious estab-

lishment of some kind. The church consisted of a nave, chancel, tower, and porch. It was rebuilt in 1843 by the Rev. John Lewis, Vicar. The castle of Llan Rhystyd was built by Cadwaladr ap Gruffydd in 1148.

(Leland's *Itinerary*; Meyrick's *Cardiganshire; Arch. Camb.*, 2nd Ser., vol. i, p. 64.)



Font in Henfynyw Church, Cardiganshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear. Details, $\frac{1}{6}$ linear.

Llansantffraid.—The church, which is in the Pointed style, was rebuilt in 1840 from the plans of a local builder. It contains portions of the old screen, and a font similar to that at Henfynyw.

(Leland's *Itinerary*.)

Llanon.—A hamlet in the parish of Llansantffraid, on the road from Aberystwyth to Cardigan: interesting on account of its connec-

tion with St. Non, the mother of St. David. Meyrick mentions the chapel here dedicated to St. Non, which he says was in the Pointed style of architecture. A sculptured stone, apparently representing the Virgin and Child, built into the wall of a barn in the village, possibly came from this chapel. It is traditionally believed by the people in the district to be the effigy of St. Non and the infant St David.

The remains of the chapel still standing, and also the chaplain's house.

(Meyrick's *Cardiganshire.*)

Llanddewi Aberarth. — The church, dedicated to St. David, consisted of a nave, chancel, and lofty tower. It was rebuilt in 1860, when the inscribed and sculptured stones, recently described by Prof. Rhys in the *Arch. Camb.*, were discovered in the walls, with several other things, including a bronze axe. These stones are now in the rockery in the garden of a house called Dôl Aeron, near the bridge over the Aeron, a little above the town of Aberaeron. The monks of Strata Florida had a port here, where the freestone used in the building of the Abbey was landed.

(Meyrick's *Cardiganshire; Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. xiii; S. W. Williams' *Strata Florida.*)

Henfynyw.—The church was restored in 1861. The only points of interest are the font, and a fragment of an inscribed stone built upside down into the gable wall of the chancel on the outside.

(*Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. xiii, p. 113.)

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

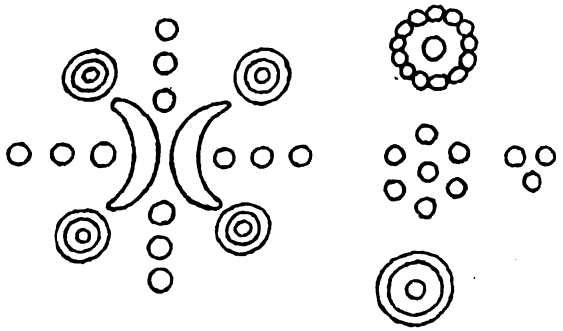
An Ancient Stone Cross.—"An ancient stone Cross, measuring 2 ft. high and 18 ins. broad, and weighing about half a hundredweight, has been found by Mr. E. G. Ludlow, of Cardiff, on the foreshore between Rumney River and the docks. The cross was buried in the earth, and in excavating it Mr. Ludlow states that he came across a quantity of rotten wood, a mass of something like hair, a few bones and a small piece of pottery. The bones have been pronounced by a medical man to be human. The cross is of ancient design and workmanship, and in a good state of preservation."—(*Bygones*, January 15th, 1896.)

There is also in *Bygones*, January 22nd, 1896, an account of the sale of "The Badge of Owen Glyndwr": a pendant of oval form, with a rock-crystal egg in the centre. We saw it at Rhiwaedog during our Bala Meeting.

The price was £70 at Christie's; purchaser not named.

D. R. Thomas.

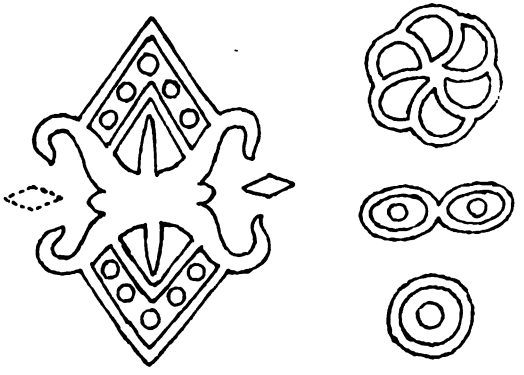
Some Devices and Ornaments upon Ancient British Coins.—As the pellets upon which ancient British coins have been struck do



(*a*) Pl. xiv, fig. 11—Reverse.

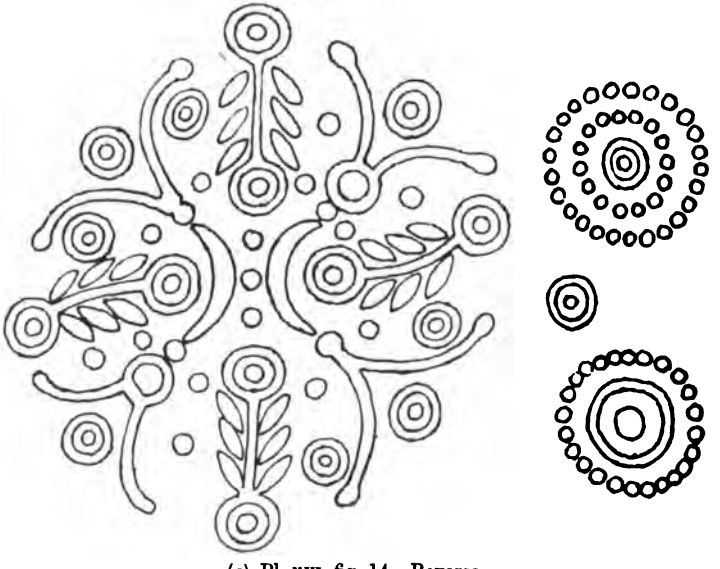
not usually receive the whole of the design which must have been upon the die, I thought a few sketches of the complete devices, worked out from the traces found upon different coins of similar type, might prove instructive. They have been serviceable to me

as giving a clearer appreciation of the intention of the coiners, and may have the same effect upon others.



(*b*) Pl. M, fig. 2—Reverse.

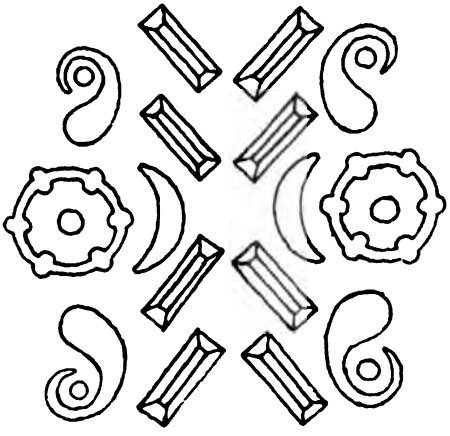
The imitation and degradation of Greek and Roman types upon



(*c*) Pl. XVI, fig. 14—Reverse.

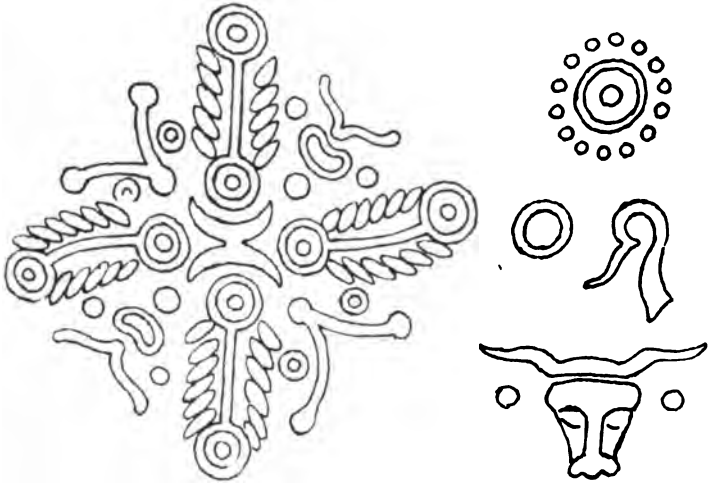
these coins has been very fully expounded, but the differentiation into forms proper to Britain has not been sufficiently elucidated.

Appended are sketches of the devices upon the reverses of several well-known coins completed, and, with each, some of the



(*d.*)

ornaments appearing in the field of its obverse. How far the latter are appropriately British, or are only the fillets, wheels, etc.,

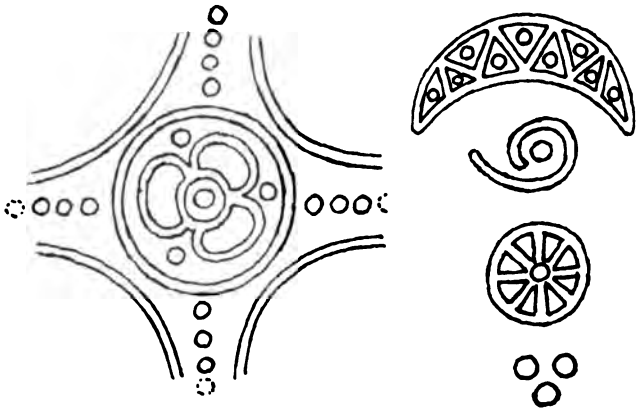


(*e*) Pl. N, fig. 7– Reverse.

of classic art, must be uncertain ; yet, ranged together, a sequence of design appears, which points to a definite and immediate

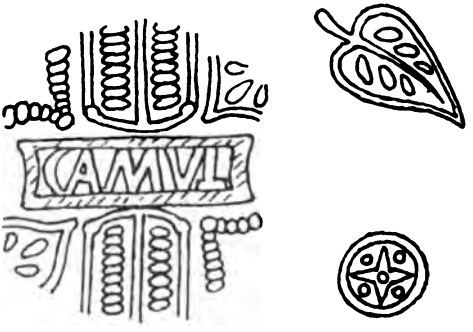
meaning rather than an ignorant repetition of originals misunderstood.

In the case of the reverses, one fact stands out with great clearness: the designers had an idea of the treatment of the circle



(*f*) Pl. XIII, fig. 2—Reverse.

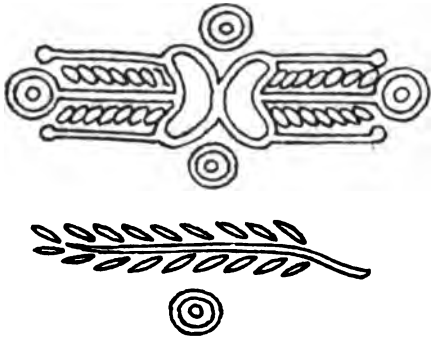
which occurs very rarely in classic art—only, perhaps, in the archaic period of that art, and not much used in medallic art at all until Christian times—that is, the treatment of the device as a



(*g*) Pl. IX, fig. 1—Reverse.

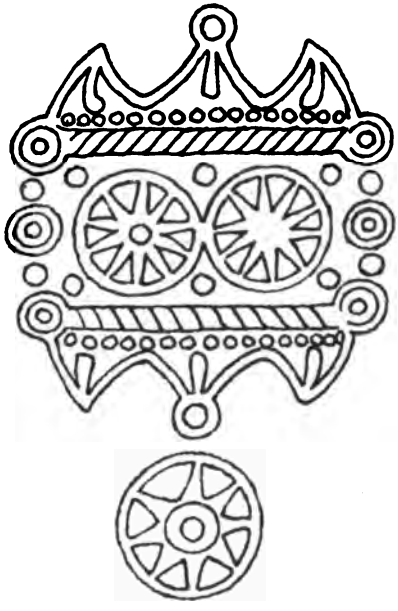
cross. It will be seen from the sketches that, however incongruous the elements, crescents, flower branches, billets, circlets or droplets, the subjective of the designer was a cross into which he gathered his material. This form, so clearly seen in *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, may be traced in all except *i*. The devices *c* and *e*, from this point of view, are specially interesting, as giving, certainly with intention, a cross

in which two limbs are straight, and the other two of the "whirl" type.



(*h*) Pl. N, p. 7—Reverse.

The sketches are completed from electrotypes by Mr. Ready; the plate references added are from Sir John Evans's work.



(*i*) Pl. XIV, figs. 1 and 2—Reverse.

T. H. THOMAS.

MEINI CRED (CREED STONES).—There are in many parts of North Wales erect stones with crosses cut into them; and before these stones, in times not far distant from our days, the people performed their devotions. These stones had a distinctive and suggestive name. They were called *Meini Cred.* The name for these stones is still retained in the neighbourhood of Penmachno, Carnarvonshire. Bishop Morgan, the translator of the Welsh Bible, was born at a farm called Tŷ Mawr in the parish of Penmachno. On the hill above Wybernant there are stones so called locally; and it is said that when the Bishop was a small lad, looking after his father's sheep on the hill by *Bwlch-y-groes*, he was in the habit of going there to say his prayers. His mother was greatly pleased with her son's conduct, and foretold his future greatness from this fact. She was in the habit of saying:—"I expect great things of William, because I have never seen any one more careful than he, in repeating his Paters (*ei baderau*)." It was to these stones that he went to repeat the Lord's Prayer: a habit then common, but falling somewhat into disuse; for it is said that the old people in those parts were in the habit of saying, on observing that lichen was growing in the crosses: "The country is becoming irreligious, for the crosses are filled with lichen."

To understand the above saying, it should be mentioned that the devotees knelt before the stones and moved their fingers within the crosses whilst they repeated the Lord's Prayer; so that if this were often done, the crosses would be cleared of lichen, but when the custom was not vigorously followed, it became evident to those who clung to old habits that the people were neglecting the custom of their forefathers, and the country was thought by the aged to be prayerless, and therefore irreligious, in consequence of this neglect of religious duties.

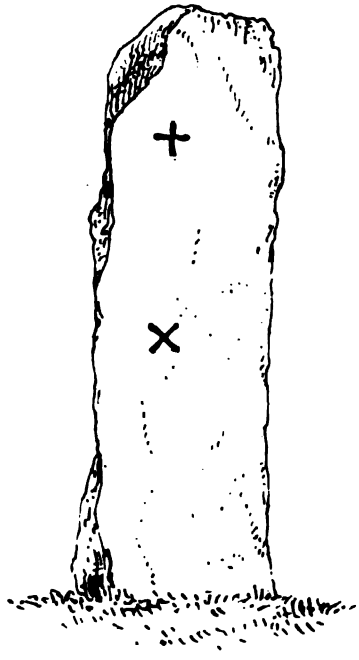
It is not unlikely that, if sought for, many of these erect stones—*Meini Hirion*—with small crosses cut into them, about 2 ins. long from extremity to extremity, may be discovered. It will, however, require sharp inspection to detect these small crosses, for lichen hides them from view; still, it is worth while looking carefully along the surfaces of isolated erect stones wherever seen, among the Welsh mountains, for these crosses.

There is one of these pillar-stones in its original position on the wild mountain called Cefn Bannog, between Clawdd Newydd and Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr. I visited it the first time in company with Mr. Robert Roberts, Clocaenog, near Ruthin. It stands about two miles or so on the right-hand side of the road from Ruthin to Cerrigydrudion. The seeker should go along this road for about six miles, until he comes to a place called Pont Petrual, where he will see a small cottage to the right; and he should there inquire for Cefn Bannog; and then he has a footpath to follow for about two miles, and on the ridge he will observe a single erect stone. This is the one I am about to describe.

Cefn Bannog Maen Cred.—The stone stands on the bare mountain,

on the hill between the north and south watershed. In summer it is a lovely spot, but the imagination can easily depict the solitariness of the scene in winter, with the mountain covered with snow knee-deep, with no house near. But this stone would supply the traveller with instructions as to the direction to be taken, and its appearance would be welcome.

The stone is 4 ft. 5 ins. high, and 1 ft. 2 ins. broad, and about 9 ins. thick. On the side facing the north there are two small



Maen Cred, Cefn Bannog, Denbighshire.

crosses, the lower one being a St. Andrew's cross, and the upper one a small Latin cross. The whole of this side is covered over with greyish lichen, and the wee crosses were not easily seen. A casual observation would reveal nothing, but my companion was not long before he pointed out the indentation of the crosses, for he had seen them before. The arms of each cross, measuring from the spot where the lines intersect, are about 1 in. long.

My companion informed me that travellers were in the habit of saying the *Pader* here, keeping the while their fingers in the cross and moving them, as was the case with the Penmachno stones:

they there asking, by this act, a blessing and protection on their journey.

On the south side of the stone is the following incision :—

1630

H R

which my companion told me were the initials of Hugh Reinallt of Hendre, a house where the travellers, or pilgrims, obtained food and lodgings free; and he further informed me that the farm was held by the tenants on these terms from the Salesbury family. There is another stone, now forming a post to a garden gate, at the first cottage to the south of this stone, with these initials on it. I could not see whether there were any crosses on it, for it was hidden from view, and abutted upon the garden wall.

This stone is a very perfect pillar-stone, with small crosses on it, and it is worth preserving. It is, however, quite unsafe, and any one in those parts who is in need of a post for a garden wicket may, to save expense and trouble, remove this landmark, just as the other one alluded to above has been removed. It is to be hoped, though, that it will not be tampered with.

Llangybi Pillar-stone.—This stone stands in the churchyard at Llangybi, Carnarvonshire. It is near the churchyard wall. It is not a churchyard cross, being simply an undressed *Maen Hir*, with the sacred emblem cut into it. The part above the ground measures 4 ft., or a few inches more. It is not quite uniform in breadth, but it is from 11 ins. to 12 ins. broad, and 8 ins., or thereabouts, thick.

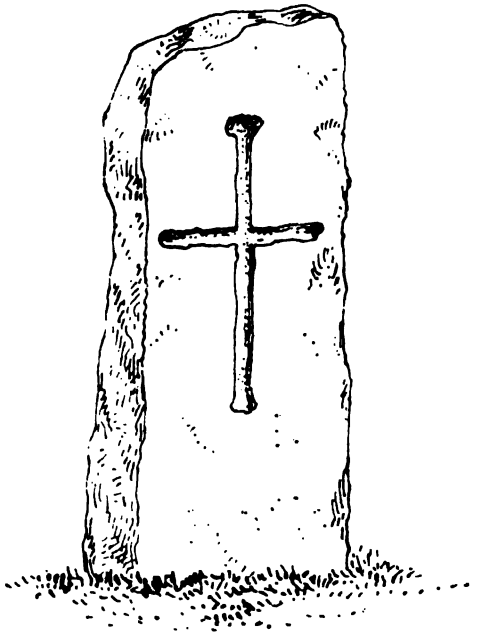
The cross takes up a good part of the surface of the stone, as will be seen on referring to the sketch, fig. 2. The total length of the cross is 1 ft. 3 ins., and breadth 9 ins. I could obtain no information on the spot from the villagers about the cross.

As was the case in the neighbourhood of Nevin, it is probable that this stone was an object of veneration, and that people knelt before it whilst repeating the Pater, and that even before the introduction of Christianity it was venerated.

Before closing my description of these singular stones, I will translate what Mr. Gethin Jones, in his *Gweithiau Gethin*, says about them. What he writes could be said of all other like monuments. He informs the reader that there is a *Maen Cred* near Bwlch-y-groes, on the road between Penmachno and Dolwyddelen, about a mile from Tŷ Mawr, the birthplace of Dr. Morgan. He states that on the stone are many carvings, and many crosses along its surface; which proves that it was highly thought of by the fathers of olden times, when great reverence was shown to the sign of the cross; and he goes on to state that, in the days of their grandfathers, many of whom were then alive, it was a custom to feel the crosses with their fingers, as security for their safety, when travelling over

that mountainous and dangerous district. On p. 391 the author says:—

"The *Meini Cred* have been moved a few yards from the place where originally they stood. The old religious Welsh used the sign of the cross often, and they said, the one to the other, before starting on a journey, '*ymgroesa*', cross yourself. But the protection they had in this neighbourhood were the two *Meini Cred* which



Pillar Stone with Incised Cross at Llangybi, Carnarvonshire.

were placed one on each side the narrow road, so that they could, when praying, place their hands on them and their fingers in the crosses, whilst kneeling before the stones. The crosses measure 4 ins. or 5 ins. long and ½ in. deep, so as to be easily felt of a night; and if the old people saw moss growing in the crosses they said: 'Well, well! the country is becoming bad and prayerless.' . . . The stones are covered over with initials."

A drawing of these stones appears in one of the editions of *Pennant's Tours*.

ELIAS OWEN.

PISCINA AT PORT EYNON, GOWER.—The Piscina figured is preserved

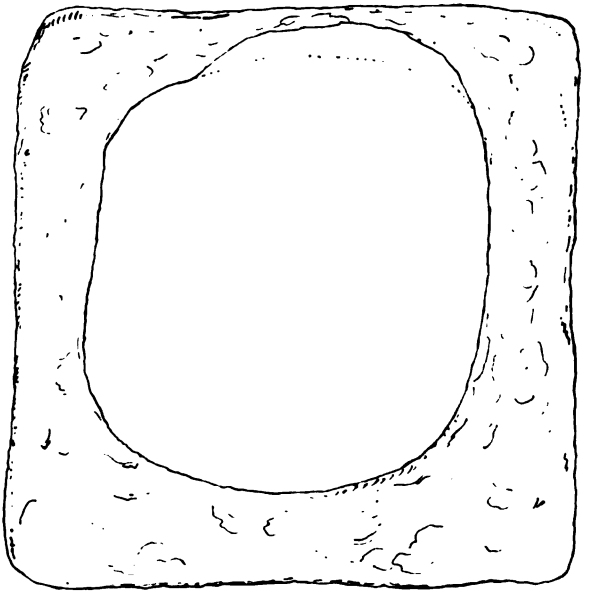


Fig. 1.—Plan of Piscina at Port Eynon, Gower. Scale, ¼ linear.

in Port Eynon church, where it was shown to me by the Rev.

Fig. 2.—Side of Piscina at Port Eynon, Gower. Scale, ¼ linear.

Mr. Melland as perhaps the chief archæological treasure of the church. Undoubtedly a relic of an edifice earlier than almost the

whole of the present building, it may yet be considerably later than the rudeness of the carving at first inclines one to suppose, and belong to the Norman period. Thus the attempt to project the

Fig. 3.—Side of Piscina at Port Eynon, Gower. Scale, ¼ linear.

angles from the under slope may be accounted for. Upon the other hand, the ornament connects the remain with centuries earlier.

Fig. 4.—Side of Piscina at Port Eynon, Gower. Scale, ¼ linear.

Less than two miles away stands the Stonthall Cross, the ornament upon which, Celtic in character, is almost equally deficient in clearness of design and sharpness of execution.

T. H. Thomas.

THE ARMS OF SIR RHYS AP THOMAS, K.G.—Did the Heralds give Sir Rhys, for his arms, three ravens or three choughs?

Ravens or Choughs? this is the Question (*Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., No. 53). The enditement of the "Raven" in favour of the "Cornish chough", put forward by Mr. Egerton Allen in his interesting note in the last number of the *Arch. Camb.*, as being the birds included in the arms of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., and his comfortable settlement, without "reference to the Heralds' College", that "the Heralds of the period" were probably ignorant of Urien "Rheged or his Ravens, but they know St. Thomas of Canterbury and his Choughs", seems to challenge some kind of answer by way of protest, however "futile" as he begins by saying the investigation of the subject may be.

After quoting "Browne Willis" and "Jones and Freeman", etc., in favour of the Raven, Mr. Allen then refers to Burke (*Peerage and Baronetage* for 1860), which mentions "crows". This last element of difficulty may be considered got over by reference to the same publication of a later date, namely, any year from 1874, wherein Sir Bernard Burke has corrected his error, and has entered the raven *sable* in the arms of the Barons Dynevor, who are the lineal male representatives of Sir Rhys.

In his next paragraph Mr. Allen quotes "Ralph Brook, York Herald", who says, in his "catalogue", that he never "saw" any authority for arms of earlier date than those of King Richard I (A.D. 1189-99).

Now, there is at Dynevor at this time an emblazoned pedigree of the family, the ancestors and the descendants of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, which is signed by this very Ralph Brook, York Herald, in the year 1600; and thus supported by such recognition as his own sign manual, this said Ralph Brook has emblazoned the insignia of Urien Rheged and of his descendants, "three ravens *sable*".

Of course, it is admitted that "Heraldic devices as we now use the term", were invented in the latter half of the twelfth century; nevertheless the insignia of the "leaders among men" in the Urien Rheged times were eventually crystallised into, and became, the arms of their descendants; and, as such, were probably well known, and would not have been allowed any change at the Heralds' hands.

To come now to an earlier example in support of the raven.

There is at the present time, in the possession of Earl Cawdor at Golden Grove, a splendidly emblazoned and illuminated pedigree known as the "Vaughan Pedigree Roll", consisting of a series of attached parchment skins, and this Roll is signed by Geo. Owen, "Yorke Herald, 1641"; by John Borough, Garter Principall Kinge of Armes, 1646"; and later on by Henry St. George, Norroy King of Armes, and testified to by John Philipott, "Somersett Herald and Register of the Office of Armes", who refer to the portions "specially testified to under the hand of Sir William Segar, Knt.,

Garter Principall Kinge of Armes", and also to an "auncient pedigree" testified to by John Wroth, Garter Kinge of Armes, "and" which was by him allowed, dated at London, 24th October, fourth King Henry VII (1489); and in this roll is given the insignia of Urien Rheged and of his descendants, including Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., where the raven *sable* is shown throughout; and in order, as it were, to emphasize the distinction, the chough is emblazoned in its true colours impaled with the ravens of Urien Rheged, being the insignia of the "Earl" of Cornwall, whose daughter Margaret he had married.

There is a third emblazoned pedigree produced by the Heralds of the College, and which is in my possession, being the ancestry of the family of "Philips of Slebeds", or Slebech, co. Pembroke, in which the emblazonment gives the ravens *sable* on the shield *argent*, and there is no sign of a chough anywhere.

And, lastly, the garter-plate of Sir Rhys, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, has a shield with the simple coat (*argent*, a chevron between three ravens *sable*), and above is a helmet, and on a wreath merely a raven, above, the motto "Secret et hardy", and beneath, "Mis^r Ris ap Thomas baneret"; and in Vincent's *Knights of the Garter*, a MS. of the time, are the arms of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, "quarterly one and four *argent*, a chevron inter three ravens *sable*, two and three *argent* on a cross *sable*, five crescents *or*, in the first quarter a spear's head *gules*".

I may add that Lewys Glyn Cothi, describing the arms of Morgan ap Thomas, the brother of Sir Rhys, mentions the three ravens in the first quarter, see Cowydd IV, Dosparth II, of his poems.

Derwydd. ALAN STEPNEY-GULSTON.

CARVED AND INCISED STONES AT TREMEIRCHION, FLINTS.—For the photograph from which fig. 1 was prepared, the Rev. C. Newdigate is indebted to the courtesy of Dr. H. Stolterfoth, of Chester. The other cuts are from photographs taken for the purpose of this article.

THE HAVERFORDWEST MEETING.—The date of the Annual Meeting to be held at Haverfordwest, under the presidency of Sir Owen Scourfield, Bart., is fixed for August 16th to 21st.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Treasurer's Account of Receipts and Payments for the Year ended December 31st, 1896.

RECEIPTS.

1896.		£	s.	d.
	To Amount of Subscriptions received from English and Foreign Subscribers	52	10	0
	„ Ditto in respect of North Wales subscribers	88	7	0
	„ Ditto in respect of South Wales Subscribers	160	13	0
	„ Ditto in respect of the Marches	21	0	0
Jan. 7.	„ Dividend on Consols	1	7	10
April 8.	„ Ditto	1	7	10
July 7.	„ Ditto	1	7	10
Oct. 6.	„ Ditto	1	7	10
1897.				
Jan. 6.	„ Ditto	1	7	10
	„ Pembrokeshire Survey account for maps, etc.	4	1	1
	„ Amounts received from Oswestry Meeting	32	13	6
		£366	3	9

PAYMENTS.

1896.		£	s.	d.
	By balance due to Treasurer	5	12	7
Dec. 31.	„ General Secretary for North Wales, salary and disbursements for 1896	18	1	6
	„ General Secretary for South Wales, disbursements, 1896	3	17	6
	„ Treasurer, disbursements	0	7	9
	„ Editor, salary and disbursements	42	0	0
	„ Bedford Press, printing and publishing	176	19	6
	„ Mr. A. E. Smith, illustrations	60	0	0
	„ General Secretary for North Wales, expenses *re* Oswestry Meeting	2	2	2
	„ Mr. D. Nutt, storage	6	0	0
	„ Mr. Harold Hughes, for inscription on Old Cross at Penmon	2	10	0
	„ Mr. Arnett, for Maps	0	10	0
	„ Bank charges	3	18	5
	„ Balance in hand	44	4	4
		£366	3	9

J. LLOYD GRIFFITH, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct by

D. R. THOMAS,
ELIAS OWEN.

March 30, 1897.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. XIV, NO. LV.

JULY 1897.

FLINTSHIRE GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

BY ERNEST ARTHUR EBBLEWHITE, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 16.)

XXI.—LLANASA (*continued*).

In 1681 John Ellice, son of Hugh Ellice of Axtyn, in this parish, yeoman, married Katherine Jones, spinster, the eldest daughter of John Rogers of Gwespyr, in this parish, mariner, by Mary his wife, and on the 10th February 1681-2, the bride's father settled upon their marriage a bakehouse and certain lands in Gwespyr, as well as the reversion (subject to the life interest or dower of the said Mary Rogers) of a messuage called "y Tû Newydd", and fields called "Pwll y calch y roft", "Bach yr Oyn issa", and "Bach yr Oyn ganol." The trustees to the marriage settlement were Peter Hughes of Gwespyr, and Jeremy Ellice of Trelogan, gentlemen. The deed is signed "the marke **J** of John Rogers", but the seal is damaged. Charles Hughes, Peter Hughes (not the trustee), and Robert Jones, witnessed the execution of the deed and livery of seisin (*Rhûal Muniments*).

On the 11th January 1732-3, Letters of Administration were granted by the Bishop of St. Asaph in the estate of Einion Thomas, of this parish, yeoman.

I have recently obtained the following extracts from the Bishop's Register Transcripts :—

"1664. Julius filius Thomæ Cæsar ex uxore ejus baptizatus fuit vicesimo sexto die Julij anno supradicto.

1673. Hugo Lewis de Axton, sartor vestiorius, sepultus fuit 28° die Aprilis."

XXII.—LLANEFYDD.

THE original institution of the first rector to be appointed to the parish and parish church of Llanefydd, "in the counties of Flint and Denbigh", after the Restoration, is still in a very good state of preservation at Rhûal. It was issued by Richard Chaworth, Esq., LL.D., Vicar-General to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in favour of Thomas Price, Clerk, B.D., on the 8th August 1660. The living had become vacant by the death of William "Aiskue" (*Ayscough* or *Askew*), D.D. The document is signed by "W^nne Sherman Reg^rius", and countersigned "Jh. Exton". Although the seal of the Vicar-General is much damaged, the arms can be identified as those of the See of Canterbury impaling *Barry of eight . . . . and . . . . an orle of martlets . . . .* for Chaworth.

The original registers of this parish commence in 1721.

XXIII.—HIGH SHERIFFS AND DEPUTY SHERIFFS, 1640.

AT the end of *Harleian Manuscript* 1970 (British Museum), which is a volume of Randle Holme's genealogical collections relating to Wales, is a list of the names of all the High Sheriffs of the co. Flint, with their Deputy Sheriffs, since the Ordinance of Wales in the 32nd year of King Henry VIII. The list was compiled by Randle Holme from information afforded him by "Mr. Griffith of Pant-y-Llondy", apparently in 1650 or 1651. In reference to the dates at the commencement of each line, it should be borne in mind that each sheriff served for part of two years.

High Sheriffs.	Deputy Sheriffs.
1541-2. Roger Puleston of Embrall, Kt. ...	Elles ap Howell ap Day of .....
1542. Peter Mutton of Rudland, Esqr. ...	Robert ap Rees ap Dauid of .....
1543. Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer, Kt. ...	Dauid ap Euan ap Rob't of .....
1544. John Houlford of Houlford in Com' Cestr', Kt.	Rafe Broughton of Yscoyd
1545. Randle Lloyd of Tallorn, Esqr. ...	Randle Lloyed, Junior, his sonne
1546. John Edwards of Chirke, Esq. ...	Will'm Vaughan of .....
1547. Henry Conway of Sughton, Esqr. ...	Owen Bach of .....
1548. John Griffeth of Carus, Esqr. ...	Dauid ap Euan ap Rob't of .....
1549. John Salisbury of Lleweny, Co' Denbigh, Kt.	Randle Lloyd of Tallorne, Jun'
1550. John Massy of Bodington, Com' Cestr', Kt.	Dauid Jones of .....
1551. John Dauies of Brodelane in Hawordyn, Esqr.	Richard Jones of .....
1552. Richard Grosvenor of Eaton, Com' Cestr', Esqr.	John Griffith ap Hugh of .....
1553. Peires Mostyn of Talacrey, Esqr. ...	Will'm Mostyn, his 2 sonne
1554. Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer, Kt., sonne of Sr. Tho', above	Thomas Leigh of .....
1555. Rafe Dutton of Hatton, Com' Cestrie, Esqr.	John Holland of .....
1556. Roger Brereton of Halghton, Esqr.	Bartholomew Massy, brother to Rog' Massy of Codington
1557. John Griffith of Carus, Esq., 2 tyme	Peires Griffeth, his base brother
1558. Humphrey Dymock of Willington, Esqr.	John Yonge of Hanmer
1559. John Conway of Potrithan, Esqr. ...	William Thomas of .....
1560. William Hanmer of Fennes, Esqr....	William Hanmer, Jun', his sonne
1561. William Mostyn, Sen', of Mostyn, Esqr.	Thomas Mostyn, his sonne & heyre
1562. John Treuor of Alington, Esqr. ...	John Spicer of Flint
1563. Henry Parry of Greenfeild, Esqr. ...	William Edwards of .....
1564. William Mostyn, Jun', of Basingwerke or Talacrey	Oliuer Jones of .....
1565. John Griffeth of Carus, Esqr. (3 tyme)	Peires Griffeth his base brother
1566. Roger Brewrton of Halghton, Esqr. (2 tyme)	Morris Jones of .....
1567. Roger Puleston of Embrall, Esqr. ...	Thomas Puleston (his yonger sonne) of Lightwood
1568. William Mostyn, sen', of Mostyn, Esqr.	Oliuer Jones of .....
1569. Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer, Kt. ..	Thomas Leigh of .....
1570. John Treuor of Alington, Esqr. ...	William Thomas of .....
1571. John Griffeth of Carus (4th tyme)	William Thomas of .....
1572. Peires Mostyn of Talacre, the yonger, Esqr.	Morris Jones
1573. Roger Puleston of Embrall, Esqr. ...	Tho' Pulston of Leghtwood, his sonne
1574. Lancelot Bostock of Holte, Esqr., co' Denbigh	Edward Ledsham of .....
1575. William Mostyn, Jun' of Talacrey, fil' Peirs, Esqr.	Roger Bell of .....
1576. John Edwards of Chirke, fil' Joh'is, Esqr.	William Thomas of .....
1577. Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn, Esqr. ...	Oliuer Jones of .....
1578. George Rauenscroft of Bretton, Esqr,	John Crachley of Kinerton
1579. Henry Parry of Greenfeild, Esqre....	William Edwards of .....

High Sheriffs.	Deputy Sheriffs.
1580. Roger Brereton of Halghton, Esqr.	Morris Jones of .....
1581. Peires Griffeth of Carus, Esqr. ...	Kendrick ap Ieuan of Northop
1582. Hugh Cholmley of Cholmley, Com' Cestrie, Kt.	Thomas Burrowes of Nantwich, his tenant
1583. John Hanmer of Hanmer, Esqr. ...	John Humphrey of Place y Bellen
1584. John Conway of Potridan (*Bodrhyddan*), Esqr.	Thomas Hughes of Prestatyn
1585. John Hope of Queene Hope and Broughton, Esqr.	John Crichley of Kinderton
1586. Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn, Esqr. ...	Oliuer Jones of .....
1587. William Hanmer of Fennes, Esqr....	Henry Billinge of .....
1588. Peires Mostyn of Talacrey, Esqr. ...	Hugh Edwards of .....
1589. Peirs Griffeth of Carus, Esqr. (2 tyme)	Henry Walter of .....
1590. John Lloyd of Yale, Esqr. ...	John Crichley of Kinderton
1591. Roger Brereton of Ozaker and Halton, Esqr.	Henry Billinges
1592. Euan Edwards of ..., Esqr. ...	Kendrick ap Ieuan of Northop
1593. William Griffeth of Pantollongdy, Esqr.	Tho' Hughes of Prestatyn
1594. Thomas Rauenscroft of Bretton, Esqr.	John Crichley of Kinderton
1595. Robert Dauies of Gowzanay (*Gwysaneâ*), Esqr.	John Bingley of Broughton
1596. William Hanmer, Esqr., of Fenns ...	Humphrey Yonge of Hanmer
1597. Roger Puleston of Embrall, Esqr. ...	Roger Dauies of Dungrey & Ou'rton Madock
1598. Thomas Euans of Northop, Esqr. ...	Kendrick ap Euan of Northop
1599. John Conway of Potrydan, Esqr. (2 tyme)	Llewys ap Howell of .....
1600. William Dimock of Willington, Esqr.	Dauid Wyn of .....
1601. Roger Salisbury of Ba'hegrick (*Bache-graig*), Com' Denbigh, Esqr.	John Humphrey of Place y Bellyn or Flynt
1602. John Lloyd of ..., Esqr. ...	Roger Williams of .....
1603. George Hope of Bro'ghton and Dodleston, Esqr.	Roger Burton of .....
1604. John Conway, Kt., of Potridan (*Bodrhyddan*)	John Edwards ap Hugh ap Rees Mundeg of Disart (*Dyserth*), not of Stansty
1605. Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer, Kt. ...	John Humphreys of Flynt or Place y Bellyn
1606. Thomas Rauenscroft of Bretton, Esqr. (2 tyme)	Thomas Crichley, sonne of John of Kinderton
1607. Robert Dauies of Gowzaney, Esqr. (2 tyme)	John Euans of Lloynoygryn (*Llwyn-eyryn*)
1608. Roger Mostyn of Mostyn, Kt. ...	Richard Jones of Carnarvonshier
1609. William Hanmer of Fenns, Kt. ...	Hugh Williams of .....
1610. Thomas Hughes of Prestatyn, who was vnder Sheriffe before	Henry Hughes, his 3 sonne
1611. Peter Pen'ant of Byghton, Esqr. ...	John Edwards of *Stanstey* (*erased*), Disserth by Ridland (supra)
1612. Thomas Mostyn of Rhudd, Esqr., bro' to Sr. Rog'	John Humphey (*Humphrey*) of Place y Bellen
1613. Richard Treuor of Alington, Kt. ...	John Kendrick of Marchwheele (*Marchwiel*)
1614. Thomas Griffith of Pantllongdey, Esqr. (Collector of this note of Sheriffs)	Thomas ap Rich' ap Ellis of .....

High Sheriffs.	Deputy Sheriffs.
1615. Roger Salisbury of Bahegrig, Esqr. (2 tyme)	Thomas Crichley of Kinderton
1616. Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer, Kt. ...	John Humphrey of Place-y Bellyn
1617. William Dymock of Willington, Esqr.	Dauid Wyn of ..... (mort) Edward Humphrey of .....
1618. Peirs Holland of Vardreff, Com' Denbigh, Esqr.	Hugh Jones of St. George, Com' Denbigh
1619. Thomas Humphreys of Bodlwythan (*Bodlewyddan*), Esqr.	Edward Humphreys, his sonne
1620. Edward Morgan of Goulgraue, Esqr.	Will'm Wynne of .....
1621. John Hanmer of Hanmer, Baronett (2 tyme)	Thomas Llewys of .....
1622. Thomas Johnes of Halkyn, Esqr. ...	John Jones, his sonne
1623. John Broughton of Broughton, Esqr.	Humphrey Jones of .....
1624. Thomas Euans of Northop, Esqr. ...	William Wyn of .....
1625. Thomas Brereton of Ozaker in Com' Cestrie, Kt.	Rob't Price of Hope
1626. Roger Mostyn of Mostyn, Kt. (2 tyme)	Humphrey Jones of.....
1627. Thomas Mostyn of Rhudd his brother (2 tyme)	Edward Humphreys of .....
1628. Phillip Ouldfeild of Somerford, Com' Cestr', Kt., who marr' the widow of Tho' Hanmer of fenns	Daniell Mathew of .....
1629. Edward Hughes of Galthog, Esqr....	William Wyn of .....
1630. Peirs Conway of Ruthland, Esqr. ...	John Conway, his sonne
1631. Humphrey Dymock of Willington, Esqr.	Humphrey Johnes of .....
1632. Thomas Pen'ant of Bighton, Esqr....	Edward Spicer of .....
1633. Richard Parry of Kum (*Cwm*), Esqr.	Thomas Lewys of .....
1634. Peter Griffeth of Carus, Esqr. ...	John Madocks of .....
1635. Thomas Salisbury of Flynt, Esq. ...	Thomas Price of .....
1636. Thomas Mostyn of Rhudd, Esqr. (2 tyme)	Edward Spicer of .....
1637. Thomas Whitley of Aston, Esqr. ...	Thomas Price of .....
1638 & 1639 John Eaton of Lleeswood, Esqr. ...	Thomas Euans of .....

Randle Holme has not made any attempt to complete the list to the date at which he compiled it. In 1640 Ralph Hughes of Llewerllyd, in the parish of Dyserth, Esq., was High Sheriff, and employed Holme to paint his trumpeters' banners.

XXIV.—CILCAIN (*continued*).

Thomas Lloyd ap John ap Rees, of this parish, gentleman, took a bond on the 18th April, 1620, in £42 from John Lloyd of Isleworth, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, for the performance of the covenants of a deed of feoffment of the same date. The seal of John Lloyd who signs the bond contains a shield of arms

(. . . . *a lion rampant* . . . .). The witnesses were David Wynne, John ap Edward, Thomas Williames, John ap John Rees, Thomas Morgan and Edward Lloide.

John Lloyd ap Gruffith Lloyd, of this parish, gentleman, and Thomas ap John Lloyd of the same, gentleman, his son and heir apparent, sold on the 1st September 1582, to David Lloyd ap Thomas Lloyd, also of the same parish, gentleman, for £75, a messuage, barn, oven-house, etc., in Treirkeven, then occupied by Luce verch Edward, widow, and formerly the property of Gruffith Lloyd ap John, deceased (the father of the said John Lloyd); the moiety of a water corn mill there called "Melyn Alyn"; a parcel of land there containing three roods, called "y Thole vghe ben y velyn"; a parcel of ground there called "y Thole isslawr velyn"; another parcel of ground there containing two roods, called "y Thole vgha"; another parcel of ground there containing two acres, called "Pen issa yr Nant"; another parcel of land there lying between "Fynnon Hylyn", and the lands of the said David Lloyd; a moiety of a parcel of ground there called "y Vron"; another moiety of a parcel of ground there near the oven-house, called "yr arth Gewaig"; and a little quillet of ground there called "y Thole vgha", to hold to the said David Lloyd and his heirs for ever. There are no seals to the deed. The grantors each made their mark (a cross) on the Indenture, which was witnessed by Edward Morgan, Robert Gruffith Lloyd, Ellis ap Howell ap Madoc, John ap Rees ap Harry, Ievan ap Richard and Thomas Jenkins. Livery and seisin were executed in the presence of David Thomas Taylor, Thomas Gyld, Thomas ap Hugh Eden' (*Ednyved*), Humphrey ap Thomas Lloyd, John ap Thomas Lloyd, Rice ap Harry ap Ievan ap Rees, David ap Rees ap Ievan ap Rees, Thomas ap David Lloyd and Gruffith Pennant (*Rhûal Muniments*).

There are twenty-two bundles of Register Transcripts prior to 1711 relating to this parish in the St. Asaph

Registry: 1662, 1665, 1666, 1668, 1672, 1674, 1677, 1686, 1688, 1689, 1691, 1693, 1694, 1696, 1699, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1706, 1708, 1709, 1710. The following entries are extracted from them :—

"1666. Peeter Hughes, sonne to Hugh Kenricke, and Jane ach Thomas his wife, was baptized the 29 of July.

"1672-3. Thomas Griffith and Ales Hughes, both of Kilken, were married the 10 day of February; Bannis Editis.

"Margaret Hughes, daughter of Hugh Jones, was buried the 26 of February.

"1677. Edward, base sonne to John Hughes of Llanellian, and Elizabeth John ap Ellis, was baptized the 18th of December.

"1678. Edward, base sonne to John Hughes of Llanellian, and Elizabeth ach John ap Ellis, was buried 14 April.

"1689. Jane, daughter of Edward Ames, miner, buried 14 August.

"Edward Ames, miner, buried 18th September.

"1696. John Roberts of Kilken and Luce Hughes of the same, married 25 August; Bannis Editis.

"1706-7. Johannis Davies et Maria Hughes, matrimonio conjuncti."

The entries are signed by Kenrick Hughes, churchwarden.

"1708-9. Peter Hughes, vicar.

"1710. Edward ap Thomas of Northop and Mary Hughes of this parish, married 31 July.

"1710-11. William Davies and Jonett Hughes, both of this parish, married 25 January."

XXV.—ST. ASAPH (*continued*).

I HAVE recently obtained the following additional entries from the Bishop's transcripts of the Registers :—

"1666. George, L$_d$ Bushop of St Asaph, buried the 6th day of December. (*The Right Rev. George Griffith, formerly Archdeacon of St Asaph, who was consecrated in* 1660, *after the See had been vacant for some nine years.*)

"1667. Willimus Clearke, Vicar Choralis in Eccl'ia Cathedralis Asaphen', sepult' fuit 11° April'.

"1674 (1675). Marg^t Williams & Billy Price bur^d 11 February. (*This William Price doubtless came out of one of the English counties, as the nickname of 'Billy' is very rare in Wales.*)

"1706. John Jones, Curate of Ysceifiog, buried 2 Aug.
"Dr Daniel Price, Dean of St Asaph, buried 9 Nov.

"1707. Mr Thomas Lewis, Vicar, buried 4 April."

In the month of September 1591, Thomas Powell conveyed his interest in a piece of land called "Maes-y-Wayn", in the township of Kilowen in this parish, to Hugh Piers of Llewerllyd, gentleman, and the indenture or its counterpart was subsequently used to bind the parish register of Dyserth (see next article, DEANERY OF TEGENGLE).

The following most interesting entry occurs in the register of the Parish Church:—

"Richard Bodychen Hughes, the eldest son of William Hughes (*of Brynpolyn in the parish*), of St Asaph, in the county of flint gent', La^w fully begotten on the body of Margered his now wife, late of Bodychen in the Ile of Anglisey being the onely daughter of Elizabeth bodychen of Bodychen afores'd, wass borne the 21th day of Aprill ab^t 3 of the Clocke in the morneing, and xtened in this p'ish Church on low sunday Eve, being the 23th of the same month, 1693."

The said William and Elizabeth Hughes had several other children, including a daughter Elizabeth, wife of John Prydderch of Cerriggwyddel and Ty Calch, who is mentioned in the following pedigree of Prydderch of Tregairn Sir Fôn:—

Collwyn ap Tangno, Lord of Efinoydd, Ardudwy, and part of Llyn, co. Carnarvon, Chief of the Fifth Noble Tribe. *Arms: Sable,* **a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys** *argent.*

Merwydd ap Collwyn.

Gwgan ap Merwydd.

a

a

Eneon ap Gwgan.

Maredudd ap Eneon.

Howel ap Maredudd. .., verch Griffith ap Ednyfed Vychan.

Gruffydd ap Howel, second son. Angharad, verch Tegwared Baiswen.

Eneon ap Gryffydd of Efloneth. Nest, verch Gruffydd ap Adda ap Gruffydd.

Evan ap Eneon. Gwenhwyfar, verch Ynner Vychan of Nanney.

Madoc ap Evan of Aberkin, co. Merioneth. Living 3 Henry V. Gwerfyl, verch Rhys ap Tudor of Erddriniog.

Howel ap Madoc. Living 28 August 1442. Mallt, verch Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Madoc Gloddaeth.

Rhys ap Howel. Living 31 Henry VI. Mawd, verch Robert ap Mredydd ap Ifan ap Mredydd.

Rhydderch ap Rhys ap Tregaian. Elin, verch Rhys ap Llewelyn of Halkin.

John ap Rhydderch, or Prydderch. Elizabeth, verch Gruffydd ap John ap Mredydd of Isallt.

John Prydderch bach (*the younger*). Elin, verch Gruffydd ap Robert Vychan of Talhenbont.

John Prydderch. Marsley, verch Dafydd Llwyd of Llysdulas, by Gwen, verch Owen ap Hugh of Bodeon.

John Prydderch. Ursula Howard.

George Prydderch of Cerrig-gwyddel and Ty Calch, co. Anglesey, second son. Died in January 1696. Catherine, daughter and heir of Owen Owens of Cerrig-gwyddel.

John Prydderch of Cerrigwyddel aforesaid, eldest son and heir. Living 1723. Elizabeth, daughter of William Hughes of Brynpolyn, St. Asaph, above-named. She married secondly Owen David, and thirdly Hugh Thomas of Chwaen issa.

b

b

John Prydderch of Lledwigan, co. Anglesey, gent. Born 1720. Drowned 5 Dec. 1785. Buried at Llangristiolys, M. I. — Jane, daughter of ... Griffith of Lledwigan, and probably sister of John Griffith, clerk, Rector of Llangristiolys, who died 1779, aged 40.

William Prydderch of Ty Calch. Born 1751. Died 17 Sept. 1863. Buried at Llangristiolys, M. I. — Elizabeth Edwards of Bodwina, Gwalchmai. Married (first wife) there 5 Apr. 1774. Died 10 May 1793. Buried at Llangristiolys.

Rev. John Prydderch of Ty Calch and Dyffryn Gwyn, Penmynydd, eldest son. Born 5 Dec. 1774. Died 28 Feb. 1864. Buried at Llangristiolys, M. I. — Elizabeth Rowlands of Ty Fry. Born 1779. Married at Penmynydd 22 June 1802. Died 1 Feb. 1818. Buried at Llangristiolys, M. I.

Rev. William Williams of Ty Calch (*jure uxoris*). Born 2 Sept. 1806. Died 30 June 1884. Buried at Llangristiolys, M. I. — Emma Prydderch, second and youngest dau. and coheir. Born 27 Nov. 1806. Married at Penmynydd 22 May 1839. Died 14 Mar. 1892. Buried at Llangristiolys, M. I.

v

I am greatly indebted to Mr. William Prydderch Williams, Secretary to the British and Foreign School Society (the third son of the late Mrs. Emma Williams), and to Mr. Hughes of Kinmel, for valuable assistance in compiling this pedigree.

XXVI.—DEANERY OF TEGENGLE.

THE following notes of special entries were extracted by me from the Bishop's Transcripts of Parish Registers at the Diocesan Registry :—

WHITFORD.

"1682. (*This Churchwarden's Presentment is with the Registers*). We p^r^sent the want of y^t^ Act against swearinge of ye 21th of King's James, wch is to be read in our church once every year. Wee p^r^sent ye want of ye King's Armes in our Church.

HENRY HUGHES } *Wardens.*
THOMAS EDWARDS }

"1683. Thomas filius Jo' Civilbothom bapt'us 13° Maij.

"1704. A poor Beggar boy found dead uppon the mountaine buryed 29 March.

"1706. William ye son of Hamlet Moris bapt' 7 Nov." (*In earlier entries of other children the father's Christian name is given as 'Hamnet' and 'Hanmet'.*)

CAERWYS.

"1639. Robert Owens, Vicar, buried.

"1685. The return is headed 'Copia vera Registri parochialis Caerwys constans ex Baptologio, Necrologio, & Gamologio, seu matricula Baptizatoru', Sepultoru', & Matrimonialiu'.'

"1701 (1702). Hugh Price, Rector of Caerwys, buried 19 Feb."

NANNERCH.

"1686. Robert Jones, Vicar of Northop, buried 5 April."

FLINT.

"1700. Maria filia Rogeri Nicholas, Ergastular', illegit' ex corp're Mariae Cobland (*nata*) 8o die & babt' 10o die Junij." (*Literally an* 'ergastularius' *would be the superintendent of the* '*ergastulum*', *a place where slaves in chains were obliged to work. In the present case the word doubtless stands for either* '*Master of the Workhouse*', *or* '*Warder of the Gaol*'.)

NORTHOP.

"1696. Joannes f' Wilielmi Williamson de Leadbrook Minor et Rhodes ux' ej' bapt' July 2d nat: Junij 2do.

"1700. Franciscus Leatherbarrow de Liverpool sepultus fuit May 16to."

DYSERTH.

There are very few Transcripts for this parish, including only nineteen prior to 1711, namely, 1672, 1674, 1681, 1683, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1699, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1706, 1708, 1709, and 1710.

The original registers are also in a very unfortunate condition prior to 1677, the first volume having many gaps and the second having disappeared entirely. There are baptisms, marriages and burials for 1610, 1611, 1614, 1615 (deficient), 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625 (deficient), 1635 (deficient), and 1636. The following entry will account for some of the deficiencies :—

"Here somme undiscreit p' sonne" (*the word* "vandal" *would be more appropriate*) "findinge the church Coffer oppenn did with a Kniffe cutt of all that was writtenn from anno dom' 1625 until anno 1635, all w'ch wanteth in this booke.

"MAURICE VAUGHAN cler'
Curat' i'd'm."

The cover of the first volume is composed of the fragments of two deeds, the first dated September 1587, and the second September 1591. By the earlier, to which William Vaughan, John Roberts, Hugh Gruffith, Thomas ap Hugh, and William ap Hugh were witnesses, Hugh Piers of Llewerllyd, in this parish, gentleman, grants to his sons, Edward Piers and Thomas Hughes, an annuity in trust for his daughter, Katherine verch Hugh. The later deed is referred to in the previous article, ST. ASAPH (XXV).

In the months of January and February 1668-9, collections were made in the churches throughout this Deanery, and the other Deaneries of the Diocese of St. Asaph, for the sufferers by the Great Fire of London, 1666; and I have seen several returns in the following form, some of which are enrolled with the Register Transcripts :—

"Parish of ——— Deanery of ——— 1668. February. Collected the — day for the Poor in London that sustained loss by that dreadful fire, according to His Majesty's Proclamation in that behalf dated September the twenty sixth 1668 the sum of — shillings — pence, which was received by ——— and ——— churchwardens.

"——— Rector or Vicar."

In this, as in all other dioceses, the obtaining of a marriage licence, prior to the passing of *An Act for the better preventing of Clandestine Marriages* (27 George II), was a very simple and inexpensive matter. It only became a comparative luxury after 1754, when marriages by banns became so popular.

In the bundles of marriage licence bonds at St. Asaph are several letters from Surrogates written to the Diocesan Registrar bearing on my statement; and,

although the instance I have chosen does not relate to Flintshire, the tenour of this letter is similar to others which were sent in by the clergy of the Rural Deanery of Tegengle.

"June y^e 2_d (*16*)93.

"Good Mr. Lloyd

"I crave leave to beg your favour for granting y^e Bearer a Licence in order for a solemnization of Mar'iage betweene two ordinary serv'ts of this Par'sh & neighbou^rhood; the young man I know can'ot be worth n't above 4^s or 5^s and has n't but his owne industry for his maintena'ce (& y^t) since his father & mother dyed but in a mean plowman's service. The young woman I am n't acquainted w'th but I know her friends, relation & service can'ot exceed ye other; knowing full well there can be no danger of either side I desire you'le direct your Li' to

"Your most humble Serv',
"DAV' MAURICE, Cl'r',
"Curate of Chapel Garmon.

"For The Honoured
"Mr. JOHN LLOYD,
"Register at St. Asaph,
"These."

The names of the parties are given as "Stephen Thomas of Capel Garmon, and Elizabeth verch Thomas of the same, spinster."

The marriage licence bonds show that there was always a comparatively small number of weddings during the summer months, for the reason probably that they were discouraged by the clergy.

"Marriage comes in on the 13th of January, and at Septuagesima Sunday it is out again until Low Sunday, at which time it comes in again and goes not out till Rogation Sunday; thence it is unforbidden until Trinity Sunday; from thence it is forbidden until Advent Sunday, and comes not in again till the 13th of January" (Sir Cuthbert Sharpe's *Chronicon Mirabile*).

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Tegengle, or Englefield, prior to 1814, which must be of the utmost value and importance, both for legal and historical purposes, are not in the custody of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests, as are the records

of a later date, but are probably in the keeping of Sir Wyndham Charles Hanmer, Baronet, as indicated in my article on Hanmer (XIV).

XXVII.—HOPE (*continued*).

I HAVE in my possession a quarto manuscript of Welsh genealogies which was given to me by Mr. Edward Humphrey Owen, F.S.A., of Ty Coch, near Carnarvon, a few years since. It consists of 136 pages, closely written in Elizabethan court-hand, and numbered consecutively by folios from 69 to 136. In dissecting the cover I found that it was padded with fragments of a lawyer's letter, written about 1560, from which the writer's name has been torn off. The letter is addressed "To my Lovinge Cossen John Mathewe, at his house in the Chepe, delliu^{r} thise," and originally enclosed a subpœna upon "David ap Madocke ap David and Francis ap John Thomas." The signatures of "William Phillips," "Edward Maelor," and "Francis Buckley," appear on one of the pieces of the letter. The manuscript itself is well written in black and red inks, entirely in Welsh, and was probably the work of Griffith Hughes, the Deputy Herald, or of one of his assistants. On folio 132 is the pedigree of Eyton of Eyton, in the county of Denbigh, here given :—

"Roger Evtton o Evtton ap John ap Gruff' Evtton ap D'd Evtton ap Ll'n ap Edn' ac val Jac' Morgan ap Ll'n ddwy ddolen Kynhyn ar y mark yma:

"Mam Roger Evtton oedd Ellen v^{ch} Pirs or hob:

"Mam . . . (*The word* 'Mam' *with a blank in each case as here indicated, occurs four times, one under the other*).

"Mam John ap Gruff' oedd Annes v^{ch} Will'm Evtton o Evtton ap John Evtton ap Siamys ap Mad' ap Ieuan ap Mad' ap Ll'n ap Griffri ap Kadwgon ap Meilir Evtton ap Elidir ap Rys Sais o Evtton jach Will'mi Evtton a gair yn Jac' ifrawd Elis Evtton yn y 119 or dolenne ar y mark yma:

"Mam Annes v^{ch} Will'm Evtton oedd Lowri v^{z} Tud^{r} Vychan ap Gwilym ap Gruff' ap Gwylym ap Heilin ap Sr Tud^{r} Marchoc ap Edw' Vych'n:

"Mam Lowri oedd Annes v^ch Robert ap Richard ap Roger Pulston hen Jac' Annes agair yn Jac' Mad' ap Robert ibrawd yn y or dolenne ar y mark hwnn:

"Mam Tud^r Vychan oedd Morvydd v^ch Gronw ap Tud^r ap Gronw ap Tud^r ap Gronw ap Edw' Vychan:

"Mam Morvydd oedd Myfanwy v^ch Jer' ddv ap Edw' Gam ap Jer' Voel:

"Mam Jer' ddv oedd Gwladus v^ch Ll'n ap Mad' ap Engion ac Ivch *Dawid* (*query, indistinct*) ap Edwin V'n or pv Llwyth Jach Edw' gam agair yn Jach . . . (*torn*) Gruff ap Jer' Voel yn y 109 or dolene ar y mark yma."

About the middle of the sixteenth century, the then representative of this family of Eyton of Eyton had a fourth son Thomas Eyton, who became the ancestor of the Eytons of Hope Owen. He used for arms, *a lion rampant on an ermine field, with a martlet for cadency in canton.* As the Eytons claim descent from Tudor Trevor, it is curious that the division of the field *per bend sinister* should have been omitted. Such omission was, however, officially allowed by Robert Chaloner, Lancaster Herald, and Francis Sandford, Rouge Dragon, as Deputies for William Dugdale, Norroy, on Friday, the 22nd July, 1670. Mr. William Eyton, of Hope Owen, attended before the Heralds on the morning of that day, "between nine and twelve o'clock," in the presence of Thomas Harris, Bailiff of the Hundred of Mold, at the "Black Lion", Mold.

This William Eyton, who was born about 1610, had married about 1644 Alice, daughter of John Ralph, of Hertsheath, in the parish of Mold, and sister of Edward John Ralph, and by her had issue John Eyton, born in 1646; Thomas Eyton, born about 1650, who went to London; and Roger Eyton, born in 1656. William Eyton had two sisters; Elizabeth, who married John Ellis of Gresford, and Mary, who married Charles Pickering of Drury Lane, London. They were the issue of the marriage of William Eyton the elder by Jane his wife, daughter of Thomas Dawson of Trevallyn in Denbighshire, and had two uncles: John Eyton, older than their father, who left no descendants; and Jonas

Eyton, younger than their father, who settled and died in Ireland. The said John, William the elder, and Jonas, were the sons of Thomas Eyton, born about 1550, who assumed the altered coat.

In July 1670, Richard ap Hugh of Hope Owen in this parish died, leaving a widow, Margaret Hughes, and three children: Richard ap Richard, otherwise Richard ap Hugh, his executor; Lewis ap Richard, who had left home some time before; and a daughter, Margaret Williams. He was buried in the parish church. His will, which was proved at St. Asaph, July 12th, 1670, was executed on the preceding 25th June, in the presence of John Davis, Thomas Edge and Thomas Lloyd. An inventory of the deceased's personalty was taken on the day before probate by Griffith Jones, Thomas Rolland, Thomas Lloyd and Humfrey John David.

John Hughes of Llewerllyd, in the parish of Dyserth, Esquire, who died in 1676, owned a house and lands called "y Vanachlog" in this parish, which he devised to his widow, Mrs. Katherine Hughes. His neighbours at Vanachlog were Richard Williams, Edward Lloyd, and Thomas ap Evan.

The will of Edward Hughes of Rhanberfedd, in this parish, was executed April 17th, 1688, in the presence of Ellis Yonge, Robert Lloyd, and Michael Jones, the Vicar of Hope. The inventory was prepared at the house on the 23rd of the same month by William Edwards, John ap Richard, and others.

SLEBECH COMMANDERY AND THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.

BY J. ROGERS REES, ESQ.

(*Continued from p.* 107.)

It will be as well, perhaps, to print here one of these charters, to show the kind of document under which the Slebech Hospitallers were benefited in those early days. The following is a perfectly characteristic example, and was executed in all probability some time between the years 1190 and 1200.

Sciant tam presentes quam futuri, quod ego Reymondus filius Martini dedi et concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi assensu et consensu Sananæ Sponsæ meæ et hæredum moerum, Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et sancto Johanni Baptistæ et fratribus domus hospitalis Jerosolimit: totam terram de Benegerduna per divisas et metas quas presens carta *sic* nominat: scilicet; de aqua de Cledi ubi Poherlaca cadit in eandem, a parte occidentali ascendendo per eundem rivulum qui vocatur Poherlaca, usque ad ortum ejusdem rivuli directe ascendendo per Vallem usque ad Caput ejus, inter Benegerduna et terram Ecclesiæ de Martheltwia parte boreali; et sic de capite ejusdem ultra latam Viam quæ ducit de Minwer ad Penbroc: directe apud orientem per divisas inter Blakeduna et Benegerduna, usque ad quendam magnum rivilum qui venit de Blakeduno, atque sic per rivulum illum currentem versus Minwer usque ad quendam Vadum qui appellatur Vossingford, a parte Australi de Minwear; et sic de Vado illo descendendo per rivulum illum usque ad locum illum ubi dictus rivulus cadit in Cledi, et sic per Cledi descendendo usque ad prenominatum locum ubi Poherlaca cadit in Cledi, atque totam partem meam de aqua de Cledi infra dictas metas ad Piscarias faciendas. Hanc itaque donationem feci prædictæ domui hospitali et fratribus ejusdem domus, pro salute animæ meæ et antecessorum et successorum meorum cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis, quas in dictis terra et aquis habere possunt; Salvo mihi Molendino meo, et aqua dulci ad opus ejusdem, et via frequentantium predictum Molendinum, et pastura ad equos

eorum *granum, bladum* et *pastum*—libere et quiete, plenarié et integré, in puram et perpetuam elemosynam omnino quietam ad omni exactione et seculari servicio sicut aliquæ elemosina melius et liberius et plenius viris religiosis dari possit. Ego vero Reymondus et hæredes mei prædictam hanc donationem contra omnes homines et omnes fæminas omnino adquietabimas et warrantizabimas. Et si me aliæ religioni reddere voluero, promitto me reddere meipsum religioni domus hospitalis, si vero habitum religionis non assumpsero, legam corpus meum ad sepeliendum in eadem domo hospitali. Et ut hæc donatio mea et concessio raté et inconcussé permaneant; sigilli mei impressione hanc presentem cartam corroboravi.—Hiis testibus.—

Dno Robto de Bertuna, Dno Willmo fil: Mauricii; Willo de Villa Galfridi, Johanne Teserario, Fratre Willo de Beville, Fratre Rad: Galfrido Sacr. Ada et Johanne Clericis et multis aliis.[1]

TRANSLATION.

Be it known unto all men now and hereafter, that I Raymond the son of Martin have given and granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed (with the consent of my wife Sanana and my heirs) to God and St. Mary and St. John the Baptist and to the brethren of the Hospital of Jerusalem all the estate of Benegerduna according to the boundaries and limits set forth in this present charter, that is to say: From Cledi water where the Poherlaca falls into it up the course of the said stream called Poherlaca on the west: then ascending right along the valley of the said Poherlaca to the source thereof, which is between Benegerduna and the Martheltwia Church-lands on the north; and then from the source of the Poherlaca, beyond the high road leading from Minwer to Pembroke by the boundary between Blakedune and Benegerduna to where a great stream comes down from Blakedune on the east, and so along the course of the last-mentioned river towards Minwer, as far as a certain ford called Vossingford on the southern side of Minwear and on from the ford down the course of the said stream to where it joins the Cledi and so down the course of the Cledi to the point aforesaid, where the Poherlaca falls into it: Together with all my rights over the waters of the Cledi within the said limits for making fisheries.

This grant I have made as aforesaid to the said Hospital and

[1] See Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, Appendix, p. 14, where the document is headed: "Curious Grant to the Commandery of Slebech."

the brethren thereof (for the health of my own soul and the souls of my ancestors and successors) together with all liberties and easements which they (the said Brethren) can have in the said estates and waters: Except as reserved for myself my mill, and supply of fresh water for the same, and right of way for those using the said mill, the pasture for their horses (seed, grass and hay) fully freely and quietly to enjoy for pure and perpetual charity altogether free from any tax or secular service, just as freely as any charitable gift can be granted to holy men and even better and more freely and fully. And I the said Raymond and my heirs will confirm and guarantee this grant against all men and women. And if I shall wish to join any religious order, I undertake to join the order of the said Hospital; but if I never take the vows, I will bequeath my body to the said Hospital to be buried. And in order that this grant and gift may remain firm and indefeasible, I have confirmed this present Charter by the impression of my seal. In the presence of Robert de Bertun and others.

I think it might safely be said that the foregoing constitutes a very fair problem for the student of Pembrokeshire place-names. Luckily, we have a fair basis on which to rest our conclusions, inasmuch as mention is made of Minwear, Martletwy, the *old* road to Pembroke, and the river Cleddau. But the boundaries, according to the points of the compass, are only sufficiently clearly set down to be misleading. I think, however, it will be found that Blakedune is what is now known as Blaiden Hill, in the parish of Martletwy; that the great stream which "comes down from Blakedune" is that falling into the Cleddau at Minwear Pill; and that Vossingford is the ford just south of Minwear old church. It is probable that the Poherlaca (Poer's Lake) is the stream which joins the Cleddau at Landshipping; and that Bengerdon[1] became corrupted into

[1] From the frequency with which we come across Beneger, in some form or other, in Pembrokeshire place-names, we are led to conclude, with Fenton, that the Benegers "were men of great note" in the neighbourhood. "They were the original proprietors of Benegerstown, afterwards contracted to Bangeston." The Benegerdon with which we have to do at present, clearly owes its name to a member of the same family.

Bangeston, and is now known as Boston, north of which is Priestmoor, which might have been "the Martletwy church-lands."[1]

That Raymond should look for a return from his gift was but characteristic of the age: he gave that the health of his own soul, and of the souls of his ancestors and successors, might be assured.[2] His undertaking to join the Hospitallers if he should at any time decide to enter a religious Order, and his wish that, in any case, his body at death should be buried by the Brethren, are but a repetition of what we find in other similar documents in favour of the Hospitallers. If this were not revoked, the probability is that what remain of Raymond's bones now lie either under the old church at Slebech or somewhere in the adjacent grounds.

It will be seen from the preceding documents that the Hospitallers had a very early footing of a kind in the district, for almost immediately following the bull of 1113, by which Pope Paschal II formally sanctioned the establishment of the Order, Jordan de Cantington had given them the church of Castellan in Emlyn, together with twenty acres of land. And both Wilfred (d. 1115) and Bernard (1115-47), Bishops of St. David's, had confirmed to them the power of removing at will any chaplain or clerk ministering in a church of theirs, even though he had not been instituted by them.

Before the establishment of the Hospitallers at Slebech, their properties had been farmed out to individuals totally unconnected with the Order; and the tenants were supposed to remit their annual rent, based on the value of the land they held, to the treasury at Jerusalem. "This system was soon found extremely faulty, and, indeed, well-nigh impracticable. The diffi-

[1] I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Henry Owen for information on these points.

[2] That in making a present of anything to a church or religious body, the donor offered it *pro remedio animæ suæ*, or for the spiritual benefit of some other person, was always understood, though not always expressed. See Maitland's *Dark Ages* (London: Rivington, 1844), p. 70, where several authorities are quoted.

culty of obtaining their due rights from persons having no interest in the prosperity of the fraternity, and who, on account of their distance from the seat of government, found every facility for evading their obligations, soon caused the most alarming deficits to arise. In order to remedy this evil, and to ensure the punctual transmission of the rents of their numerous manors, it was determined to place over each a trusty member, who should act as steward of the funds committed to his control. Establishments (at first called preceptories, but at a later date commanderies), were formed on a scale varying with the value of the properties they were intended to supervise, there being in many cases several members of the Order congregated together."[1]

The Hospitallers' possessions in South Wales lay, as we have seen, chiefly in the districts now known as Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Gower, and were all subsidiary to the Commandery of Slebech. If those of our readers interested in the subject will take a map, and first colour those portions of the shires of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan known of old as the Marches, and then draw a line carefully along the route travelled by Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus Cambrensis in their preaching tour of 1118,[2] they will experience no difficulty in finding in these marked portions most of the places named.

The following tabulated statement will enable anyone to see at a glance all the necessary particulars of the various properties in the possession of the Hospitallers of Slebech in the thirteenth century; at the same time it gives some indication of the local wealth and power of the Order. Other, but smaller, gifts came to them later: these will be noticed in our subsequent pages.

[1] Porter's *Knights of Malta*, 1884 edn., p. 19.

[2] In doing this, much assistance will be gained from the map facing the title-page of Nevin's *Wales during the Tudor Period* (Liverpool: Howell, 1893), and the one next to p. 48 of Owen's *Gerald the Welshman* (London: Whiting, 1889).

Schedule of the Properties attached to the Slebech Commandery of the Knights Hospitallers in the Thirteenth Century.

Place.	Donor.	Date.	Particulars of Gift.	Authority.
Alleston[1] ...	Henry, son of Philip[2] ...	*Circa* 1170	One oxgang[3] of land in Allagreston	Anselm's Confirmation
Ditto ...	William, son of Eilard[4] ...	*Ante* 1176	One carucate of land in Pembrokeshire	Ditto
Ambleston ..	Wizo, and Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter	11..[5]	The church of Almenolfestun[5a]	Ditto
Amlot (?) ...	(?)	*Ante* 1176	The church of Amlot (*eccl. de villa Amlot*) ...	Confirmation by Bishop David[6]
Amroth ...	William Herizon, by permission of William de Narberth[7]	*Circa* 1150	The church of Amtrud, with fifty acres of Sanctuary-land,[8] and two plough-lands[9] with their appurtenances and liberties	Anselm's Confirmation
Benegerdon ...	Hanerand[10]	*Ante* 1142	One carucate of land upon Berngdone[11] Manor, and the vill which is called Dolbryvawr[12]	Ditto
Ditto ...	Raymond, son of Martin[13]...	*Circa* 1195	Two carucates of land in Benegerduna[14] ...	Ditto
Berry[15] ..	Maurice, son of William de Henllys	*Circa* 1150	Fifteen acres of land near Berry[16]	Ditto
Betmenon (?)[17] ...	Kadugan, son of Gryffith ...	*Circa* 1150	The whole land of Betmenon, with its appurtenances and liberties[18]	Ditto
Blakedon[19] ...	William le Poer ...	*Circa* 1150	Seven oxgangs of land in Blakedone	Ditto
Ditto ...	John, son of Raymond[20] ...	*Circa* 1200[21]	One oxgang of land in Blakedun[22]	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Bocchinfeild (?)[23] .	Philip, son of Wizo, and Henry his son	*Circa* 1170	Five carucates of land on Willansel and Bocchinfeild	Anselm's Confirmation
Boulston ...	Wizo, and Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[24]	11..	The church of Boleston,[25] with its chapel of Pincheton	Ditto
Burlake (?)[26] ...	Robert Bured	*Circa* 1188	All his land in Burlake	Ditto
Canaston[27] ...	Lodomer[28]	*Circa* 1150	All his land of Mynwere, together with all the land of Cadugan within the territory of Mynwere[29] ...	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Ditto ...	Walter Marescal, Earl of Pembroke	1241	A free chase and warren over the whole manor of Mynwere, including the land of Cadugan, with all the forest of the manor, with its liberties and customs[29a]	Ditto

Cardigan ...	Roger, Earl of Clare ..	*Circa* 1158[30]	Three burgages in the town of Cardigan ...	Anselm's Confirmation
Cilmaenllwyd[31] ...	Simon Hai[32]	*Ante* 1176	Church of Kilmaenloc[33], with its appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Cilsant[34] ...	Walter Apelgard ...	*Ante* 1176	One carucate of land on the west side of the castle of Res ap Bleder[35]	Ditto
Clarbeston ...	Wizo, and Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[36]	11..	The church of St. Martin of the vill of Clarenbald.	Ditto
Ditto ...	Adam le Bull[36a] ...	*Post* 1230	One burgage, together with two oxgangs of land ...	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Cuffern[37] ...	Robert, son of Richard[38] ...	*Circa* 1160	Two carucates of land in Coferum	Anselm's Confirmation
Dolbryvawr[39] ...	Hanerand	*Ante* 1142	One carucate of land upon Berngdone Manor, and the vill which is called Dolbryvawr	Ditto
Esgermaenhir[40] ...	William Marescal, Earl of Penbroc	*Circa* 1195	The church of Castelhan Emelin, and the whole land[41] of Castelham Emelin and Eschirmanhir, with all their appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Garlandston[42] ...	Richard, son of Tancard ...	*Circa* 1145	The church of Garlandeston, with one hundred and twenty acres of land and their appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Homdon[43] ...	Roger, Earl of Clare ...	*Circa* 1158	One hundred acres of land in Homdon	Ditto
Haverfordwest ...	Richard, son of Tancard ...	*Circa* 1145	Six burgages in the vill of Haverford,[44] with their appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Ilston[45] ...	John de Brewose[46] ...	*Circa* 1221	The church of St. Yltint vanik,[47] in Goher, with all its appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Kidwelly[48] ...	Mereduc, William and Res, sons of Eugene	*Circa* 1145	All the arable land of Kidwelly, with the forests, plains, etc.[49]	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Ditto ...	William de Londres[49a] ...	*Circa* 1170	Two burgages and twelve acres of land in Kedweli ...	Anselm's Confirmation
Letterston ...	Yvo, son of Letard[50] ...	*Circa* 1130	The church of the vill of Letard,[51] with its appurtenances	Ditto
Llandimore[52] ...	William de Turberville ...	*Circa* 1167	The church of Landimor[53]	Ditto
Llanfair-nant-y-gof[54]	Robert, son of Humphrey ...	*Circa* 1125	The church of Landegof, and two carucates of arable land,[55] with all their appurtenances and liberties, except the lord's chapelry[56]	Ditto

Place.	Donor.	Date.	Particulars of Gift.	Authority.
Llanfigan[57] ...	The Lord of Penkethli[58] ...	*Ante* 1176	The church of St. Maugan, with its appurtenances and liberties	Anselm's Confirmation
Llanvyrnach ...	Robert, son of Stephen[59] ...	*Circa* 1160[60]	The church of St. Brenach of Bleintav in Kemeys, and a hundred acres of land, with all their appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Llanllwch[61] ...	Robert Carpenter of Carmarthen	*Circa* 1200	A moiety of his mill of Landlothe, outside the walls of the town of Carmarthen[62]	Ditto
Ditto ...	Edmund, son of King Henry III[63]	*Circa* 1278	A third part of the mill of Landloche, and of its pool[64]	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Llanrhidian[65] ..	William de Turberville ...	*Circa* 1167	The church of Lanriden[66]	Anselm's Confirmation
Llanrhystyd[66a] ...	Rhys, son of Gryffith ...	*Circa* 1176	The whole land of Riustud, with the vill and church and mill, and their appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Llansantffraid[67] ...	Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford	*Circa* 1158	The church of Lanfrafrie, with five carucates of land	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Ditto ...	Rhys, son of Gryffith ...	*Circa* 1176	The church of Lansafreit, and all the land which belonged to William of Lansafreit, with all their appurtenances and liberties[68]	Anselm's Confirmation
Llanstephan[69] ...	Geoffrey Marmion and his heirs[70]	*Circa* 1170	The church of Saint Stephan of Landestephan, with fifty acres of arable land and one carucate of land between Goher and Long fforest,[71] and a fishery in the Taf, with all the easements of the same vill of Landestephan in wood and in plain and in ways, etc., and a boat with a free ferryage across the Towy[72]	Ditto
Llanvihangel-nant-melan[73]	William de Bruse, and Meurich son of Adæ	*Ante* 1176	The church of St. Michael of Nantmelan, with all its appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Lloughor[74] ...	Henry de Newburgh[75] ...	*Circa* 1165	The church of Lochud, with all its appurtenances and liberties, together with one burgage in the same vill[76]	Ditto
Martletwy ...	Raymond, son of Martin[77] ...	*Circa* 1195	The church of Martheltwi, with all its appurtenances and liberties	Ditto

Merryborough[78] ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter	11..	The land of Saint Mary Bergha[79]	Anselm's Confirmation
Merthyr Kinlas (?)[80]	Maelgwyn, son of Maelgwyn the Great[81]	*Ante* 1230	A moiety of his land which is called Merthyr Kinlas	Ditto
Minwear ...	Robert, son of Lomer[82] ...	*Circa* 1150	All his land, with the church of Mynwere, and all their appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Ditto ...	Walter Marescal, Earl of Pembroke	1241-5	Certain rights. (See under Canaston)	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Moelon[83] ...	Owen, son of Gryffith[84] ...	*Ante* 1169	All the land called Moyl'on	Ditto
Newcastle-Emlyn[85]	Jordan de Cantitun,[86] with the confirmation of William, son of Grold (*i.e.*, Gerald)[87]	*Circa* 1113[88]	The church of Castelhan Emelin, and twenty[89] acres of land lying near the church	Anselm's Confirmation
Ditto ..	William Marescal, Earl of Pembroke[90]	*Circa* 1195	The church of Castelhan Emelin, and the whole land of Castelhan Emelin and Eschirmainhir, with all their appurtenances and liberties[91]	Ditto
Newport[92] ..	William, son of William, son of Martin[93]	*Circa* 1200	One burgage in the New Burgh in Kemis ...	Ditto
Oxwich[94] ...	Robert de Mara[95] ...	*Circa* 1165	Ten acres of the fee of Oxenwiche, with their appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Ditto. (In the same vicinity)	Helia Tortesmains[96] ...	*Circa* 1165	Twelve acres, and a little corner over and above ...	Ditto
Penkeyte (? Pencoed)	Thomas de Haidon ...	*Post* 1230	His right in the land of Penkeyte	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Penmaen[97] ...	John Blaneaighel[98] ...	*Circa* 1200	The church of Saint John Baptist of Penmaine, with all its appurtenances and liberties	Anselm's Confirmation
			And twenty-four acres of Sanctuary land pertaining to the same church	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Penrice[99] ...	John de Penrice[100] ...	*Circa* 1180	The church of St. Andrew of Penrice, with all its appurtenances and liberties[101]	Ditto
Picton[102] ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[103]	11..	The church of Boleston, with its chapel of Pincheton[104]	Anselm's Confirmation
Porteynon[105] ...	Robert de Mara[106] ...	*Circa* 1165	The church of Portheinan, and a mansion by the church, and six acres of land which Thomas the priest's son held[107]	Ditto

Place.	Donor.	Date.	Particulars of Gift.	Authority.
Prendergast[108] ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[109]	11..	The church of Prendegast[110]	Anselm's Confirmation
Redberth[111] ...	William, son of Gerald,[112] and Odo his son[113]	*Circa* 1150	The whole vill of Redebard[114]	Ditto
Rhosilly[115] ...	William de Turberville ...	*Circa* 1167	The church of Rossili, with its appurtenances and liberties[116]	Ditto
Rhostie[117] ...	Owen, son of Gryffith ...	*Post* 1230	All his land of Riostoye	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Rinaston[118] ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter	11..	The chapel of the vill of Reineri	Anselm's Confirmation
Rosemarket ...	The three barons: William, son of Haion;[119] Robert, son of Godebert; and Richard, son of Tancard	*Circa* 1145	The whole vill of Rosmarche, with the church, mill and lands, and all their appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Ros, Castle of (?)[120]	?	?	The church of St. Leonard of the castle of Ros, with its tithes and all its profits	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Rudbaxton	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[121]	11..	The church of Rudepagston	Anselm's Confirmation
St. Leonard's[123]	Alexander Rudepac[123] ...	11..	The advowson of the church of St. Madoc in the vill of Rudepac, with the chapel of St. Leonard of Castle Symons, for charitable uses for ever[124]	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
St. Lawrence ...	Philip le Poer[125] ..	*Circa* 1130	The church of St. Lawrence of Patrick's Ford, and the tithe of the mill and fishery of the same ford, together with nine acres of land between Hellebeche and the church, and seven acres above Poersberch	Ditto
Sarnnelay (?)[126] ...	David, Bishop of St. David's	1147-76	The church of Sarnnelay (or Samnelay)	Ditto
Slebech ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[127]	11..	The whole vill of Slebeche, with the church, mill, fishery and lands, with all their appurtenances and liberties	Anselm's Confirmation
Stackpole ...	Robert, son of Elidr[128] ...	*Ante* 1176	Two messuages and two oxgangs of land at Stakepol	Ditto
Stokeburgia (?)[129].	Walter, son of Wizo ...	*Circa* 1160	Half a carucate of land upon Stokebury ...	Ditto

Swansea[130] ...	Robert, son of Walter[131] ...	*Circa* 1165	A third part of the whole fee of Brictric Canut,[132] and one acre of meadow, and thirty acres of land, with their appurtenances and liberties, all being for the construction of the chapel of St. John Baptist	Anselm's Confirmation
Ditto ...	Henry de Newburgh[133] ...	*Circa* 1165	One burgage, together with the burgage of William, son of Palmer, and twelve acres of land which Einan and his brother Goroneu, sons of Loarht, gave —— all in the vill of Sweyneshea	Ditto
Ditto ...	John de Penrice[134] ...	*Circa* 1180	The house of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Swansea, which he had built, for charitable uses for ever	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Ditto ...	John de Brewose[135] ...	*Circa* 1221	All that land which is called Mullewood[136] and Borlakesland,[137] with its appurtenances and liberties	Anselm's Confirmation
Troed-yr-aur[138] ...	Roger, Earl of Clare[139] ...	*Circa* 1158	The church of Traftrahir, with all its appurtenances and liberties	Ditto
Uzmaston ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter	11..	The church of Osmund's vill[140]	Ditto
Walterston[141] ...	William de Turberville ...	*Circa* 1167	The church of Lanriden, with its chapel of Walterston[142]	Ditto
Walton East ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[143]	11..	The church of Blessed Peter of Waletun ...	Ditto
Welsh Hook ...	Philip de Kemeys[144] ...	*Circa* 1130	Two carucates of land in Walschok	Ditto
Willansel (?)[145] ...	Philip, son of Wizo, and Henry his son	*Circa* 1170	Five carucates of land upon Willansel and Bocchinfeild	Ditto
Wiston ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[146]	11..	The church of St. Mary of the castle of Wizo ...	Ditto
Woodstock ...	Wizo, Walter his son, and Walter son of Walter[147]	11..	The chapel of Wodestoke	Ditto
Ystrad-Meyric[148]...	Roger, Earl of Clare[149] ...	*Circa* 1158	The church of Stradmeuric, with five carucates of land[150]	*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880
Ditto ...	Rhys, son of Gryffith[151] ...	*Ante* 1176	The land of Stratmeurich	Anselm's Confirmation

NOTES TO PAGES 202-207.[1]

1. Qy. near Pembroke; once known as Aylwardstone (*i.e.*, Eilard's-ton). From the context it would appear that Allagreston is in Daugleddau; but the point is by no means free of doubt.

2. Qy. Henry, son of Philip, son of Wizo.

3. The oxgang, being the quantity of land one ox could plough in the year, I am taking as fifteen acres. In the twelfth century, a carucate (the measure of land which could be tilled in a year with one plough having a team of eight oxen) represented, in Pembrokeshire and the district, sometimes one hundred and twenty acres and sometimes one hundred only.

4. In Fenton's transcript, "William, son of Elidur."

5. See my previously expressed doubts as to whether Wizo personally had anything to do with these gifts. The Hospitallers were evidently in undisputed possession prior to 1176, as the church was confirmed to them by David, Bishop of St. David's (1147-76). Later on, the village and lands having come into possession of Isabella, daughter of Hugo (Llawhaden church was known at one time as Hugo's church), son and heir of Iwein (? Yvon), son of Letard (see Letterston), she confirmed to the Brethren of the Hospital all the rights pertaining to the said church. This, I presume, needed the sanction of the Bishop of St. David's, for we find Gervase (1215-29) confirming the aforesaid act.

5*a*. The vill of Almenolfe, otherwise *Al-megn-Óldf* (the very powerful Óláf the White, Norse king of Dublin). This is one of the many Norse place-names of Pembrokeshire; a subject on which I hope soon to publish my "findings and conclusions".

6. In the *Middle Hill MSS.* (Cardiff Free Library) No. 19,880. This is the only trace I can find of Amlot, which I am unable to locate. It is named in addition to Amroth and Ambleston, and I am accordingly led to conclude that it is neither of these places. Ambleston is known to the Welsh as Tref Amlod.

7. At the time of this gift, William de Narberth apparently held Amroth, together with other lands, as feudal tenant-in-chief to the king, in return for which he had to furnish knight's service according to the extent of his fief. William Herizon probably held under this "baron" the usual one knight's fee of five hides (clearly in this case five hundred acres, constituting an estate sufficient to support five families), in exchange for which his services were due to his superior lord. As a consequence, when he determined to benefit the Hospitallers to the extent of half his holding, it was necessary that he should obtain his lord's permission. It was, in fact, an arrangement of this kind: "I, William Herizon, holding under you, William de Narberth, a knight's fee of five hundred acres, am desirous of giving to the Religious Order of the Hospitallers one half of the same. With your permission I will make this gift, holding at the same time to you my complete service of one fully-armed man, as if in effect I still retained personal possession of the full estate constituting my fee." Or William de Narberth might have said: "If you are intent on benefiting the Hospitallers, well and good! give them the two hundred and fifty acres, and I will remit half your service." Either course might have been pursued; but the consent of William Herizon's superior lord, under whom he held his land, was absolutely necessary.

"The church of Amerade" was confirmed to the Hospitallers by David, Bishop of St. David's (1147-76).

In the reign of Henry II, Amroth became the property of Seysill, son of Caradoc; and we accordingly find him confirming the Hospitallers in their possession of "the church of Ameraht."

[1] Where no county is named, the place is understood as being in Pembrokeshire.

Who was this Seysill, son of Caradoc? Caradoc, the last of the Welsh Saints, was, before his introduction to the mysteries of mediæval saintship, chief huntsman to Griffith ap Rhys, and a favourite to boot, until through his negligence his master's pet dogs were lost. Threatened with extreme punishment, Caradoc made haste "to quit the service of an earthly for a heavenly prince, by which, instead of exposing himself to the hourly dread of death in this world, he should gain eternal existence in the next." Fenton refers to him as being "of a respectable family in Brecknockshire." Had he a son, Seysill?"

Then, Jestyn of Glamorgan had a son, Caradoc, whose son Morgan was brother-in-law to Rhys ap Griffith. Was our Seysill another son of this Caradoc, holding lands in and around Amroth by reason of his connection with Rhys?

Again, we find that in the distribution of the possessions of St. David's among his relatives, Bishop David (1147-76), gave to his brother Maurice "the land of Aeyain, son of Seysill."

8. We shall refer to Sanctuary-lands further on.

9. *I.e.*, two carucates of arable land.

10. Evidently Anerawd, son of Gryffith ap Rhys, although I find him referred to in the *Middle Hill MSS.* as *Hanarand filius Ermani princeps & dominus.*

11. Probably identical with the following Benegerduna. Anerawd could well have been, in 1140, lord of the land which afterwards came into the possession of the Martins, possibly through the marriage of William Martin with a daughter of Rhys ap Gryffith.

12. Evidently one of the villages in the neighbourhood of Minwear, or Martletwy.

13. Qy. which Martin? Martin de Tours came into Pembrokeshire about 1094. See also Raymond's charter, set forth at length on a foregoing page. The gift was by Raymond, with the consent of his wife Sanana and his heirs.

14. Fenton's transcript reads "one hundred acres".

15. At first I was inclined to locate this in Gower, where the Hospitallers had several properties; Burry Head in that district belonging in those days to the manor or lordship of Henllys. I found, however, on further examination of the context of the confirmation, that it was evidently the Bury in Pembrokeshire, subsequently part of Llwyngwayr. It belonged to the Lord of Cemaes, and was in ancient times the principal grange of the castle of Newport. Henllys, on the Fishguard and Cardigan road, was "the manor-house of the lords of Cemaes for some centuries after the disuse of the castle of Newport."

16. Clearly one oxgang, from which we gather that the carucate in this district in those days represented one hundred and twenty acres.

17. I am unable to place this. Is it Bettws-efan, in Cardiganshire? The church there is dedicated to St. John, and the living is a perpetual curacy annexed to the vicarage of Penbryn.

18. In the *Monasticon* "a church, mill, etc."

19. Blaiden Hill. See Raymond's charter *re* Benegerduna.

20. The land here probably came into the hands of the Martins on the departure of Le Poer to take his share of the invasion of Ireland.

21. Possibly after 1230, as it is not named in Bishop Anselm's confirmation.

22. Sufficient to make, with Le Poer's gift, a complete carucate.

23. I cannot locate Bocchinfeild: it is set down as in Dungledy.

24. Philip, son of Wizo, confirmed the gift of Boleston church, as also did Bishop David (1147-76) and Bishop Peter (1176-98).

25. Fenton, in his *Historical Tour* (p. 234) says: "This church has the reputation of being a peculiar, a species of property but little known to the clergy of this country, being a particular parish, having jurisdiction within itself, power to grant administration of wills, etc.; though I rather think it has no higher claims than to the character of a free chapel, a place of religious worship exempt from all jurisdiction of the ordinary, save only that the incumbents were generally instituted by the bishop, and inducted by the archdeacon of the district it lay in."

26. I fail to place this to my satisfaction. It might be Burton (Bured-ton), or Barnlake, near New Milford. There is also a Burlaxton in the vicinity of Pembroke. Of course Borlakesland, now part of Swansea, belonged to the Knights; but it was conveyed by an altogether different grant, and will be duly noticed under Swansea. It is possible that this was an early gift of Borlakesland, and that the grant of "all the land which is called Borlakesland" by John de Brewose, *circa* 1221, was but a confirmation of what already formed part of the Hospitaller estates. See under "Swansea".

27. Between Narberth and Minwear.

28. Qy. Robert, son of Lodomer: see under "Minwear". Walter Marescal (Earl of Pembroke, 1241-5), confirmed to the Brethren at Slebech this gift.

29. This is evidently "all his land", which Robert, son of Lomer (or Lodomer), gave to the Hospitallers. See under "Minwear".

29*a*. The modern idea attached to the word "forest" is insufficient in this case. A forest, at the date of Lodomer's gift, was "a certain Territory of wooddy grounds *and fruitful pastures*, priviledged for wild beasts and fowls of Forest, Chase and Warren, to rest and abide in . . . . which Territory of ground, so priviledged, was meered and bounded with unremovable marks, meers, and boundaries, either known by matter of record, or else by prescription" (*Treatise of the Laws of the Forest*, by John Manwood, 1665 edition). There were five wild beasts of venery that are called beasts of Forest—the Hart, the Hind, the Hare, the Boar, and the Wolf; of Chase, five—the Buck, the Doe, the Fox, the Martin (Martron), and the Roe; and of Warren, these beasts and Fowls—the Hare, the Rabbit (Coney), the Pheasant and the Partridge. (See the *Book of St. Albans*, and Sir Tristrem's *Treatise of Hunting*.)

30. In the year 1157, Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, having obtained a grant from King Henry of such lands in Wales as he could win, "came with a great army to Cardigan, and fortified the castle of Dyvy."

31. In Carmarthenshire.

32. Otherwise Simon, son of William de Hay. William de Hay is named in the *Welsh Chronicle* as a leader of the Normans and Flemings when they took possession of the castle of Llanstephan.

33. The church of the Apostles Saints Philipp and James, of Kilmainloc, otherwise Gillimain Llwyd.

34. In Carmarthenshire. See also under "Castle of Ros."

35. Bledri was a son of Cadifor fawr, or Cadivor the Great, king of Dyfed. Although his brothers took part in the hostilities against Rhys ap Tewdwr, Bledri stood aloof, and was consequently allowed to remain in peaceable possession of the lordship of Cilsant, to which his son Rhys ap Bledri afterwards succeeded.

36. David, Bishop of St. David's (1147-76), confirmed the gift; as also did Robert, son of Henry, son of Philip, son of Wizo.

36*a*. He confirmed to the Hospitallers the gift made to them by Robert, son of Henry, of the church of St. Martin of Clarebaldston, adding thereto the burgage and two oxgangs of land here specified.

37. Between Haverfordwest and St. David's.

38. Robert (de Hwlfordd, Lord of Haverfordwest), son of Richard, son of Tancred (castellan of Haverfordwest under the Earl of Clare).

39. See under "Benegerdon". 40. Near Newcastle Emlyn.

41. Eighty acres, according to the *Monasticon*. Addison, in his *Temple Church*, p. 111, erroneously sets these eighty acres down as the Earl's gift to the Knights *Templars*.

42. Is this Granstone? Or has it to do with the Garlandstone which at one time evidently formed part of Skomar Island? On p. 111 of Owen's *Pembroke, shire* (Part I), the following interesting note occurs :—"Skalmey, now called Skomar. Leland (*Itin.*, v, 26) states that he had been told there was a chapel on it. Fenton, in a note on this passage in the *Cambrian Register* (II, 128), laments the destruction in the fire at the Cotton Library of a manuscript account of these islands, which might have thrown some light on the tradition of the submergence of St. Martin's Hundred in what is now St. Bride's Bay."
Our donor was governor of Haverfordwest Castle, and married a daughter of Rhys ap Gryffith. Skomer was a parcel of the lordship of Haverfordwest, and belonged to Richard Fitz Tancard.

43. Near Cardigan; if, indeed, Homdon did not include the very land on which Cardigan stands. Elsewhere, in the *Middle Hill MSS.*, I find the gift of Roger described as consisting of "all the churches and lands (*i.e.*, church-lands) which he possesses as of his holding in Wales", which included three burgages in the town of Cardigan, with all liberties within and without, "and one carucate of land in the same town"—clearly the Homdon acres.

44. In St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, according to a memo. in the *Middle Hill* papers.

45. In Gower. 46. Son of William de Brewose.

47. Elsewhere, in the *Middle Hill MSS.*, "eccl. Sti. Iltinti de Voyonke".

48. Carmarthenshire.

49. *Circa* 1150, Cadwgan, son of Gryffith, confirmed the gift. When de Londres became lord of the district, he clearly considered the terms of the grant too vague—and probably too inclusive also—for, as we see in the next entry, "all the arable land of Kidwelly, with the forests, plains," etc., soon appear, in a restricted form, as "two burgages and twelve acres of land". See, however, under Llanstephan.

49*a*. Son of Maurice de Londres. See Clark's *Cartæ et alia munimenta de Glamorgan*, vol. i, p. 15, for a charter of his to Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff, (1149-83).

50. Subsequently, when Yvo's son and heir, Hugo, came of age, he joined his father in confirming to the Hospitallers "the church of St. Giles in the vill of Letard". Peter, Bishop of St. David's (1176-98), also confirmed the gift.

51. The church was situated about three-quarters of a mile from the one now in use. Its site is occupied by a farm-house known as Hen Eglwys (*i.e.*, the old church).

52. In Gower.

53. We lose all trace of this church after 1291, when it appears in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV. It would seem that Llandimor was originally the parish church, and was abandoned at the time Cheriton church was built, owing probably to encroachments of the sea. (See Davies' *West Gower*, vol. ii, pp. 99, 132.)

54. In old documents this appears as Landegoph, Landegofe, or Landegof. In an extract from the confirmation of the gift by Bishop Peter (1176-98), I

find it as Landagast. My thanks are due to Mr. Henry Owen, who confirms me in my conclusion that "Landegof in Pebidiauc" is none other than our modern Llanfair-nant-y-gof. He puts the matter beyond question by a reference to the *Black Book of St. David's*.

55. There was, until recently, a farm belonging to the church, which has been sold and the proceeds otherwise invested. This, I presume, was the two carucates of land given to the Knights 770 years ago.

56. This chapel of the lord, thus excluded, was undoubtedly attached to the donor's castellated residence, and remained thus separate until 1330, when John Lecard (Letard) released to the Hospitallers all his right in the chapel of the Blessed Mary Magdalen in Lanvair ("Lanveyz", according to the *Monasticon*).

57. In Breconshire. Llanfigan anciently formed the head of the extensive lordship of Pencelly. Its church is dedicated to St. Meugan.

58. Possibly "one of the many other noble personages of those parts" who met Archbishop Baldwin at Radnor in 1188, at the beginning of his crusade-preaching in Wales.

59. Robert, son of Stephen, castellan of Cardigan, by Nesta. He was one of the leaders in the 1170 invasion of Ireland.

60. *Circa* 1170, William, son of Robert, son of Martin of Tours (the William who married Rhys ap Gryffith's daughter), confirmed this gift to the Hospitallers. Presumably his right to do so came to him with other possessions at the time of Robert's departure for Ireland; or was he Robert's superior lord?

61. Near Carmarthen. According to tradition, a town once stood here, which was submerged.

62. This is one of the omissions which occur in the *Middle Hill MS.* Elsewhere, in the same collection, the gift is recorded as "a moiety of his mill at Landloche, together with half of two acres of arable land, and half of the flow of the water to the said mill."

63. Edmund came into South Wales with the 1277 expedition against Llewelyn ap Gryffith, and took to himself many possessions; for, according to Rymer, an exchange was made, on the 10th of November 1279, between King Edward and Edmund his brother, "when the latter gave to the king his lands and castles in Carmarthen and Cardigan, and received others not in Wales". In making this gift to the Hospitallers, Edmund also confirmed to them the moiety already in their possession.

64. How the knights secured the remaining sixth, I am, as yet, unable to say; but it appears, as we shall see further on, that in 1338 the whole mill belonged to them.

65. In Gower.

66. "With its chapel of Walterston."

66*a*. In Cardiganshire.

67. In Cardiganshire.

68. Evidently only a confirmation by Rhys of the grant by Roger de Clare, as set forth in the preceding line.

69. In Carmarthenshire.

70. Subsequently William de Chamvilla, and Albrea his wife, confirmed the gift.

Sir William de Chamville, knight, lord of Llanstephan (probably son and heir of the preceding William and Albrea), afterwards confirmed to the Hospitallers all his right of advowson to the church of Llanstephan.

Geoffrey de Damville (? Chamville), lord of Llanstephen, followed by renouncing, in favour of the Knights, all his rights of advowson of Llanstephan.

Richard de Carew, Bishop of St. David's (1256-80), evidently thinking that Anselm's confirmation (1230) was not sufficient, confirms the original gift again.

The de Chamvilles were a crusading family; we come across the name repeatedly in the annals of the Holy War. A William de Camville was Justice of South Wales, *circa* 1285.

71. Can this be part of the gift of the three sons of Eugene, set down under Kidwelly?

72. This ferry was the one crossed by Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus, when on their crusade-preaching, in 1188; and in all probability the boat belonging to the Knights of St. John was placed at their service.

73. Radnorshire.

74. In Gower.

75. The Henry who joined his mother, Margaret, Countess of Warwick, in the gift of Lammadoc to the Templars in 1156.

76. Within the borough there was (? is) an old building called The Sanctuary, which once belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and is supposed to have formed part of the manor of Millwood, or St. John's, Swansea.

77. Fenton's transcript reads: "John, son of Raymond."

Subsequently, William de Caumville (see under Llanstephan) released to the Hospitallers his right of advowson to the church of St. Twye of Martletwye.

78. Near Wiston.

79. Wizo's original gift to the Monastery of St. Peter's, Gloucester, included "the land which is called the Mount of Saint Mary, and the forest known as Gengod".

80. I presume this is in the neighbourhood of Mathry. Is it Mathry itself? I have seen Castle Kenlas named as in Mathry.

81. Maelgwyn, son of Rhys, died in 1230, and his possessions descended to his son Maelgwyn, who almost immediately hastened against Cardigan, and burned the town.

82. Bishop David (1147-76) confirmed the gift of the church, and Walter Marescal (Earl of Pembroke, 1241-5) that of the land, adding thereto certain rights, which we have set forth under Canaston. The latter names the donor "Lodomer" (or Lomer), not Lodomer's son.

83. (?) Near Bettws Efan, Cardiganshire.

84. Clearly Owen Gwynedd, son of Gryffith ap Conan. He died in 1169, leaving several sons, Howel among the number. We find Katherine, daughter of Howel, subsequently confirming the gift.

85. In the Archdeaconry of Cardigan. In the *Middle Hill MSS.* I find the gift set down as in three places, viz., Castellan, Castleham, and Newcastle Emlyn. Considering how close Esgermaenhir is to Newcastle Emlyn, I am led to conclude that the last named is the Castelhan Emelin in question.

86. Jordan de Cantington came into Wales with Martin de Tours about 1094, and had Fishguard and a considerable tract of land around it as his share of the plunder. Here he planted a colony of new settlers, after which he appropriated these possessions to the Abbey of St. Dogmael's.

87. William Fitz Gerald was the eldest son of Gerald and Nesta, and appears to have been Governor of Tenby Castle, *circa* 1152.

88. I have had to date this thus early to fit in with what we know of de Cantington. William's gift of Redberth has been set down as a subsequent transaction.

89. One hundred and eighty acres in some of the *Middle Hill* documents.

90. A great statesman of his day, who gave freely to both Templars and Hospitallers. We shall have occasion to refer to him more fully on a subsequent page.

91. In the *Monasticon*, the church and eighty acres of land in Castellan Emlyn, and Eschirmanhir ("these two places").

92. Pembrokeshire.

93. Fenton has: "William, son of Martin"—Martin de Turribus, or Tours—which would throw the date back to about 1160. The two canopies in Newport church "might have been erected for Sir William Martin and his lady, the Lord Rhys's daughter, as the reputed founders of the present church . . . . . Sir William Martin, from the time of his residence at Newport, might be said to be naturalised; and among the natives, now his willing subjects, the memory of the usurper was lost in the husband of a Welsh princess" (Fenton: *Pembrokeshire*, p. 546). William, son of William, son of Martin, died in 1215.

94. In Gower.

95. *I.e.*, Robert de la Mare. Peter de Leia, Bishop of St. David's (1176-97), confirmed the gift.

96. Or Tortesmaris.

97. In Gower.

98. Qy. Blancagnell (or white lamb). Fenton has Blaen magnel; and the *Monasticon*, Blankaigel.

Thain Blantagmel gave forty acres of arable land "in Port Mayn" to Neath Abbey; which grant was confirmed by King John (1199-1216). See Clark's "Signory of Gower", in *Arch. Camb.*, Oct. 1893, p. 303.

99. In Gower.

100. *Circa* 1200, Robert de Penrice confirmed the gift. In both the *Middle Hill* and Fenton's transcripts of Anselm's Confirmation, Robert de Penrice is named as the original donor.

The gift was further confirmed by two other bishops, viz., Geoffrey (1204-14), and Gervase (1215-30).

101. A little south of the church is a building called The Sanctuary, which is said to have belonged to the manor of Millwood, or St. John's, Swansea, once the property of the Knights of St. John.

The Rev. J. D. Davies, the historian of Gower, writes me: "The Sanctuary in Penrice parish is not merely a house, but includes a substantial farm."

102. Near Slebech. Fenton thought the chapel stood in the field now known as Church Hay.

103. Peter, Bishop of St. David's (1176-98), confirmed to the Knights the chapel of Piketon.

104. Fenton (*Pembrokeshire*, p. 290), refers to a grant by Philip, son of Wizo, "of the church of the castle of Wiz with the chapel of Pyketon."

105. In Gower.

106. *I.e.*, Robert de la Mare. Elsewhere in the *Middle Hill MSS.* *William* de la Mara.

107. The Rev. J. D. Davies (*West Gower*, vol. iv, p. 19) considers the house and farm now known as Monkyland, in the parish of Porteynon, to be the possessions specified in the original grant of De la Mare.

108. A suburb of Haverfordwest.

109. *Circa* 1165, Maurice de Prendergast confirmed to the Hospitallers the church of St. David of the vill of Prendelgaste.

Maurice was the second son of Gerald de Windsor and Nesta, and consequently brother to David Fitzgerald, Bishop of St. David's, and half-brother

to Robert Fitz Stephen, who gave Blaentav (see under Llanvyrnach) to the Knights. Fenton says of him (*Pembrokeshire*, p. 244): "Following the standard of Strongbow, he transplanted his name and family to Ireland, from which time we hear no more of them this side the Irish Channel." Maurice landed in Ireland in 1170; but he returned to Wales: for we find, on the marriage of his eldest son William to Strongbow's daughter, Alina, that Strongbow "invited him to leave Wales and come over *again* to Ireland", where he gave him the middle cantred of Offaly, with the castle of Wicklow, to be held as a fief under him. Maurice's descendants became Earls of Kildare (subsequently Dukes of Leinster) and Earls of Desmond. Of course, Giraldus Cambrensis, in blowing the trumpet in praise of his own family (termed by him "doubly noble, deriving their courage from the Trojans, and their skill in arms from the French"), does it pretty loudly for Maurice. In the catalogue of his many virtues, negative and otherwise, we find that "he was not stained by any great and notorious crime."

110. I find, in 1272, a certain Adam, rector of Prendergast, by gift of the Knights of St. John.

111. Near Tenby.

112. "Carew was one of the royal demesnes belonging to the Princes of South Wales, and with seven others was given as a dowry with Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, to Gerald de Windsor, who was appointed Lieutenant of those parts by Henry the First, on the outlawry of Arnulph de Montgomery. His eldest son William succeeded him in the possession of this castle." (Fenton: *Pembrokeshire*, p. 249.)

113. In the *Middle Hill MSS.* I find a record of a confirmation to the Hospitallers by Hodo, son of William, son of Gerald, "of the gift his father made of all the land of Menegardwy (or Menegardevay), which is called Ridebarde, for charitable uses for ever."

"Odo de Carreu" was living *circa* 1190.

114. The spelling of the name has varied in its journey down the centuries. I have found it as Redebord, Ridebarde, Ridpert, Rudbarde, Rudbert, Redbert, Redbard, Rhydberth, Redbarth and Redberth.

115. In Gower.

116. Elsewhere in the *Middle Hill MSS.*: "the church of Russellion, with its land and tithes."

117. In Cardiganshire. 118. Near Ambleston.

119. Probably of the same blood as Robert Fitz Hamon, the invader of Glamorgan, and a near relative of William the Conqueror.

Bishop David (1147-76) confirmed to the Hospitallers "the church of Rosnache."

120. The only mention of this property I can find is in Bishop Bernard's confirmation (1115-47); and, so far, I have been unable to locate to my satisfaction the castle of Ros.

Nicholson, in his *Cambrian Travellers' Guide*, refers to a Castell Rhos, not far from Llanrhystyd, the church of which "is an ancient building, consisting of a tower (the top of which has fallen), a nave, chancel, and porch, with some remains of an ornamental screen." Near this, Llanrhystyd castle is supposed to have stood. Then, there is Rosemarket, with its St. Leonard's Well not far from the church. It is possible that the place was known both as the "Castle of Ros", and as Rosemarket." The chapel of Symons' castle, near Haverfordwest, was also dedicated to St. Leonard, and there is a Leonardstone near New Milford.

If our readers will refer back to "Cilsant", they will find mention of a gift to the Knights, by Walter Apelgard, of one carucate of land "on the west side of the castle of Res ap Bleder", and the footnote will explain our reason for so locating it. But, it is possible that Rice Castle, which once stood near

Picton, was not only the Castle of Ros we are now in search of, but also the Castle of Res ap Bleder, near which lay the carucate referred to. The following particulars (see Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 281) might be considered as strengthening the latter supposition. Res ap Bleder was an ancestor of Lord Milford; and not far from where Rice Castle stood there was once dug up, among other things, "an old seal with the lion rampant only on it, the cognizance of the Philippses of Cilsant, before Sir Aaron ap Rhys ap Bledry, who signalised himself under Richard Cœur de Lion in the Holy Wars, had assumed the addition of the chain and crown granted him by that monarch."

Then, again, might not one of the castles of the district in those early days have been, in some way or other, so superior as to merit the name of *the* Castle of Roos? And might not this have been Symons' Castle, with its chapel dedicated to St. Leonard, which Alexander Rudepac gave to the Hospitallers?

121. Bishop Peter (1176-98) confirmed the gift.

122. "There was formerly very near (the Râth, about four miles from Haverfordwest), or in it, a chapel of ease to Rudbaxton, named in the grant of it by Alexander Rudepac to the commandery of Slebech, *Cappella Sti. Leonardi de Castro Symonis.*" (Fenton: *Pembrokeshire*, p. 357.)

123. "Rudepac was evidently the founder of this town; a Norwegian or Swedish name, which existed down to comparatively modern times in the name of Rudbeck, who wrote the *Atlantica.*" (*Middle Hill MSS.*)

124. "The gift of Alexander Rudepac, the lord of the vill, though his grant, like that of several others possessing mean lordships within the barony of Daugleddau, appears not to have been complete till it had obtained the formal confirmation of the lord paramount residing at Wiston, whose castle was the *caput baroniæ.*" (Fenton: *Pembrokeshire*, p. 327.)

125. Subsequently John Bonenfant, son of Philip of Monte Patrick, released to the Hospitallers his right in half of the whole land of Monte Patrick.

Then Philip Letarde released to the same Brethren his right of advowson of the church of St. Lawrence at Patrick's Ford.

The evolution of the name Poer is interesting. In 1086, the time of the *Domesday Book*, it was Ponther; in 1095, Punher; in the reign of Henry I, Puher; here, in the gift under our notice, Poer; it subsequently became Poore, or Poyer, in which latter form it still exists, as also as Power.

The De la Poers became Barons Tyrone of Haverfordwest, a title still borne by the Marquis of Waterford.

126. I am unable to place this. It *sounds* uncommonly like Sarn Helen, the old Roman road. Is it Sarnlas?

127. "Walter, son of Wizo, hath given to God and the Blessed Virgin, and to the Brethren of the Hospital of Jerusalem, the land of Slebech, to wit: one hundred acres of land, with a mill and a fishery, with all the tithes appertaining to the same land, for charitable uses, for ever." (*Middle Hill MSS.*, vol. 19,880.)

In addition to this, William, son of Delme, gave fifty acres of land.

Several successive Bishops of St. David's confirmed the gift of Slebech to the Hospitallers.

What was the early name of the place? And was there a rude earth-castle there before the Hospitallers built their Commandery? Does the following extract from the *Chartulary of St. Peter's, Gloucester*, throw any light on the point?—"Guy (qy. Wizo) of Flanders gave (to the monastery of Gloucester of course—see our previous pages) all his tithes, and the churches of his whole estate, and a tenth part of his fishery with a place whereon to make a fishery, and land for the use of the fisherman who should manage it, *near Clys Castle.*" Or was *Clys* but the nearest phonetic rendering of the Welsh *Gwys* the scribe was capable of?

128. Sir Elidur de Stackpole is supposed to have been the original possessor

of Stackpole, and to have joined the Crusades when Baldwin and Giraldus came into Pembrokeshire, preaching, in 1188.

In the church of Stackpole Elidur lies a cross-legged knight said to represent this Elidur.

Circa 1190, our donor, Robert ap Elidr, gave to St. David's the church of Trefdnant, "for the repose of the soul of Milo de Cogan."

129. Probably in the neighbourhood of Llawhaden; for we find that when David Fitzgerald, Bishop of St. David's, gave his daughter to Walter Fitz-Wyson, *circa* 1150, he quit-claimed the land near Llawhaden, "on account of which his father had been excommunicated". There is a Stubbleborough not far from Llawhaden.

130. Glamorganshire.

131. Qy. the Robert who, just after the date of this gift, took the cross and went to the Holy Land crusading.

132. Presumably Brictric, the Saxon lord of Gloucester, whose possessions were assigned to Robert Fitzhamon when he came to this country with the Conqueror. "Brictric appears distinctly", to use the words of E. A. Freeman, "as a great landowner in most of the western shires".

133. See under Lloughor. At the time he made this gift he also confirmed to the Knights the thirty acres of land which Robert, son of Walter, had *sold* (?) to the Hospital; and all the gifts which had been made them, both of land and other possessions in Gower.

134 Confirmed by Robert de Penrice (*circa* 1200); and also by Geoffrey (1204-15) and Gervase (1215-30), Bishops of St. David's.

135. Son of William de Brewose. He married Prince Llywelin's daughter.

136. Millwood; now known as Cwmfelin, in which part of Swansea lies the above-named St. John's Church. It was at one time covered by an extensive wood.

As to the considerable extent of the manor of Millwood or St. John's, anyone interested in the subject will find a good deal to his liking in Mr. G. T. Clark's "Signory of Gower", in the *Arch. Camb.* for 1893.

137. Now Bwrla Heig and Cwmbwrla, not far from Cwmfelin.

138. In Cardiganshire. The church, dedicated to St. Michael, was at one time known as the church of Llanvihangel Trev-Deyrn.

139. Bishop David (1147-76) confirmed to the Hospitallers the church of Drefdryer (or Dresdryer).

140. In the *Middle Hill MSS.*: "the church of St. David of Osmundeston."

141. In Gower.

142. In the *Middle Hill MSS.*: "the chapel of his castle."

143. This was confirmed by Bishop David (1147-76).

"Walter, son of Wale, hath given to the Brethren of Slebech the church of Waletun; and Walter, son of Walter, hath confirmed the gift." (*Middle Hill MSS.*)

"Waletown, a vill with a church giving name to the parish, part of the vast endowment of the commandery of Slebech, the gift of Walter de Wale." (Fenton: *Pembrokeshire*, p. 324.)

Qy. Was this the crusader Wale?

144. Qy. Philip le Poer of Kemeys: see under St. Lawrence.

Subsequently Richard de Kemeys confirmed to the Hospitallers two carucates of land in Walyshoc.

145. In Dungledi. Can this be Winsel in the hamlet of St. Thomas?

146. "Philip, the son of the supposed founder, grants (to the Hospitallers) *Ecclesiam de castro de Wiz cum cappella de Pyketon.*" (Fenton: *Pembrokeshire*, p. 290.)
The gift was confirmed by Bishop David (1147-76).

147. Bishop Peter (1176-98) confirmed the gift of the *church* of Wodestoc.

148. In Cardiganshire.

149. Roger de Clare was in possession of the castle of Ystrad-Meuric in 1158; he died in 1173.

150. In both the *Middle Hill* and Fenton's transcripts of Anselm's confirmation, the gift appears as the church, "with all its appurtenances, members and liberties"; no definite mention is made of the five carucates of land.

151. Rhys ap Gryffith founded the abbey of Strata-Florida in 1164, and was buried there in 1196.

IV.—The Secret of the Hospitallers' Wealth.

The question naturally arises: Why were such extensive possessions thus given to the Knights, by men apparently careless and defiant, as well as powerful? The state of the country, the conditions of the age, the characters of the several donors, all help us to form a reply.

(*a*) It seems to me that King Henry's scheme of planting the Flemings in Pembrokeshire, in the beginning of the twelfth century, was successfully imitated, a little later on, with reference to the Hospitallers. Henry's intention undoubtedly had been to introduce a body of men to assist the Normans in holding the lands they had forcibly taken from their original owners. Perhaps, therefore, we shall find that there was less of piety than self-interest in the early gifts to the Knights. Take the case of the lord of Daugleddau, for instance. What could be more natural than that he, seeing the way in which, every now and then, his castle at Wiston got knocked down about his ears by the Welsh, who *would not* be conquered, should remember the prowess of the Hospitallers, and deem it advisable by grants of land, or otherwise, to secure them as neighbours? Perchance, he even hoped that

knightly assistance would, in some extreme case, be rendered him by friends holding estates as of his gift. At any rate, their near presence could not fail to be of far greater advantage to the dwellers in Castell Gwys than any influence that could be brought to bear by the unarmed monks of Gloucester—so favoured by Wizo—or by their successors of Worcester. And so the Knights came, and the monks went.

(*b*) Sympathy with the aims of the Crusaders, and admiration of the mighty doings of the Hospitallers in the Holy Land, caused many to give of their substance.

It was emphatically an age of enthusiasm ; and men were moved to quick deeds by the fiery words of those who travelled the length and breadth of the land, calling on them to leave their wives and estates for the sake of Christ.[1] Bernard's stirring cry was :[2]—"The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy Wars is sure of his reward, more sure if he is slain.[3] The Christian glories in the death of the Pagan, because by it Christ is glorified ; by his own death both he himself and Christ are still more glorified."

Into Wales, in 1188, came Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus Cambrensis, with similar words on their tongues, and secured many recruits. John Spang, the jester of Rhys ap Gryffith, said to his master :—"You ought to be much obliged to your cousin the archdeacon, who has made some hundreds of your men renounce your allegiance for the obedience of Christ; for if he had preached in Welsh he would not have left you a single man." Giraldus himself deemed it remarkable that many of "the most notorious murderers,

[1] "The most distant islands and savage countries were inspired with ardent passion: the Welshman left his hunting, the Scotchman his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking bout, the Norwegian his raw fish."—*William of Malmesbury.*

[2] *Circa* 1150.

[3] Geoffrey of Clairvaux said that the Second Crusade could hardly be termed unfortunate. Though it did not at all help the Holy Land, *it served to people Heaven with martyrs.*

thieves, and robbers" were converted on the occasion of this journey.[1]

Even thus early in the history of Little England, men found a way of silencing their awakened consciences by *giving* instead of *doing*.[2] All kinds of besmeared individuals looked to the Holy Land as a means of purification;[3] but their home-duties kept them where they were.[4] The Pembrokeshire Norman and Fleming had quite enough to do looking after their newly-acquired lands, or in assisting in the invasion of

[1] See his *Historical Works*, Bohn's 1887 edition, p. 371.

[2] "Men did not understand how to go straight forward; instead of opening the gates of heaven with their own hands, they imagined they could get it done by those of others; they had Paradise gained for them by the neighbouring monastery as they had their lands worked for them by their tenants; eternal welfare had become matter of commerce. . . . . Men quieted themselves by writing pious donations in their wills; as if they could, according to the words of a French writer of a later date, 'corrupt and win over by gifts God and the Saints, whom we ought to appease by good works and by the amendment of our sins'. . . . . Testators go so far as to make pilgrimages after death by proxy, paying for them. Humphrey Bohun . . . . also ordered that after his death a priest should be sent to Jerusalem, 'chiefly', said he, 'for my lady mother and for my lord father, and for ourselves', with the obligation to say masses at all the chapels where he could along the journey."—Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1892), p. 383.

[3] The leaders of the First, Second, and Third Crusades were all drawn to the Holy Land to expiate their sins. Peter the Hermit's journey was a penance for the ungodliness of his early days. Louis the Seventh, of France, realising the cruelty of his deeds at the siege of Vetri, when he murdered the inhabitants wholesale, young and old, irrespective of sex, determined to engage in the Second Crusade as a means of atonement. Henry II was pardoned the death of A'Becket on his promise of undertaking a crusade; which, after his death, was carried out by his son Richard as penance for unfilial conduct towards his deceased parent.

[4] It was the same in other places and times. "As to the Crusades, men were always talking of them, perhaps more than ever, only they did not make them. In the midst of their wars, kings reproached one another with being the only hindrance to the departure of the Christians; there was always some useful incident which detained them. Philip of Valois and Edward III protest that if it were not for their enemy they would go to fight the Saracen." —*English Wayfaring Life*, p. 384.

Ireland; and the native princes well knew that if they went, their already sadly-reduced acres would be in alien hands long before they could return.[1] And so, whilst acknowledging their duty in respect of the Holy Sepulchre, they compromised the matter by gifts of lands and churches to the professed soldiers of Christ, who would act as their substitutes.

It was impossible to question the ability of the Knights of St. John to work out the salvation of others in the stipulated manner.[2] In 1154 the mighty deeds they had done at the siege of Ascalon were recognised "with extraordinary joy" throughout Europe, and Pope Anastasius immediately set to work to grant new privileges to the Order, at the same time confirming those of prior date. In the bull addressed to the Grand-Master, Raymond du Puy, he declares that, following the example of his predecessors, Innocent II, Celestine II, Lucius II, and Eugenius III, he takes the hospital and house of St. John into the protection of

[1] The Norman element in and about Pembroke Castle was growing ambitious of doing without kingly interference. Strife was also rampant in the western part of the district. In 1150, Cadell, the son of Gryffith, whilst hunting in Coedrath forest, near Amroth, was set upon and severely wounded by a party from Tenby. Straightway, his brothers gathered their followers together and besieged Tenby, which they literally sacked, putting the garrison to death.

[2] "When we consider the glorious and brilliant achievements which through so many centuries have adorned the annals of the Order, when we look at the long list of names, ennobled by a series of magnificent achievements, successively enrolled beneath its banners, we cannot deny to the chivalric mind that first contemplated the establishment of such a fraternity, combining within its obligations such apparently contradictory duties and yet fulfilling its purposes with such imperishable renown to itself, and such lasting benefit to Christendom, the meed of praise which it so justly claims." The name of the Order "will remain to the latest posterity, coupled with some of the most heroic deeds that have ever adorned the profession of arms. The days of chivalry are at an end; but the heart still throbs, and the pulse beats high, as we trace its career, like a meteor's flash, dazzling the page of history."—Porter's *Knights of Malta*, 1858 ed., vol. i, p. 27.

St. Peter. "As you, my brethren", continues the Pope,[1] "make so worthy an use of your goods and possessions, employing them for the maintenance of the poor, and entertainment of pilgrims, we forbid all the faithful, of what dignity soever they are, to enact the tythe of your lands, or to publish any ecclesiastical sentence of interdict, suspension, or excommunication, in the churches belonging to you; and in case of a general interdict laid upon whole countries, you may still continue to have divine service said in your churches, provided it be done with the doors shut, and without ringing of bells. We grant you likewise the liberty of admitting priests and clerks, as well into your principal house of Jerusalem, as into the other subordinate houses that depend upon it. And if bishops or ordinaries oppose it, you may, nevertheless, in virtue of the authority of the Holy See, receive them after proper testimonials of their conduct; and such priests and clerks shall be absolutely exempted from their jurisdiction, and be subject only to the Holy See and your chapter. You may likewise receive laiks of free condition for the service of the poor. And for such brothers as have been once admitted into your society, we forbid them to quit it, or to enter into any other order, under pretence of greater regularity. And with regard to the dedication of your churches, the consecration of your altars, and the ordination of your clergy, you shall apply to the bishop of the diocese, if he be in communion with the Holy See, and will confer holy orders gratis; but if not, you are authorised by the Holy See to chuse any bishop you shall see fit. Moreover, we confirm anew all grants of lands and seignories in the present possession of your house, or which you shall hereafter acquire on this side the sea or beyond it; as well in Europe as in Asia. In fine, when it shall please God to take you to himself, we ordain that

[1] Vertot's *History of the Knights Hospitallers*, 1757 ed., vol. i, p. 87.

your brother-hospitallers shall have full and entire liberty to elect your successor, any force or contrivance to the contrary whatsoever notwithstanding."[1]

Even before the death of Raymond du Puy, which occurred in the year 1160, the Order was "settled upon a permanent basis, honoured and revered in every corner of Europe, wealthy and powerful from the innumerable benefactions and endowments it had

[1] In the eyes of the secular clergy of Palestine these privileges were too many, and included too much; and were, moreover, calculated to break the bonds of brotherhood with which priest and Hospitaller had hitherto been bound. All the possessions of the Hospital, together with the immense wealth to be gained as booty from the infidels, were to be henceforth free from the intermeddling of the bishops! But it seems to me that their power in the matter of excommunication was grudged them more than was their exemption from tithes: even the King of Jerusalem and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli enjoyed no such privilege. Heads were accordingly set in conference, a case made out, and a deputation sent off to lay the matter, with many pleadings, before Pope Adrian IV. And a powerful deputation it was! There were: the Patriarch of Jerusalem, an old man, whose shoulders carried the weight of almost a hundred years; the Archbishops of Tyre and Cesarea; the Bishop of Acre; Amaury of Sidon; Constantine of Lydda; Renier of Sebaste; and Herbert of Tiberias.

Their story ran—and I have no doubt part of it was true—that the Hospitallers "received excommunicate persons into their churches, and in the case of death gave them Christian burial; that during the interdict laid upon the city they had rung their bells, contrary to an express clause in their privileges; that their church being near that of the Holy Sepulchre, they set them continually a-ringing whilst the Patriarch was preaching the word of God to the people, on purpose to hinder his being heard; and that they refused to pay tithe of their revenues in all the dioceses of Palestine, where they had any lands and estates."

It was further declared that arrows were shot from the quarters of the Hospitallers against the priests of the Patriarch: which arrows, by the way, had been gathered into a sheaf and hung as a testimony at the entrance of the church of Calvary.

But the Pope was unmistakeably on the side of the Knights, and the deputation had to return to Palestine in much the same unsatisfied state in which it had started out, and with, one may be sure, no access of love for the half-monks half-warriors, who had thus been enabled to say to the very Church itself: Hands off, by order of the Pope!

received, and increasing annually in the number of those who sought fame in this world and salvation in the next, beneath its consecrated banners. There was at this time scarcely a noble house in Europe of which some scion did not bear the white cross upon his breast; and the name of a Hospitaller of St. John had, during these eventful years, become the synonyme for every chivalric and martial virtue."[1]

A century later, Pope Alexander IV[2] addressed the Hospitallers as "the elect people of God, a princely race, an earnest body of righteous men."

(*c*) Then, strange as the statement might appear, part of the wealth of the Hospitallers was due to the fact that in Pembrokeshire, at this time, neither the native princes nor the invading Normans got along very well with the Church. Laymen rarely hesitated to appropriate church-lands when an opportunity occurred. They saw the possessions of the See bestowed by the bishops on their own relatives and friends in no stinting manner. Concluding, therefore, that ecclesiastical estates were as open to appropriation as were lay properties, they helped themselves accordingly. Hence arose misunderstandings, bickerings, fulminations; in short, all the ponderous assaults possible to the arm of the Church were set in motion, ending up with excommunication. Under such circumstances one might be sure the Knights were not forgotten, exempted as they were from ordinary ecclesiastical supervision, and not only secured against excommunication themselves but able also to throw a protecting cloak over others actually under the ban.

I think, if we could but read Pembrokeshire history fully, we should find that slices of thus appropriated church-lands occasionally found themselves transferred to the safe keeping of the Hospitallers. In rude times, even strong men are superstitious, believers in dreams,

[1] Porter's *History of the Knights of Malta*, 1858 ed., vol. i, p. 78.
[2] In a Bull issued in 1259.

attentive to omens. Perchance, after a too-hearty meal, following a blustering and butchering day's fighting, one of our donors went to sleep and dreamt mighty dreams. In the morning, to quiet his conscience—and "all men feel a necessity of being on some terms with their conscience, at their own expense or at another's"—he would cast about in his mind for something soothing to do at the least possible trouble or expense. "Ah! there is that land: never mind whose it was or whose it should be; let the Hospitallers have a carucate of it."[1] And forthwith our friend would sally out to duplicate the rough deeds of yesterday.

(*d*) A few, I am afraid, gave to the Hospitallers estates they felt powerless to retain after having taken them by force. Instead of making restitution to the rightful owner, they created — so they thought—a claim on the riches of the world to come by making a gift of what was not theirs to the cause of religion.[2]

(*e*) In some instances, the gift was a simple indication of the position of the donor. Others, of standing and power, prompted in some cases, we must believe, by genuine piety, were making gifts for the benefit of religion; and the would-be donor felt that he also

[1] The Church itself received gifts in a similar manner. The Normans gave freely of their lands to aid in the erection and endowment of abbeys and monasteries, "thus providing, as it were, for the benefit of their souls; a kind of set-off for the injustice with which they treated those over whom they often cruelly domineered, and whose property they had pitilessly robbed. The Church was not very particular by what title lands were got, so that it derived its share of the benefits arising from the acquirement."—J. Roland Phillips: *History of Glamorgan*, p. 45 (Cardiff: Lewis, 1888).

[2] It is recorded of Richard de Granville, the builder of Neath Castle, that even a journey to the Holy Land failed to ease the workings of his conscience on account of the possessions of others which he had appropriated. A vision appeared to him, and he was told that his pilgrimage was insufficient to appease Heaven unless he restored to the Welsh the lands rightfully theirs. He accordingly swore on the Holy Tomb that, if spared to return home, he would right the wrong; and this he actually did, giving of his lands to all who could prove a rightful claim. What was unclaimed was made over to God and the Saints, *i.e.*, to the Abbey of Neath.

must be up and doing in a similar direction. His newly-acquired acres were many; a few more or less were of no great consequence; and so the Hospitallers received a grant of manor or village, and the donor was satisfied: he had done as others around were doing. And, if, at any time, the acres were missed, he but gathered his followers together, made a raid upon the possessions of some hitherto undisturbed neighbour, and helped himself as he pleased—generally to more than he had given.

(*f*) But piety—or what was oftenest known in those days as such—occasionally prompted these gifts. Taking it as a broad rule, I think we may say that at the time of which we write the men of power in Pembrokeshire were eminent for irreligion and profaneness, bating some paroxysms of piety and zeal. "It was a rough and cruel age, an age of great crimes and great repentances"; and, now and then, "a conscience touched by gratitude for a mercy received, or remorse for a sin committed, would feel relief in the idea that the debt to Heaven might be paid, or its displeasure averted" by a donation or bequest to the Knights of the Cross.[1]

Some will say that our opinion of twelfth and thir-

[1] It was the same with those who gave to other religious bodies, both before and after the times of which we write. In A.D. 716, when Ethelbald, "by Divine dispensation King of the Mercians", built a stone church, and founded a monastery, which he endowed with the whole island of Croyland, he made confession in his charter in these words:—"I give thanks, with great exultation, to the King of all kings, and creator of all things, who has hitherto with longsuffering sustained me while involved in all crimes, has drawn me with mercy, and raised me up in some degree to the confession of His name." More than a century afterwards, another king of the Mercians, Wichtlaf, in making gifts to the same monastery, esteemed it "honourable and glorious to publish and set forth the wonderful works of God . . . . because for a time He was angry with me; but His anger is turned away and He hath comforted me." —(See Maitland's *Dark Ages*, 1844 edition, pp. 240, 241.) It would be futile, and altogether beyond our purpose, to question whether these expressions emanated from the donors themselves or from the monks who prepared the charters.

teenth century human nature is by no means tinged with the proverbial roseate hue. Be that as it may, the paramount question, we take it, is: Are the preceding conclusions based upon facts? We think so; and the following particulars, as we find them, of the lives of some of the donors will probably assist our readers in coming to something akin to a similar decision. But, because we have set forth such worldly reasons for these many great givings, it must not be thought that in those days no hearts, alight with the flame of genuine piety, caused offerings to be made for Christ's sake, purely and simply. Then, as now, souls lay in the lap of Divine love; and in those days, as in ours, the still, small voice of spiritual prompting caused men to make sacrifice for the higher good: perhaps, indeed, the voice, though rare, was then as certain and persuasive as at any time in the world's history. And we should not forget that "our knowledge of any man is always inadequate—even of the unit which each of us calls himself; and the first condition under which we can know a man at all is, that he be in essentials something like ourselves; that our own experience be an interpreter which shall open the secrets of his experience; and it often happens, even among our contemporaries, that we are altogether baffled".[1]

It will also be well to remember, as we go along, tempted as probably we shall be to call this man a thief, or the other a rascal, that the age we have under review is not the one we are privileged to live in;[2] that "eras, like individuals, differ from one another in the species of virtue which they encourage. In one

[1] Froude's *Short Studies*, vol. i, p. 407.

[2] What, for instance, would be thought nowadays of the character of a man of whom his friend said: "He was not stained by any great and notorious crime"? Yet this was Giraldus' conclusion of the whole matter, when he wrote in praise of Maurice de Prendergast, whose benefaction to the Hospitallers has been noticed on a foregoing page.

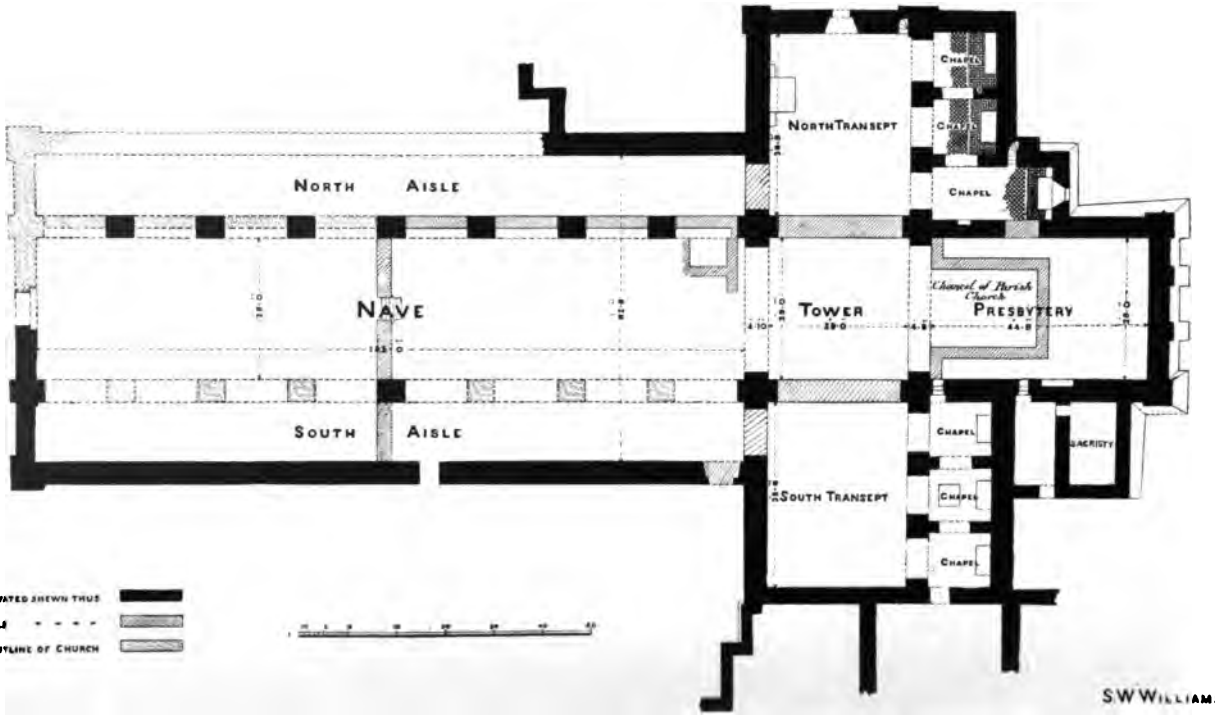
age, we find the virtues of the warrior; in the next, of the saint. The ascetic and the soldier in their turn disappear; an industrial era succeeds, bringing with it the virtues of common sense, of grace and refinement. There is the virtue of energy and command, there is the virtue of humility and patient suffering. All these are different, and all are, or may be, of equal moral value; yet from the constitution of our minds we are so framed that we cannot equally appreciate all; we sympathise instinctively with the person who most represents our own ideal—with the period when the graces which most harmonise with our own tempers have been specially cultivated."[1]

[1] Froude's *Short Studies*, vol. i, p. 403.

(*To be continued.*)

Talley Abbey

Carmarthenshire



S.W. Williams F.S.A

Rhayader October 14th/04

EXCAVATIONS AT TALLEY ABBEY.

BY STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, F.S.A.

On the main road from Llandeilo to Lampeter, about seven miles from the former place, stands the village of Talley, situated in a narrow valley on the watershed of two small streams, one flowing into the Cothi, northwards, and the other southwards into the Towy. In the churchyard are the ruins of what is left aboveground of the church of the important Abbey of Talley, a Premonstratensian monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist. It flourished till the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, at which time it had eight canons, and its revenue was estimated at £153 1*s.* 4*d.*

Until the year 1772 the Abbey church, or some part of it, was used as the Parish church of Talley; but, being found too large for the purpose, and having become much dilapidated, the parishioners took down the greater portion of the building, and with the materials erected the present church, which stands on the north side of the site of the monastery.

This destruction of the ancient edifice resulted in the entire structure falling into decay; and, as in nearly every similar case, it became a quarry from whence the neighbouring buildings were erected. Wherever there was a piece of freestone in buttress, angle, pier or arch, there the crowbar was at work wrenching it away; and gradually, piece by piece, the entire fabric, with the exception of a portion of the central tower and two of its arches, have disappeared.

In February 1892 the writer visited Talley, by the kind invitation of the Vicar, the Rev. J. H. Lloyd, and the two churchwardens, Sir James Drummond, of

Edwinsford, and D. Long Price, Esq., of Talley House; and to these gentlemen great credit is due for having taken the initiative in the exploration of the ruins.

A staff of workmen having been supplied by Sir James Drummond and Mr. Long Price, some preliminary excavations were made.

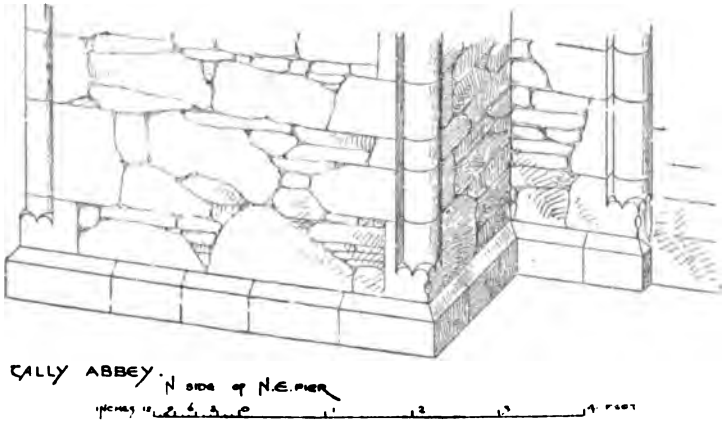
Our operations were confined to the site and ruins of the Abbey church, which, with a portion of the cloister garth, are—as at Strata Florida—situated within the area of the churchyard; but its southern boundary cuts off the south-eastern angle of the presbytery and a greater portion of the south transept. The whole of the conventual buildings were, therefore, outside the churchyard, but they have entirely disappeared; the site being occupied by a modern farmhouse and homestead.

We first of all traced the line of the north transept, and found that from 5 ft. to 8 ft. in height of the walls still remained, covered up with the fallen *débris* of the building; the total length of the transept inside (north of the tower) is 36 ft. 9 ins., its width 29 ft. East of this we found the external walls of the transeptal chapels, which are three in number in each transept. The springing of the arch of the southern of these two chapels still remains, and a fragment of the plain barrel vaulting with which they were covered.

In tracing the north wall of the north transept we found the north door, with plain chamfered external jambs, nearly 4 ft. wide in the clear; and, a little further on, came upon the staircase, leading up in the thickness of the wall to a passage over the chapels to the tower, of which seven steps are still *in situ*. In the internal angle of the northern chapel we found a pavement of plain red, buff, and blue glazed tiles; but it was thought advisable at that time not to uncover any portions of the floors of the chapels until systematic excavations were commenced.

At the north-eastern angle of the tower the excavations were also carried down to floor level, with the

result that the jambs of that pier were found to be moulded at the angles, and there was a plain chamfered base; this portion of the work is probably of the middle of the twelfth century. The builders had only carried up the external angles of the north-west pier of the tower in moulded freestone as far as the spring of the pointed arches. All above that is plain rubble masonry, which has been plastered.



Base of North-East Pier of Central Tower of Talley Abbey.

The line of the presbytery was defined internally. It is 44 ft. 9 ins. long by 29 ft. wide. The latter dimension is also the size of the inside of the tower, which is perfectly square, and, it may be noted, is 2 ft. larger than the tower of St. David's Cathedral, 1 ft. more than at Strata Florida Abbey, and is only exceeded by the central tower of St. Asaph Cathedral, which is 29 ft. 6 ins. Talley, therefore, possessed a central tower equal in dimensions to any of the greater Welsh churches.

Our attention was then directed to the nave and aisles, and with very little difficulty we traced the line of the north arcade for a distance of 75 ft. In this length we found four of the piers, which are still standing above the original floor level about 6 ft.,

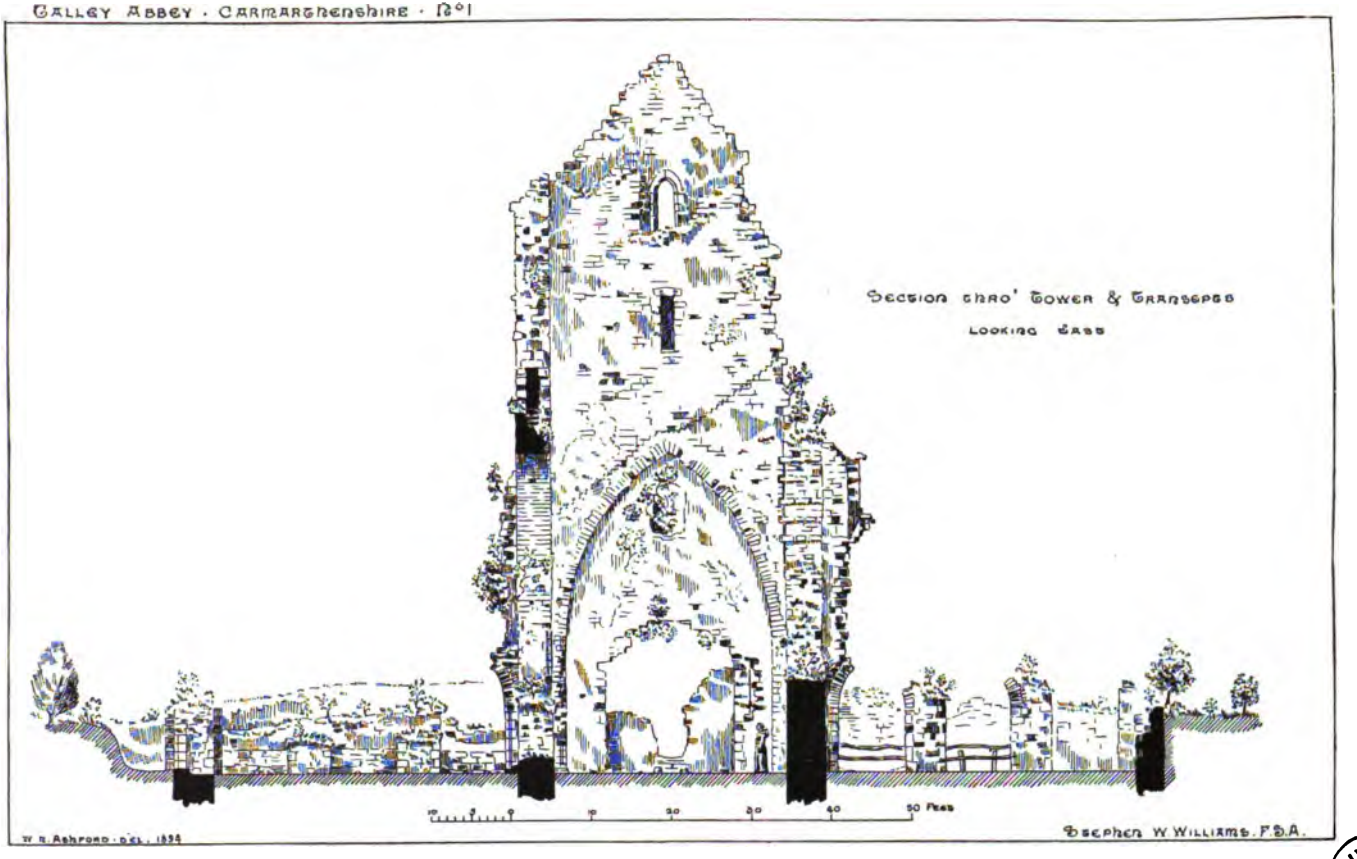
though now at the level of and just below the turf of the churchyard; thus indicating that the ruins generally are covered with from about 6 ft. to 8 ft. of *débris*, and, when excavated, the walls now underground will in most places be found still standing to that height. Between the piers of the north arcade is a thinner wall dividing the north aisle from the nave. Time did not admit of our tracing whether a similar screen exists in the south arcade.

Of the north wall of the church no trace could be found, but its point of junction with the bond-stones (or toothings), in the west wall of the north transept is still apparent. Later excavations have shown that the foundations of the north wall of the north aisle terminated nearly opposite the second pier of the nave arcade, west of the tower, and no further trace of this north wall has been discovered beyond this point. Several deep trenches were sunk on the line of it, and in each case not a trace of foundations could be found; the trenches were carried down into the undisturbed subsoil. A trench, driven at right angles to the south wall in the cloister garth, established its position, and it was traced westward to a point where it leaves the churchyard; and, after following it for a distance of 8 ft. or so into an adjoining garden, we came upon the base of the massive buttress of the south-west angle of the west front.

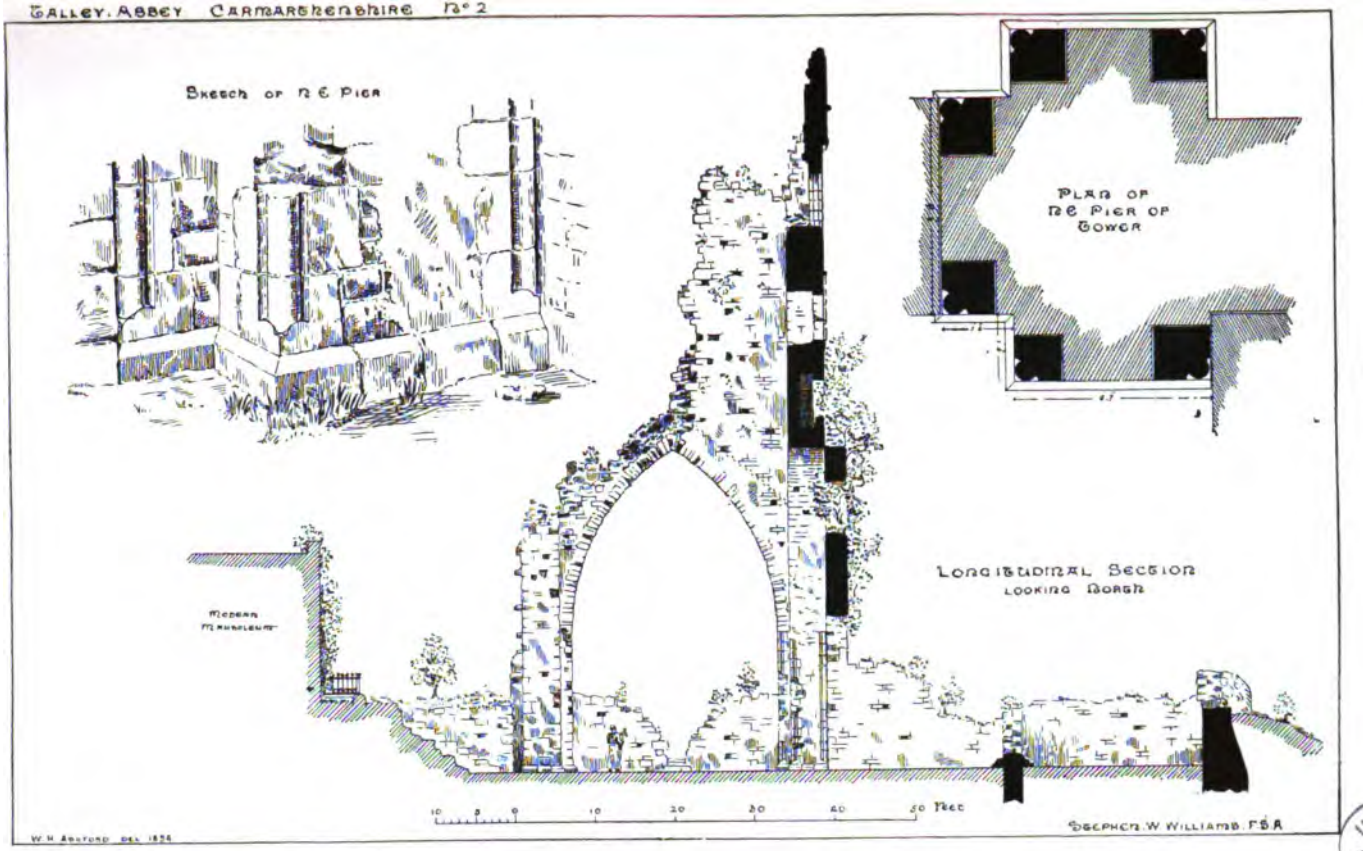
At this point the preliminary excavations came to an end. Sufficient was accomplished with the limited staff of labourers then at our disposal to define the general outline of the church; and the following comparative figures will show that, if it had been completed in accordance with the plans and designs of its original founders, whoever they may have been, it would have ranked in point of size with that of Strata Florida, and with the four Welsh cathedrals:—

NOTE—See pages 242-3 for dimensions of Graignamanagh Abbey.

Talley Abbey · Carmarthenshire · No 1



Talley. Abbey Carmarthenshire No. 2



	Total Length	Length of Nave.	Breadth of Nave and Aisles.	Length of Transept including Centre Tower.	Breadth of Transepts.	Square of Lantern of Tower.	Length of Presbytery.
Strata Florida Abbey	213.0	132.6	61.0	117.3	28.0	28.0	48.4
Talley Abbey	226.3	143.0	62.6	112.3	29.0	29.0	44.9

The nave arcades at Strata Florida consisted of seven arches; at Talley there appears to have been eight. Although the dimensions of the church of Talley Abbey are, with the exception of the length of the transepts from north to south, and of the presbytery from east to west, in excess of those at Strata Florida, we have a complete absence of the magnificent Transitional architecture, the lovely carving, the elaborate and beautiful tile-pavements, and the great variety of variously-coloured freestone which distinguished the work at Strata Florida; and instead thereof we have plain square piers, and simple pointed arches of rough rubble masonry of the plainest possible character; and, so far, not a fragment of carved work has turned up. The pavements are plain glazed tiles of the commonest character, and only two specimens have yet been found of somewhat rude incised tiles.

The only moulded freestone work at present discovered are the angles of the north-eastern pier of the tower and the jambs of the east window of the presbytery. For a height of some 15 ft. or 20 ft. from the base, this pier has a plain three-quarter round moulding, stopped just above a plain chamfered base of early Transitional character. The east window of the presbytery appears also to have had a similar moulding carried round its external angles.

Some fragments of stained glass found during the excavations prove that the windows were glazed with painted glass, and the walls seem to have been plastered throughout and decorated in colour.

If the church had been completed in accordance with

its original design, Talley Abbey would have possessed one of the largest monastic churches in Wales; but, for some reason, the original builders abandoned the work when but a very small portion of it was completed, and their successors adopted a more economical, simple, and severe type of architecture; and its plain pointed arches, built of rough rubble masonry, plastered and decorated with colour, must have resembled in their massiveness and simple severity of outline those in the churches of Llandewi Brefi and Llanbadarn Fawr in Cardiganshire.

The church was evidently designed upon the ordinary Cistercian plan; whoever were the first builders, they commenced with the intention of building a church of more ornamental character than they were able to complete: as appears from the work in the lower part of the north-west pier of the tower, and in the quoins of the east end of the presbytery, which were all of finely-dressed freestone. Evidently, as the work proceeded, funds did not come in as fast as was expected; and they, or their successors, were compelled to be satisfied with the local stone, abandon the use of freestone, dispense with the service of the freestone mason, and be content to complete their church with local materials, and possibly local labour.

The results obtained by these preliminary excavations were so encouraging that a local committee was formed for the further exploration of the ruins, and to provide means for the better preservation of those portions of the building that still remained above ground; and the following were appointed members of the committee: Sir James H. W. Drummond, Bart., Edwinsford, Llandeilo, Chairman and Treasurer; Lieut.-Gen. Sir James Hills-Johnes, K.C.B., V.C., Dolacothy; Ven. Archdeacon Edmonds; E. H. Bath, Esq., High Sheriff; Rev. Charles Chidlow, M.A., Vicar of Caio; Rev. Professor Williams, St. David's College, Lampeter; Stephen W. Williams, Esq., F.S.A., Rhayader; J. C. Richardson, Esq., Glanbrydan Park; E. E. Richardson, Esq., Glanbrydan Park; A. Stepney Gulston, Esq.,

Derwydd; D. Long Price, Esq., Talley House; John Price, Esq., Talley House; J. M. Davies, Esq., Ffrwdvale; Rev. Lewis Price, Vicar of Llandeilo; with the Rev. James H. Lloyd, Vicar of Talley, and Mrs. Long Price, Talley House, as Hon. Secs.

The committee set to work energetically to get the necessary funds by public subscription, and during the years 1892, 1893, and 1894, the work of excavation proceeded under the direction of Mr. Long Price, assisted at intervals by the writer of this paper.

In August, 1892, the Cambrian Archæological Association held their annual meeting at Llandeilo; and on Tuesday, August 9th, visited Talley, and inspected the ruins and the excavations that had been made up to that date. At the Llandeilo meeting, Mr. Edward Owen read a very interesting paper, which has been published in *Arch. Camb.*, on the "History of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Talley".

This paper deals most fully and exhaustively with all the documentary history of Talley Abbey which has been discovered up to now; and the writer of these notes does not feel that he is in any way able to add anything thereto, and will therefore confine himself to the description of the ruins and the discoveries made during the progress of the excavations.

The plan and illustrations which are published herewith will render the task of description less difficult, and it is hoped give the reader a clear idea of the nature and extent of the ruins, so far as they already have been excavated.

There still remains some work to be done in completing the excavation and protection of what is left of this interesting monastic church; for want of preservative precautions a mass of the tower has recently fallen, still further increasing the labour of completely clearing the site; and it is hoped that further funds may be forthcoming for this purpose.

Upon consideration of the plan of the Abbey church of Talley, as originally intended to be constructed, one

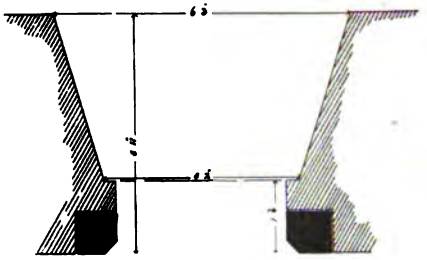
cannot but be struck with its complete resemblance to the plans and the arrangements usual in monastic churches of the Cistercian Order; this, in conjunction with the fact that the work was apparently abandoned for some time and then resumed, and possibly never fully completed, opens up a very interesting question as to who were the original builders of Talley.

It was clearly the intention of the first founders to build a church in point of size the equal of Strata Florida; the few fragments of the original work that remains also show that in character and style it was quite as early, if not earlier, than the first built portion of that Abbey, which was commenced in 1164.

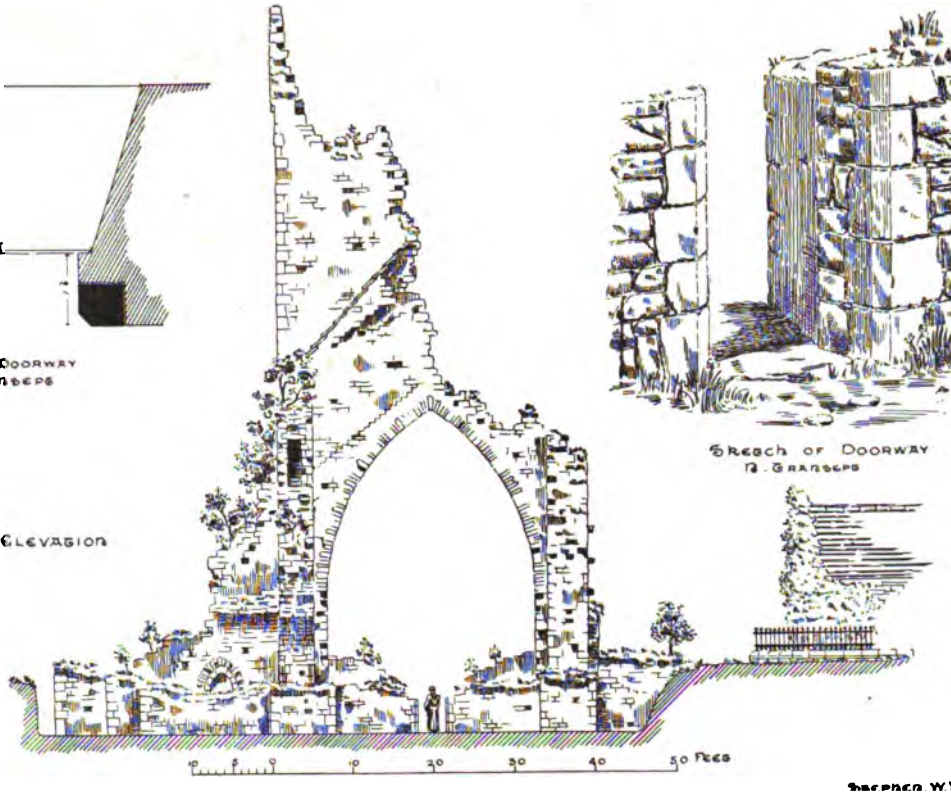
Mr. Ed. Owen conjectures that the Abbey was not founded in 1188, when Archbishop Baldwin, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis, undertook his journey through Wales for the purpose of preaching the crusade against the Saracens; but assumes that Giraldus, in his last work, written certainly after A.D. 1200, and probably not long before his death in 1223, refers to Talley in the story he tells of the oppression of a poor house of Premonstratensian canons by greedy and avaricious Cistercians.

If we are correct in assuming that, for some reason on other the original builders—who commenced their work either in the first half of the twelfth century, and certainly not later than the date of the earliest work at Strata Florida, say 1160 to 1170—abandoned it after putting in the bulk of the foundations, building some portion of the eastern end of the church, including part of the tower, may we not suppose that Rhys ap Grufydd, having first of all granted the Abbey and its earlier possessions to the Cistercians of Whitland, may subsequently have devoted himself entirely to Strata Florida and neglected Talley; and, in consequence of that, the monks of Whitland did not complete the work which they had commenced: just in the same way that, at a later period, the monks of Cwmhir Abbey were

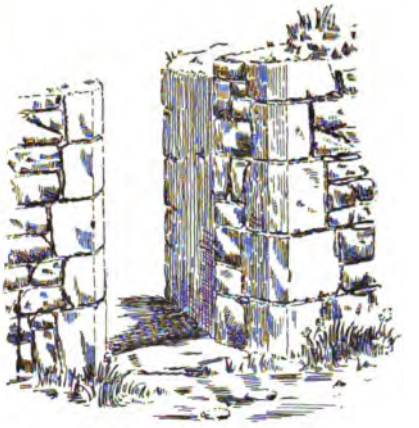
GALLEY ABBEY · CARMARTHENSHIRE · No 3



PLAN OF DOORWAY
R GRANSEPS



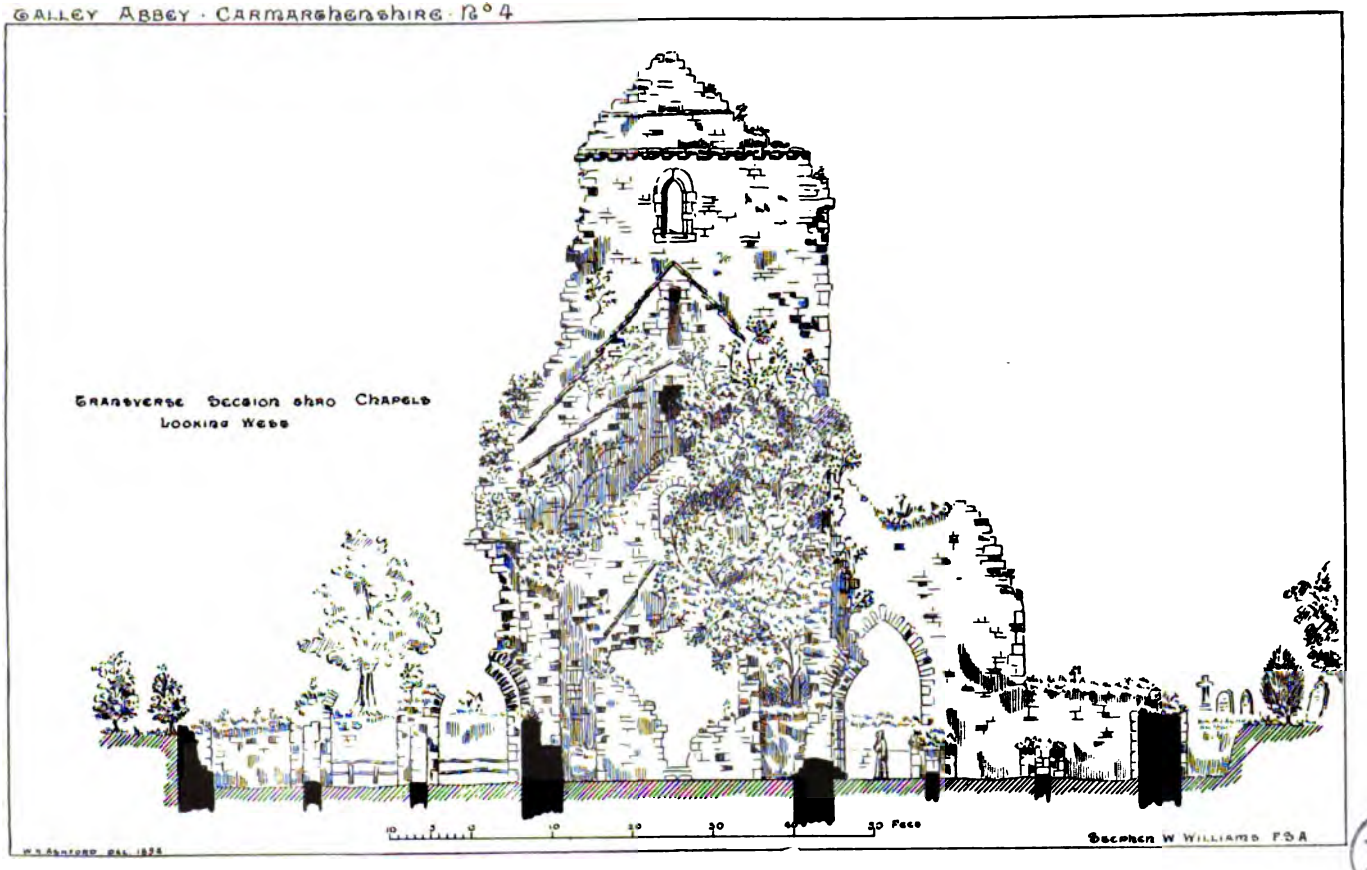
NORTH ELEVATION



BREACH OF DOORWAY
R. GRANSEPS

DRAWN BY W. WILLIAMS · F.S.A

GALLEY ABBEY · CARMARTHENSHIRE · No 4



unable to finish their magnificent church, of which they built the nave only.

After Rhys ap Grufydd's death in 1197, one of his sons, Gruffydd ap Rhys, or Rhys Gryg, may have granted the unfinished and probably ruinous Abbey of Talley to the Premonstratensian canons, and the then Abbot of Whitland may not have objected; but his successor, described by Giraldus as the "fresh and raw monk, who with too great haste, and, as it were, almost out of the novitiate, had been raised to the abbacy, being young and vigourous", upon succeeding to the Abbacy of Whitland endeavoured to expel the canons and resume the ownership of Talley and its possessions. The litigation that resulted from this high-handed proceeding is fully told in Mr. Owen's interesting paper; the effect, no doubt, upon the finances of the Premonstratensian canons was disastrous; and hence, when they came to complete their church and conventual buildings, they could not afford anything but the plainest and rudest style of architecture, such as could be constructed entirely with local materials and by native labour. Hence the entire absence of any freestone work or carving, and also the uncompleted portions of the church.

No doubt, as years went on, they gradually decorated their church with colour: fragments of painted plaster found in the ruins prove this—and filled their plain pointed windows with stained glass.

The theory that has been advanced is, of course, purely conjectural, but it may lead to further search hereafter, as to whether any records will bear out the proposition that has, with much diffidence, been stated; and we shall see, in going through the results of the excavations, how far they tell a story consistent with the idea that the Cistercians possibly commenced to build at Talley in the middle of the twelfth century; that they subsequently abandoned it, and the Premonstratensians took possession, probably late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century; then the

Cistercians tried to oust them and failed; and so Talley continued until the Dissolution to be a house of Premonstratensian canons.

It would be very interesting to know if any trace of the proceedings before Archbishop Hubert Walter are at Canterbury, or in the Record Office; and it is just possible that, in the Vatican Library at Rome, the particulars of the appeal to the Pope may be there hid away amid the vast masses of records which probably exist relating to the English and Welsh monasteries.

Upon reference to the plan, it will be observed that at the west end the outline of the base of the buttress of the south-west angle of the church has been defined, and the position and dimensions of the foundations of the west door have been made out; this enabled us to fix accurately the number of piers and arches in the nave. The north-western angle of the church we failed to discover, and no traces of foundations of the north wall until we reached the second pier from the tower; and at that point, apparently, there was a set-off, indicating that a building of some kind had existed in connection with this portion of the north aisle. Where the set-off is shown it is an external wall with a splayed base, and it may have been a chapel opening on to the short length which was completed; there can be no doubt that the north aisle was finished as far as the second pier from the tower, as the foundations were traced, as shown on the plan, to that point; and there is still in existence, against the west wall of the north transept, the water table of the lean-to roof of the aisle, and the projecting bond stones (or toothings) of the north wall are there to the full height. The opening into the north transept from the north aisle is under a pointed arch, which has now been restored; but this opening was, like others, blocked by a thinner wall of rubble masonry at a later date, when the dimensions of the Abbey Church were curtailed. A similar thin wall had been built between all the piers, and blocked the arches of the north arcade.

This wall was clearly traced as far as the fourth pier westward of the tower; but beyond that it has not been defined, neither have the bases of the piers been uncovered.

The whole of the south wall of the church was discovered and followed for its entire length, therefore we may pretty safely assume that the foundations of the piers can be found westward of the cross-wall in the nave, which probably defines the west wall of the Parish Church after the Dissolution. At that time the wall blocking the north transept was also probably erected, and the first Parish Church would extend eastwards of this wall, right through the tower to the original east wall of the presbytery, and may have also included the south transept and its chapels as well. At some later period the small chancel was built inside the presbytery; in Pl. 4 will be seen three lines of water table: the highest, the original line of roofs; secondly, a line of roof of later date; and thirdly, the water table of the small late chancel of the Parish Church.

In the south wall of the nave are two doors, the eastern one is the door into the east walk of the cloister which had been blocked up; the other, about the centre of the nave, may be a door broken through when the church was shortened; or it possibly may be the original door to the west walk of the cloister of the Premonstratensian canons.

The Cistercian builders would have placed their south-west door nearer the west end of the church, as at Strata Florida, giving a larger cloister garth.

It is quite impossible to say whether or no the Premonstratensian church ever extended beyond the cross-wall at the fourth pier from the tower, and what has been discovered westwards of that line may be merely the foundations and partially built walls of the first builders.

In this cross-wall was a west doorway in the centre of the nave, 6 ft. wide.

The outer threshold of the doorway is about 1 ft. 6 ins. below the present level of the churchyard, and there is a paved footway (*in situ*) leading up to it at the same level, which has been followed westward for about 5 ft., and apparently continues. On the inside of the doorway are three descending steps, arriving at a floor level of about 2 ft. 8 ins. below that of the threshold, this floor level being only about 8 ins. higher than the floor level of the north transept.

The steps are of the roughest description, and appear to have been only intended to serve a temporary purpose.

At Strata Marcella Abbey something of the same kind was found: a distinct shortening of the church at a later period, earlier materials in this case being used upon an inferior and irregular foundation; jamb and base mouldings not occupying the original positions for which they were worked; and in the wall itself fragments of mouldings built in.

In this case it was noted that apparently the original west doorway had been taken down and rebuilt, leaving eight bays of the nave arcade outside. The destruction of Strata Marcella was attributed to Owain Glyndwr; and it is not improbable that after he had burnt the Abbey, the monks were unable to restore the whole church, and therefore shortened it by cutting off eight of the ten bays of the nave.

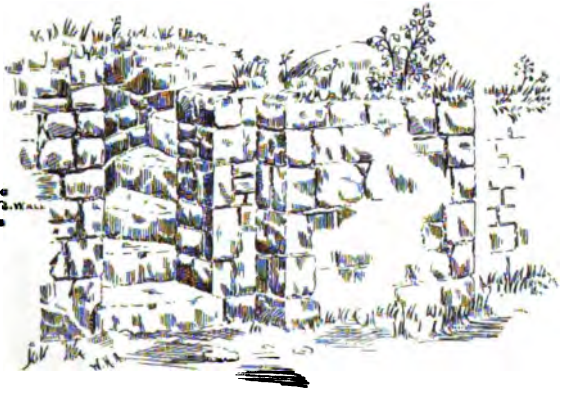
Whether some similar misfortune befell Talley is not known. It may have been so, and in that case the Premonstratensian canons, when they first took over the church, possibly completed it from east to west, with the exception of part of the north aisle, upon what I believe to have been the lines of foundations laid down in the first instance by the Cistercian monks of Whitland.

Pls. 1, 2, 3 and 4 accurately delineate the central tower, from each point of view, as it appeared in 1893-4, when the excavations of the eastern end of the church were completed to floor level. The tower

Talley Abbey Carmarthenshire · No 5.

Breach shewing position of Window & Doorway in South wall of Chancel

Section thro N Transept looking North



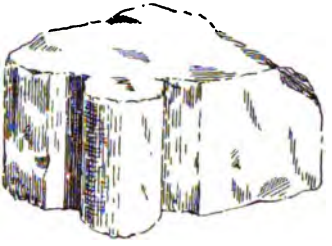
Breach shewing Barricade in N. Wall of N Transept

Stephen W Williams F S A

Talley Abbey Carmarthenshire 1886.

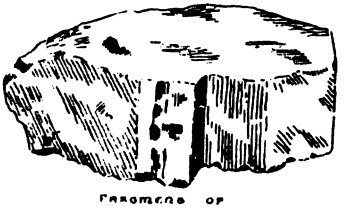
Arch Voussoir

Arched Key found in Tower



Moulded Quoin from Pier

Corbel Stone from Tower

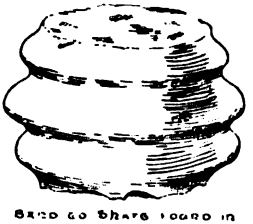


Fragments of Window Jamb

Fragments of Window Jamb

Glazed tile - Sunk pattern only complete one found

Fragments of Cross Ornaments found in Presbytery - Incised & Sunk work on Glass



Bird or Shape found in N. Transept - supposed to belong to Altar Tide

C. H. Ashford del. 1886

Sculpter W. Williams F.S.A.

had what is called a saddle-back roof, and its ridge ran from east to west; from floor line to apex was about 95 ft.; on plan it is perfectly square, with an internal dimension of 29 ft. To the underside of the corbel course is about 78 ft. from the floor line; immediately below this, on the east side, still remains an early Transitional lancet light; below that comes the original sharp-pitched water table, with a high but narrow opening from the tower to the roof over the presbytery; below this, at a much flatter pitch, is a later water table, and a nearly square opening into the presbytery roof. Blocking up the eastern arch of the tower is seen the east wall of the nave of the parish church, with a segmental arched window, below which is the water table of the small chancel shown upon the plan, and built inside the walls of the presbytery. This portion of the parish church must be comparatively modern: probably of the seventeenth century.

The parish abandoned the Abbey church in the eighteenth century, and in 1772 erected the present church on the north side of the monastery.

In Pl. 2 is delineated the moulded stonework of the north-east pier of the tower, showing how very oddly it stops at the springing of the arch.

In Pl. 3 is shown the steps leading up in the thickness of the tower wall to the bell loft; and branching off from these was a passage, also in the thickness of the wall, running all round the church above the nave arcades and below the clerestory windows; this passage is shown in section in Pls. 1, 2 and 3. In Pl. 3 is also seen the water table of the roof of the north transept, which corresponds in height with the original roof over the presbytery; and this also gives us the pitch and height of the roof over the nave, assuming that the Premonstratensians actually completed the entire church during the first period of their building.

In Pl. I is shown the interior of the tower, looking east. It will be observed that there is a distinct break in the masonry of the tower, where the south wall joins

on to the east; this break is still more palpable when looking at the tower itself; and it can be clearly seen that the south wall of the tower must at some time have fallen outwards, and a new south wall has been built, certainly from the springing of the eastern arch of the tower upwards. This is a very curious fact, and it is possible that the Cistercians may have abandoned the building for many years; the walls had probably suffered from exposure to the weather, and the Premonstratensians in completing the tower may have found some portion of it had fallen in, or may have built upon work in bad condition and it subsequently collapsed.

We can hardly suppose that the original builders carried up the east wall of the tower to its full height, and then the later builders added the south wall; this would be a very peculiar and unsatisfactory mode of building any tower, especially one of this size and height; and it is far more probable that at some early period the south wall may have fallen and been rebuilt. It is just possible the damage to the tower may have taken place in A.D. 1248, when St. David's Cathedral was much damaged, and Lincoln Cathedral entirely destroyed, by the great earthquake which occurred in that year, and caused serious damage throughout England and Wales.

Pls. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 7 illustrate the discoveries made in the transepts and the transeptal chapels. These, as at Strata Florida and in many other Cistercian churches, are three in number in each transept: and here I would refer my readers to a very interesting article by Mr. Patrick O'Leary in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, upon the Cistercian Abbey of Graignamanagh, which is illustrated with an admirable plan; and it will be seen how very nearly the plan of this abbey agrees with the original design for Talley.

At Graignamanagh the tower is 29 ft. square internally; transepts, with three chapels in each, 37 ft.

by 29 ft; presbytery, 45 ft. by 29 ft. Mr. O'Leary remarks upon the striking similarity between the Abbey church at Graignamanagh and that at Strata Florida, and this resemblance is equally striking as regards Talley, with the one exception that the nave of Talley has eight arches in the arcade, the other two have only seven. In pretty well every other dimension, the three churches are as nearly as possible identical.

The internal walls of both transepts have been cleared down to floor level, and a height varying from 3 ft. to 8 ft. of the walls is still standing. In each of the chapels the bases of altars have been found, and portions of the original tile-pavements, of plain red, blue, and buff glazed tiles. The footpace in front of the altars has had the tiles laid diagonally to the lines of the building, the remainder of the floors of the chapels being laid in lines parallel to the north and south walls. The whole of the north transept has apparently been similarly paved, but the tiles have all been removed.

In the north-east angle of the north transept is the newel staircase, which was the approach over the chapels to the ringing-loft in the tower, and to the triforium before alluded to. The nave was lighted by clerestory windows, probably one over every arch in the arcade. A similar staircase in the larger chapel apparently led to a chamber over. In this chapel we found the splay of the east window, and a recess with a plain pointed freestone arch with a piscina; and there is an opening into the presbytery, blocked up at some later period. On Pl. 7 this chapel has been incorrectly described as the "sacristy"; subsequent excavations have proved that the two buildings on the south side of the presbytery are probably the sacristy.

The lengthening of the chapel and the insertion of the staircase is apparently a later addition, the eastern wall not being bonded into the north wall of the presbytery.

Against the western wall of the north transept is a mass of masonry which looks like the base of an altar-

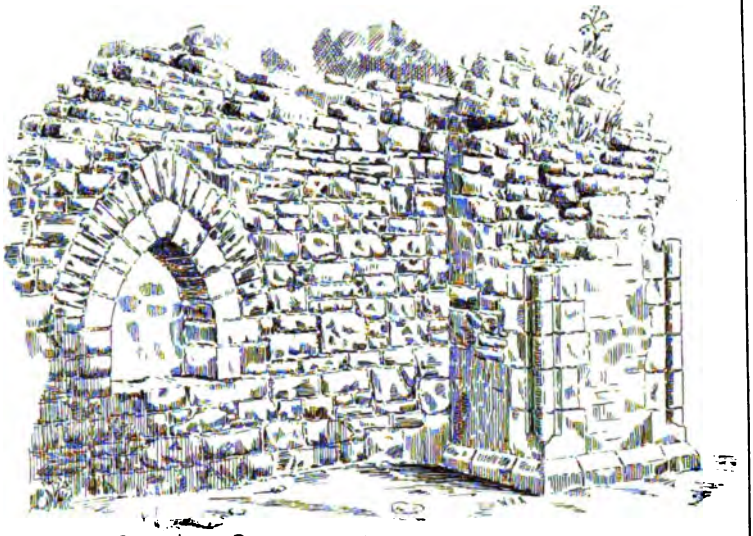
tomb, and the two smaller wing walls, north and south, may have carried some portion of the canopy. If not for this purpose, it is somewhat difficult to say what else it was intended for.

In tracing the external face of the east wall of the presbytery, the angle buttresses were found, with boldly-splayed bases, the splay being continuous round the external walls of this portion of the church. We also found the foundations of the buttresses dividing the east window into a triplet. It had probably narrow lancet lights, and a roll moulding round the jambs and arches (see Pl. 6).

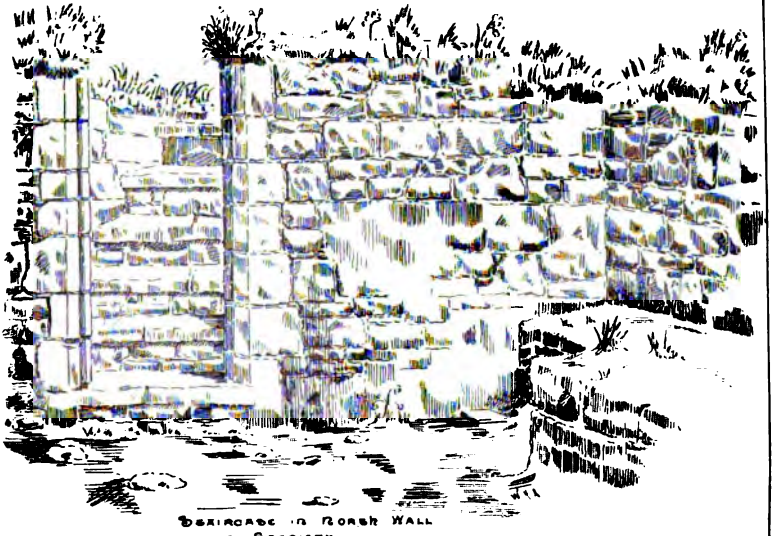
On the south side of the presbytery is the sacristy, opening into a smaller building between it and the east wall of the chapel in the south transept. This small building is connected with the presbytery by a narrow doorway, with splayed freestone jambs. It is illustrated on the upper part of Pl. 5, but in this case the draughtsman has made a mistake in calling it south wall of "*chancel*", and the "*position of window*" shown in the drawing may be the sedilia; so little is left except the rude rubble masonry that it is very difficult to be certain in these matters.

All the chapels had plain semicircular barrel vaults; the spring of which, and some portion of the vaulting, are still remaining in both chapels adjoining the presbytery north and south.

There is one peculiarity at Talley in the arrangement of the transeptal chapels, which is undoubtedly an alteration made by the Premonstratensian canons: they have broken through the partition walls between the centre and two side chapels in the north and south transepts. This has been done after the chapels had been built and vaulted; the openings are irregular in size and have been rudely executed; the jambs have been constructed in rough rubble masonry, which does not bond properly with the original partition walls. Here we have an illustration of different ritual arrangements to that of the early Cistercian plan.



Breach of Piscina
in Bacristy



Beairoade in North Wall
of Bacristy

Drawn W. Williams F.S.A.

In the plan of the Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Agatha juxta Richmond, by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, published in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, the transeptal chapels are not divided by partition walls. The sacristy is built against the south wall of the presbytery, with a door into it as at Talley; and there is a second sacristy south of the south transept which has been lengthened, with an altar at the east end, and a newel staircase, very much resembling the enlarged chapel in the north transept at Talley. In the Yorkshire abbey there is also a large chapel on the north side of the north aisle, occupying the same relative position as that of which we found traces at Talley.

In the three southern transeptal chapels the tile floors have nearly all been removed, but we found the bed of mortar in which they were laid. In the south chapel of this transept was a doorway opening into an adjoining building, which may have been the chapter-house; and there are walls south of this which it is very difficult, in the present state of the excavations, to say to what part of the monastic buildings they may have belonged. At some future time it is hoped the work may be resumed, and then further information may be gleaned as to the various buildings which constituted the conventual establishment, so far as they still remain.

In the middle of the central chapel was discovered the foundation of a mass of masonry, 4 ft. 6 in. square. It is quite impossible to say for what purpose this could have been placed in the centre of the chapel.

In the north chapel there were a few of the paving-tiles left, and in the north-western angle there is a plain doorway opening into the presbytery (now blocked by the chancel walls of the later parish church): it had two ascending steps into the presbytery. This would prove that the floor of the presbytery was two steps higher than the transepts, with probably a third step to the footpace of the high altar. This was the original arrangement at Strata Florida, but was altered

after that Abbey church was destroyed by fire in A.D. 1284.

I must, in conclusion, bear testimony to the care and skill with which Mr. Long Price superintended the whole of the excavations; and to him, in conjunction with Sir James Drummond and the Vicar of Talley, is largely due the credit of having carried the work, so far as it has been completed, to so satisfactory a termination.

Mr. Long Price, in one of his Reports upon the progress of the works, expresses an opinion upon the question of whether the Abbey church of Talley was ever completed by the Premonstratensian canons, and to some extent I agree with his conclusions; but, as I have before stated, I think it is probable that they completed the church in the first instance, all except a portion of the north aisle; but owing to the constant wars and troubles in Wales during the period extending from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, when their abbey may have suffered severely, they may have found it impossible to maintain so extensive a building as their earlier church; and, consequently, like the monks of Strata Marcella, probably left a considerable portion of it to fall into decay and ruin, long before the dissolution of their monastery by Henry VIII.

I will, therefore, conclude my paper with an extract from Mr. Long Price's letter to me of the 23rd April, 1893, as follows: "It appears clear that the north aisle was never built further than the point (7) opposite the second pier from the tower, for in all the trial holes between that and point (10), (the north-western angle of the church), we got into virgin soil.

"It is also pretty clear that the presumably intervening walls between the three piers west of the west end were never built." On this point I do not quite agree with Mr. Long Price, as I think the excavations have scarcely been carried far enough to quite settle this question.

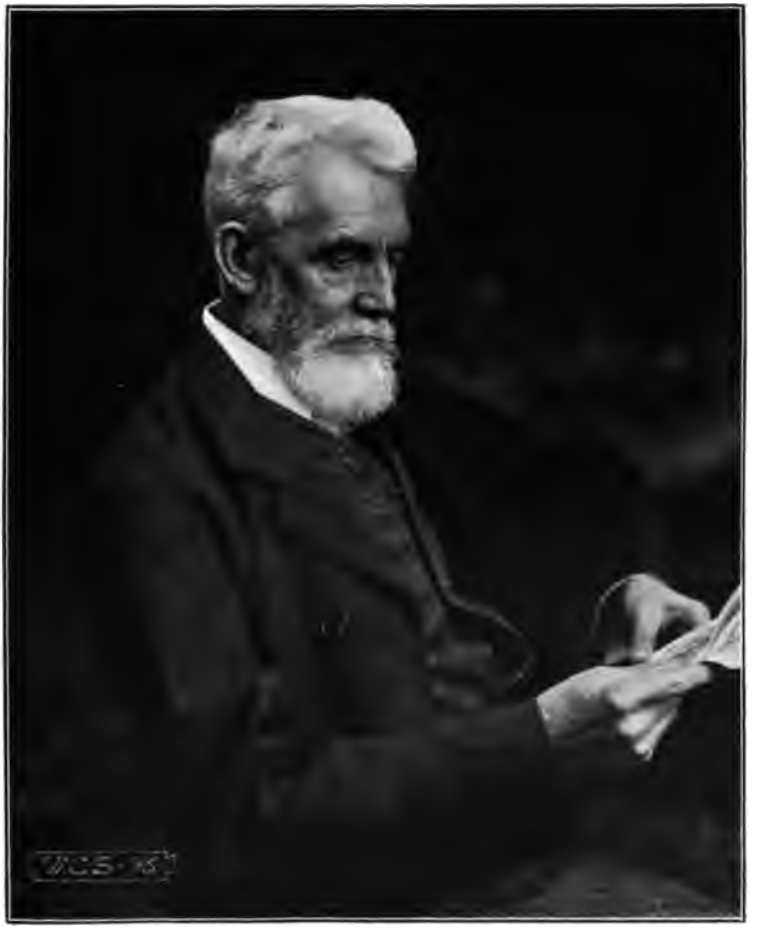
Mr. Long Price in continuation says: "I am disposed

to think that the building of the west wall stopped short at the south corner of the intended west entrance. My theory fits in with and confirms Mr. Owen's paper in *Arch. Camb.*; in which he asserts, on what appears to me to be very strong if not unassailable grounds, that at a very early stage of the existence of the abbey the brotherhood fell, before the Cistercian attack, into financial difficulty: which we have pretty plain proof of in the early discontinuance of any ornamental work; that afterwards, owing to 'the law's delays', and consequent expenses, they long remained in an impecunious condition—evidenced again by an absence of any attempt to introduce a better kind of work into the remaining portion of the building—and that, in fact, the whole 'story of the stones' goes to support his suggestion that 'Talley was a poor house of Premonstratensian canons'."

MR. WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, F.L.S.

To the regular attendants at the annual meetings of the Cambrian Archæological Association, few faces are more familiar than that of Mr. Worthington G. Smith. But it is to be feared that Mr. Smith's artistic and scientific attainments are unknown, even to many of these, by reason of his own modesty of character and retiring disposition. The excellent practice of honouring in their lifetime those who have rendered long, able, and unstinted service to Cambrian archæology having been instituted by the biographies and portraits of Mr. Bloxam, the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, and the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, we have now pleasure in adding to this list of worthies the name of Mr. Worthington G. Smith.

Mr. Smith was born in London in 1835, and studied for the profession of architecture. This was the period of the revival of mediæval art under the influence of Pugin and others of his school, and young Smith soon found a vocation in supplying designs of the ornamental adjuncts of church architecture, such as screens, altars, tabernacles, croziers, and similar objects. For the purpose of these designs he was led to the study of the forms of flowers and leaves from nature: an example of the manner in which one branch of study when conscientiously carried out frequently leads to the study of a subject lying in a very different direction. His ecclesiastical designs brought him into contact with the well-known engraver, Orlando Jewitt, under whose influence he soon combined the work of designing with that of engraving. At this time he also did a great deal of work for *The Builder*, both in drawing and engraving, including illustrations of Sir G. G. Scott's restoration of Westminster Abbey, the new Law Courts, the restored interior of Cologne Cathedral, the



Worthington G. Smith
1896.

interior of Worcester Cathedral, and scores of similar subjects.

Mr. Jewitt was a good botanist as well as an archæologist and wood engraver, and he recommended Mr. Smith to study the botanical as well as the ornamental aspect of plants. Acting upon this advice, Mr. Smith commenced a large number of original botanical drawings of flowering plants and fungi, the former of which were at once purchased by Messrs. Marcus Ward and Co., while all the drawings of fungi were bought by the trustees of the British Museum. In 1870, Mr. Smith became chief engraver to the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, and soon established a high reputation for himself for the accuracy and beauty of his illustrations. From 1869 to 1876 he illustrated and in part edited the *Floral Magazine*, and he was one of the contributors, by both pen and pencil, to the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1884 he wrote his *Diseases of Field and Garden Crops* for Macmillan's scientific series of class books, and for this work he engraved one hundred and forty-three illustrations with his own hand directly from nature. The trustees of the British Museum having decided to publish a catalogue of the fungi and lichens in the Museum, Mr. Smith was commissioned to produce it, and for it he executed some of his finest botanical drawings. A number of his water-colour drawings of fungi are exhibited in the Bethnal Green Museum and in the Natural History Collections at South Kensington. In this utilitarian age it need hardly be observed that work of the nature we have been referring to, but of which our chronicle is sadly incomplete, is not likely to prove profitable to its devotee; nor has Mr. Smith been influenced by the commercial spirit in his steady determination to make his artistic work as perfect as possible.[1]

[1] A good deal is heard nowadays of the relation between authors and publishers. The following experience of Mr. Smith may be commended to the Authors' Society. His first book was called *Mushrooms and Toadstools*, published by Mr. Hardwicke. For the

But his labours in a difficult branch of science, though "caviare to the general", have not gone unrecognised by the small section who are capable of appreciating their value and importance. A few years ago he was awarded the Banksian Medal in gold of the Royal Horticultural Society for his drawings of plants, and a little later he received the Knightian Gold Medal of the Society for his investigations into the nature of the parasitic fungus of the potato disease—investigations that involved the expenditure of time and money to the amount of over £400. He has also been the recipient of a box of silver plate, presented to him by the Herefordshire Woolhope Club in recognition of his scientific attainments.

Whilst devoting himself to botanical work, with a singleness of purpose that would have sufficed for most persons, Mr. Smith still retained his early *penchant* for archæology. Happily for the artistic reputation of this Journal, at a period when excellence in archæological draftsmanship had been almost destroyed by the discovery and multiplication of all manner of cheap reproductive "processes", Mr. Smith became acquainted with the late Rev. E. L. Barnwell, through the introduction of the late Rev. James Davies, Prebendary of Hereford. Mr. Barnwell, at that period, was practically the autocrat of the Association, and justified what we fear must be acknowledged to have been a somewhat irregular position by the wisdom and generosity that marked his rule. He instantly appreciated the advan-

work, together with two sheets of coloured and a number of plain illustrations, he received the sum of £10. Mr. Hardwicke promised the author an interest in the sale of the book, but he died soon afterwards, and the work passed into first one and then another publisher's hands. It has had a good sale for twenty or thirty years. Someone reproduced the book, and copied the drawings to a smaller scale without the knowledge of the author. Mr. Smith wrote to one of the later publishers, asking to be allowed to correct the letterpress of the old edition according to newer knowledge. The publisher wrote that he did not want it revised. Mr. Smith never obtained more than the original £10.

tages that would accrue to the Association from the services of Mr. Smith; and the personal predilections of Mr. Smith concurring, the connection that has existed between him and the Association—and that we trust will long continue—was commenced. The first meeting at which Mr. Smith was present was that of Carmarthen in 1875; and he has since attended these annual gatherings for twenty years without a break. During this period, Mr. Smith has visited almost every corner of the Principality, and his attendance at as many successive annual meetings of our Association has been supplemented by friendly visits to those of our members who have learned to appreciate the fulness of his mind and the charm of his character. On these occasions his pencil has been constantly engaged in adding to the immense store of drawings, the value of which are enhanced by their absolute fidelity as well as because of the unceasing operations of change and decay. A great number of these sketches were purchased by Mr. Barnwell, and presented by him a short time before his death to the Shrewsbury Museum—a course which we cannot but deplore. Many of Mr. Smith's drawings in this Journal have been accompanied by his own descriptions, and, when connected with prehistoric archæology, are characterised by the fulness and lucidity of a master.

Departing somewhat from his original line, Mr. Smith has been led to the study of prehistoric antiquity, by his remarkable discovery of a "palæolithic floor" in the north of London,[1] whence he extracted about 1,000 implements of flint, in addition to a large collection of

[1] A portion of the "palæolithic floor" (*i.e.*, the original surface of the ground in the Palæolithic Age) is to be seen in the British Museum, with bones of extinct mammalia and flint instruments strewn about exactly as they were found by Mr. Smith. It is a great pity that this extremely interesting exhibit should not be placed where it would attract the attention it deserves, instead of being stowed away at the bottom of one of the cases, where probably not one in an hundred of the visitors to the Museum ever notices it at all.

fossil bones, antlers, teeth, etc. Subsequently, after his removal from London to Dunstable, he made a still greater discovery of a palæolothic settlement at Caddington, which upon careful exhumation yielded a large number of flint implements. A number of these are now in the galleries of the British Museum. The results of practically twenty years of exploration and digging were published in a volume called *Man, the Primæval Savage* (Stanford and Co.), illustrated by 240 drawings engraved by the author. This volume together with the well-known work of Sir John Evans constitutes the chief contributions that have yet been made in this country to the science of prehistoric archæology.

Mr. Smith's latest architectural drawings on paper have been a large series in water-colours illustrative of Patrishow church, Brecon; Easby Abbey and church, and Richmond Castle, Yorkshire.

Obituary.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, M.A., F.L.S., F.S.A., F.R.S., Vice-President of the Cambrian Archæological Association.

OF Professor Babington's eminence in other fields of science and of literature, or of his high personal character, it is not my purpose to write; but only of his distinction as an archæologist, and of his long and valued services in connection with our Cambrian Association.

It was in the year 1850 that Mr. Babington joined the Association, when it was just emerging from its tentative stage of infancy and beginning to launch out on its own responsibility. The Journal, the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, which down to that year had been the private venture of the Editors, now became the property and the acknowledged organ of the Association. The first Annual Meeting he attended was the one held at Tenby in 1851, when he took part in the discussions. In 1853, at Brecon, he was elected a member of the General Committee; and in 1855, at Llandilo, he was chosen to be its Chairman, and at the same time was placed on the small Publication Committee of three. As Chairman of the Committee, it was one of his duties to give at the evening meetings a *résumé* of the day's excursion, and to point out the chief objects of interest visited, with their bearing on general as well as local archæology. The purpose of the *résumé* was twofold: to enable those who had been unable to accompany the excursions to follow their proceedings, and to elicit a fuller discussion of the more important points than was possible in the limited time available on the spot.

Such a duty required not only a wide and accurate knowledge of archæology, but also a thoughtful arrangement, and a clear and ready expression. And so efficiently did he discharge this duty, that for thirty years in succession he was elected to the position. To mark still further their appreciation of his services, the Association chose him to be their President for the year 1881, when it met at Church Stretton: a compliment which he acknowledged in his address to be peculiarly gratifying, not only because of the special interest he felt in the botany and archæology of the district, but also because it was in his native county of Salop. He was born at Ludlow, and his last contribution to the Journal was on "The Circular Chapel in Ludlow Castle." Under the pressure, however, of failing health, he was reluctantly compelled, in 1885, to resign the Chairmanship which he had filled so long and so well, and the Annual Report of that year bore testimony to "the onerous duties which he had discharged with unfailing courtesy, and with a breadth of knowledge in archæological subjects which had been of great

service to the Association." And when, finally, he passed to his rest in July 1895, a resolution was passed in the following month at the Annual Meeting, held at Launceston, "expressive of the loss the Association had felt in the death of one of its most learned members, and of its sympathy with Mrs. Babington in her affliction."

On looking back over the records of the discussions at the Annual Meetings, and the witness they bear to his knowledge of general archæology, we find that the phase which appeared to have most attraction for him was that of the ancient defences and fortifications of the country; and it was on these that almost all his articles in the Journal turned. Indeed, this line was foreshadowed in his article on "Ancient Cambridgeshire", in the publication of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, reviewed in *Arch. Camb.*, 1856; and it was wound up in his Presidential Address at Church Stretton on "The Classification of the Camps and Primæval Fortifications of Wales".

The list of his contributions to the Journal comprise: In

1857. "Gaervawr, and a supposed Roman Road near Welshpool."

1858. "The Firbolgic Forts in the South Isles of Arran, Ireland."

1861. "Ancient Fortifications near the Mouth of the Valley of Llanberis, Carnarvonshire."

1862. "The Kjokkenmodlings of Denmark."

1863. "The Hospital of St. Lawrance Ponteboy, Bodmin."

1865. "Cyclopæan Walls near Llanberis."

1879. "An ancient Fort near St. David's."

1879. "On the supposed Birth of Edward II in the Eagle Tower of Carnarvon Castle."

1880. "On several Antiquities in North Wales."

1882. "On the Circular Chapel in Ludlow Castle."

D. R. T.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

Early Sculptured Stones in Ireland.—Mr. D. Griffith Davies, of Bangor, has been kind enough to send drawings of the fragments of ancient Irish crosses, here reproduced for publication in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for the purpose of comparison with monuments of the same period in Wales. The rubbings from which the drawings have been made were taken during the Galway Meeting of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in July 1895.

Fig. 1.—A fragment, probably of the shaft of a cross, with portion

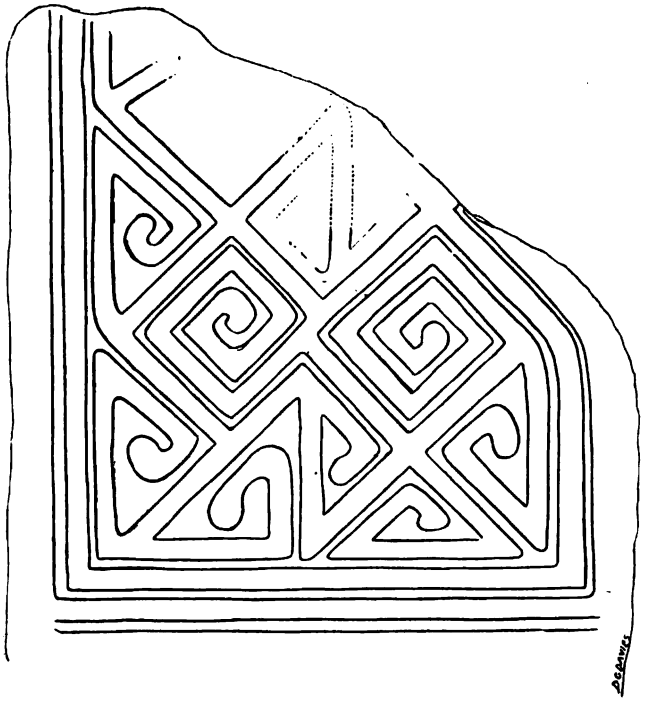


Fig. 1.—Fragment of Cross near the Round Tower on Tory Island.

of a panel containing a key-pattern upon it. This fragment lies near the round tower at West Town, Tory Island, on or near the site of the Columban monastery, of which very little now remains to be seen.

Fig. 2.—A fragment, also lying near the round tower on Tory Island. It is decorated with interlaced work and spirals.

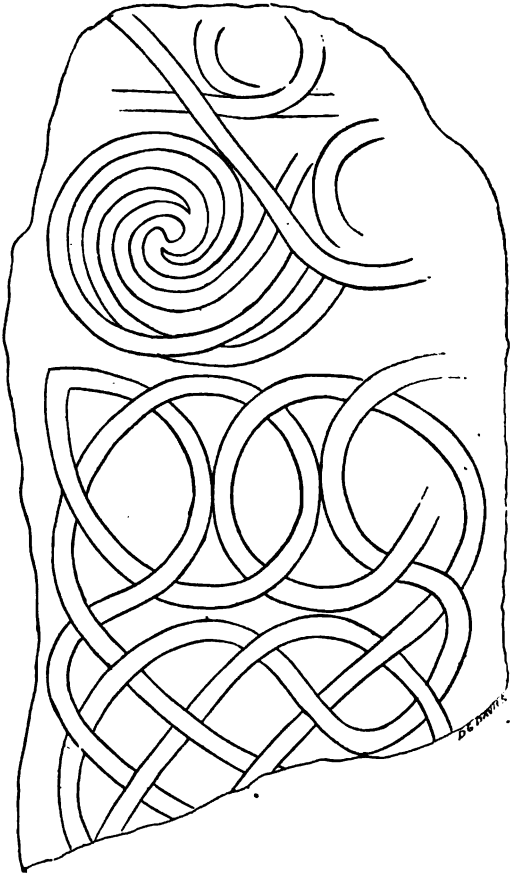


Fig. 2.—Fragment of Cross near the Round Tower on Tory Island.

Fig. 3.—A small slab with an incised cross upon it, built into the north wall of the cashel of Inismurray, near the entrance to Teach Molaise, apparently in its original position.

Fig. 4.—Small incised cross and harp, carved on a boulder near the entrance to St. Molaise's Well, outside the cashel on Inismurray on the eastern side.

Fig. 5.—Slab, with cross carved upon it, erected within the cashel which encloses St. Fechin's Church on Ardoilean, or High Island.

Figs. 6 and 6A.—Front and back of mutilated cross at Leabha

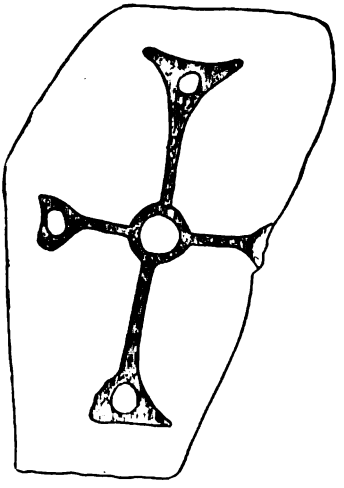


Fig. 3.—Slab with Incised Cross, Inismurray.

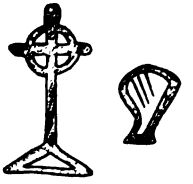


Fig. 4.—Small Incised Cross and Harp on a Stone near St. Molaise's Well, Inismurray.

Fig. 5.—Cross-slab near St. Fechin's Church, Ardoilean,

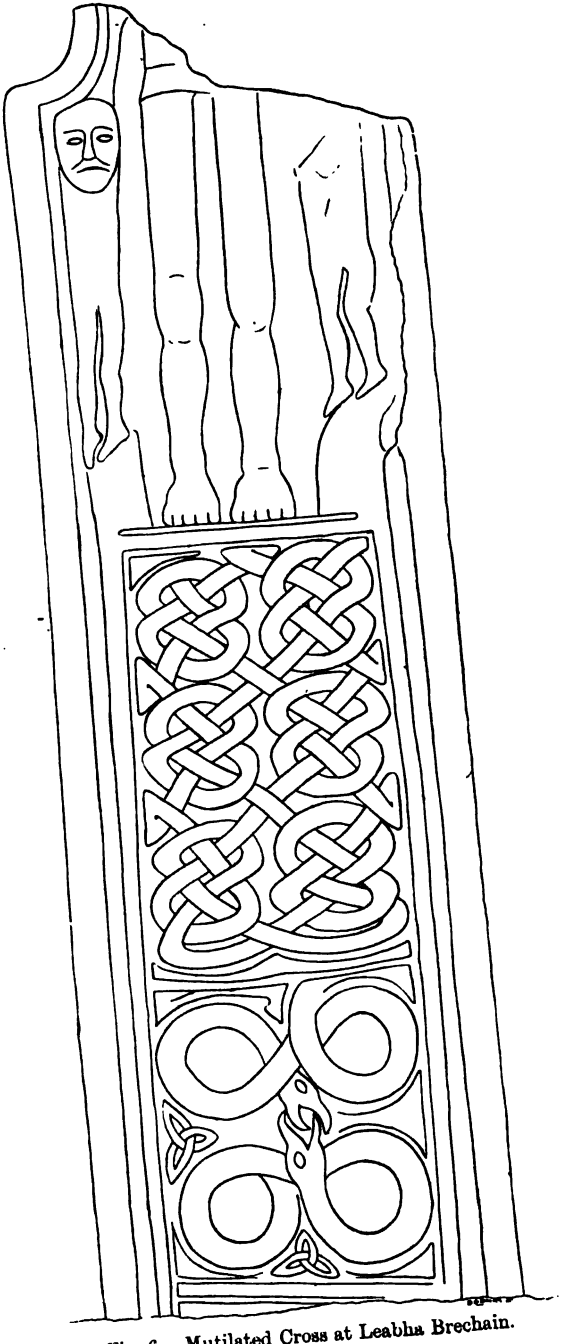


Fig. 6.—Mutilated Cross at Leabha Brechain.

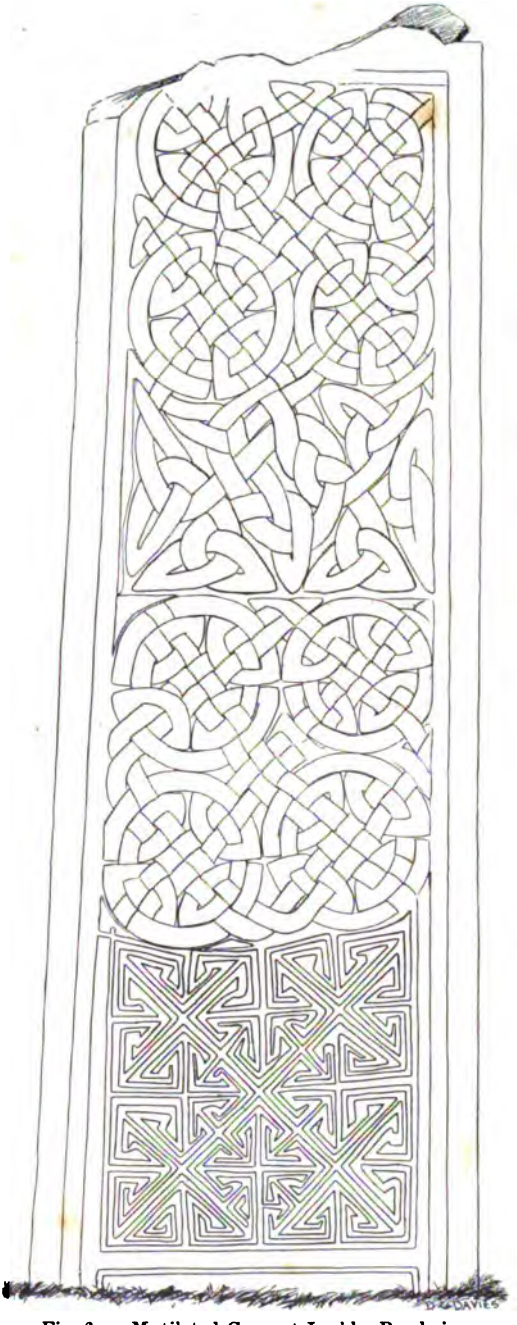
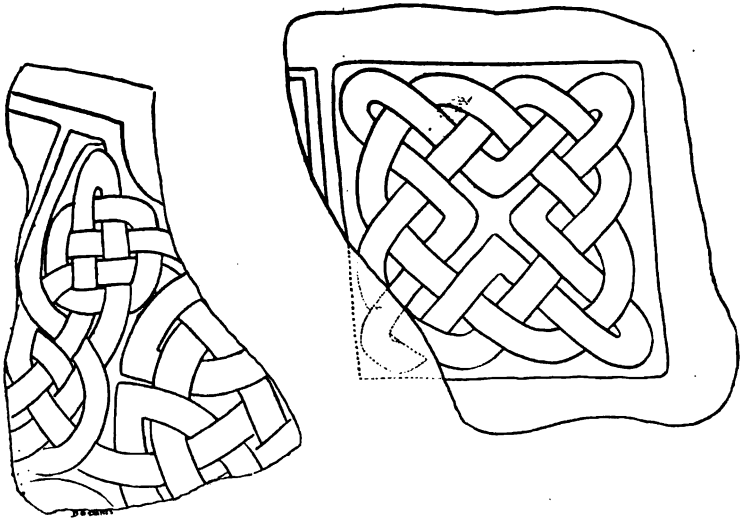


Fig. 6A.—Mutilated Cross at Leabha Brechain.

Brechain, North Island of Arran. On the front is the Crucifixion, with the soldiers with the spear and sponge, with two panels of ornament below; (1) interlaced work, composed of figure-of-eight knots arranged in two vertical rows, with loops introduced between each knot; and (2) a pair of serpents, with triquetra knots in two of the spandrels. The back is decorated with three separate pieces of ornament all in one panel: (1) a continuous piece of interlaced work, composed of circular and triangular knots arranged in two vertical rows; (2) the same circular knots as at the top, arranged in two vertical rows; and (3) a key pattern, similar to that which occurs on the ancient font now used as a font in Penmon Priory Church, Anglesey.



Figs. 7 and 8.—Fragments of Cross at Leabha Brechain.

Figs. 7 and 8.—Fragments, possibly belonging to the same cross at Leabha Brechain, lying on the top of the wall round the enclosure called Leabha Brecain, the supposed grave of St. Brecan.

CORRECTION.—In the article entitled "Lewis Morris's Notes on Some Inscribed Stones in Wales" (*Arch. Camb.*, April 1896, p. 129), No. II, Rhos Dowyrch, was incorrectly placed under Carmarthenshire. The hill called Pen y Benglog, near which the stone in question was placed, gave its name to an ancient mansion which is mentioned in Fenton, p. 565; and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., informs me that he has come across the name Rhos Dowyrch as Rhos Tywarch. It is in the parish of Meliney, and the entry in question should, therefore, be placed under Pembrokeshire.—ED. OWEN.

Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. XIV, NO. LVI.

OCTOBER 1897.

SLEBECH COMMANDERY AND THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.

BY J. ROGERS REES, ESQ.

(*Continued from p.* 228.)

V.—Concerning some of the Donors.

(1) If our readers will refer back to the Schedule of the Possessions of the Hospitallers, they will find the name of Robert (de Hwlfordd, lord of Haverfordwest), son of Richard Fitz Tancred (castellan of Haverfordwest under the Earl of Clare). This Robert was an unmistakeable product of his age. He not only gave lands to our Knights, but founded and liberally endowed the priory of Black Canons at Haverfordwest; and in this direction appears to have been a most admirable man. Fenton, filled with the story that Richard Fitz-Tancred often took food to Cradock the hermit, who had his cell near Haroldstone, considers that from such charitable missions, "we perhaps may date *the zeal* he, and *his son Robert* after him, *manifested for the cause of religion*".[1] This was the Robert who, when time hung heavily on his hands, used to pay a visit to Whitland and plunder the monastery there: who, in fact, made himself so infamous by his conduct that Bishop Peter

[1] *Pembrokeshire*, p. 231.

de Leia wished to excommunicate him, but was afraid to do so. And Bishop Peter also feared to refuse to institute Robert's son, a child of five years of age, to the churches of Haverfordwest.[1]

(2) Robert's father, Richard Fitz-Tancred (or Tancard), also appears in our list of donors. When Bishop David (1147-76) was busy dividing among his sons, daughters and nephews the few possessions of the See left to it by his predecessors,[2] he gave a fief of two soldiers to Richard Fitz-Tancard. Afterwards, when Peter de Leia was appointed Bishop of St. David's (1176), the barons and soldiers who held church-lands were, according to Giraldus, seized with a panic; for the new Bishop was not only a monk, but stood high in the favour of the King. So, on his first coming into his diocese, the Barons who held church-fiefs went out to greet him; determined, if necessary, to give up half their lands, with all their mills and the patronage of the churches, so that the rest of their possessions might remain secure to them. To their surprise, Peter not only received them courteously, but carried them off with him to St. David's, and there feasted them to their hearts' content. As they rode away from this unexpected hospitality, one of them, "a shrewd man named Richard, son of Tancard", said to the company: "Be quite at ease and confident. I promise you that we need never have any fear or dread of this bishop. Therefore, enjoy quiet sleep as long as he lives." So, instead of receiving back the alienated lands of St. David's, the new bishop had great difficulty in getting his whilom guests even to do the customary homage for them.

(3) This Peter seems to have been as bad as the rest of the Bishops of St. David's of those days. He gave away the possessions of the church, one after the other,

[1] *Symbolum Electorum*, Ep. XXXI, Op. I, 315, 316.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis evidently thought he was speaking well of Bishop David when he said that he impoverished his See "more sparingly and modestly" than did the other bishops.

in rapid succession;[1] "nay, he almost wholly gave away the lands of St. David's itself for Irish gold". If we are to credit the statements of Giraldus, he rarely visited his See, and then only for a short time. "He was the first of the Bishops of St. David's to go wandering about seeking hospitality in England as well as in Wales."[2]

(4) We have named William de Bruse (or Braose) as the donor of the church of Llanvihangel-nant-melan to the Hospitallers. About the time of this gift he invited Trehaern Vychan, lord of Llangorse, against whom he entertained a secret grudge, to meet him, ostensibly to confer on business. Unsuspicious of treachery and unprepared for defence, Trehaern met De Braose not far from Brecknock, when the latter ordered his bloodhounds to seize him, tied him to a horse's tail, and in that situation dragged him through the streets of the town; after which he was beheaded, and his dead body hung up by the feet for three days.[3]

The following year (1176), De Braose, having got a great number of Welshmen into the castle of Abergavenny, under the pretext of banqueting, proposed that they should take an oath that none of them, when journeying, would carry either bow or other weapon. This oath they indignantly refused to take.

[1] Llanrian, Lawrenny, and other lands had already been alienated by Bishop Wilfred; whilst Bernard, to secure the support of the Normans, had given away in fiefs the whole cantred of Pebidiog, which had been bestowed on the See by native princes. Some of Bishop David's doings have just been noticed; whilst Peter's are seen in the text to which this is a footnote. It might be added, by way of continuing the list, that Peter's successor, Geoffrey de Henelawe (1204-15), not only permitted the barons to appropriate the estates of the church, but made actual grants himself of lands which included those of Landegoph (Llanfair-nant-y-gof), and the Gower manor of Llanddewi.

[2] *De Jure et Statu Men. Eccl.*, II: Op. III, 144, 145, 159, 160, 161, 162.

[3] Woodward's *History of Wales*, p. 342. See also *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Bohn's Edn.), p. 368, footnote.

Then, "The Will of the Lord be done!" exclaimed De Braose: and straightway he and his followers fell upon the unsuspecting Welsh and butchered them.[1]

And yet, this reprobate, who under the mask of piety was capable of the most atrocious actions, found an apologist in Giraldus Cambrensis, who declared that something was to be said in his favour: "for he always placed the name of the Lord before his sentences, saying, 'Let this be done in the name of the Lord; let that be done by God's will; if it shall please God, or if God grant leave; it shall be so by the grace of God' . . . On taking leave of his brethren, he says, 'I will return to you again, if God permit.' . . . The letters also which he, as a rich and powerful man, was accustomed to send to different parts, were loaded, or rather honoured, with words expressive of the divine indulgence to a degree not only tiresome to his scribe, but even to his auditors; for as a reward to each of his scribes for concluding his letters with the words 'By divine assistance', he gave annually a piece of gold, in addition to their stipend. When, on a journey, he saw a church or a cross, although in the midst of conversation either with his inferiors or superiors, from an excess of devotion, he immediately began to pray, and when he had finished his prayers, resumed his conversation. On meeting boys in the way, he invited them by a previous salutation to salute him, that the blessings of these innocents, thus extorted, might be returned to him." Giraldus trusts that through his devotion De Braose obtained "temporal happiness and grace, as well as the glory of eternity".[2]

De Braose also had original ideas as to church property. He appropriated and retained what had been given for charitable uses to the chapel of Saint Nicholas in the castle of Brecon; and yet, by several charters, he recommended the church of St. John's, at

[1] *Hollinshed*, vol. ii, p. 95. See also *Roger of Wendover* (Bohn's Edn.), vol ii, p. 33.

[2] *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Bohn's Edn.), pp. 340, 341.

Brecon, to the care of all those that owed him "faith and friendship", and conjured them to promote its welfare "with all things needful".[1] Probably the gift of Nantmelan church to the Knights was but an endeavour to settle with God on account of some devilish wrong he had just committed—perhaps the murder of Trehaern or the ruthless slaughter of the Welsh at Abergavenny. His wife, the well-known Maud de St. Valeri (otherwise Moel Walbeck or Moll Wawbee), together with her son, was imprisoned by King John, and died of starvation; whilst De Braose himself escaped disguised into France, where he died in 1212.[2]

(5) William Mareschal (Earl of Pembroke, 1189-1219), gave Castellan Emlyn to the Hospitallers. In the course of an active life, he seems to have laid forcible hands on church territory in Ireland,[3] and was in consequence excommunicated, in which state he died. The King interposed to have the curse removed from the body of the dead Earl; but the Bishop would not interfere unless the lands were restored to the church, and when this was refused he confirmed the excommunication in these words: "What I have spoken cannot be reversed; the sentence must stand; the punishment of evil-doers is from God. Therefore the curse which the Psalmist hath written shall come upon the Earl. His name shall be rooted out in one generation; and his sons shall be deprived of the blessing: '*increase and multiply*'. Some of them shall die a miserable death, and their inheritance shall be scattered. And this thou, O, king! shalt behold in thy own lifetime". And it came to pass that in a few years all the

[1] Poole's *History of Brecon* (1876 Edn.), p. 7.

[2] See *Roger of Wendover* (Bohn's Edn.), vol. ii, pp. 255, 256.

[3] He founded, *circa* 1196, the Commandery of St. John and St. Bridget at Wexford, which was the Grand Priory of Ireland till 1313. Was this a case of giving to the Knights what had been taken from the church?

sons of William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, died without issue.

As to the Earl himself, his body was taken by the Templars, and buried in the Temple Church, London.[1]

(6) Readers will recall our mention of Rhys ap Gryffith as a benefactor of the Knights. According to Wright's notes on the text of Giraldus, he was "a prince of great talent, but great versatility of character, and made a conspicuous figure in Welsh history".[2] As to his versatility of character, there can be no two opinions. At one time we find him willing to take the Cross, an enricher of the Hospitallers, a founder of the Abbey of Strata-Florida; then he so grievously disturbs the peace of Holy Church that Bishop Peter de Leia has to remonstrate with him. But Rhys only laughed at the holy prelate, who went off to bed in a rage. Forthwith, Rhys and his "graceless sons" followed him, pulled him out of bed, and dragged him into a neighbouring wood where they left him. For this he was excommunicated, and whilst under the ban died. At one time he was to be found busily engaged in warring against the enemies of his country, with his sons at his side bravely assisting him; anon we discover him a prisoner in one of his own castles, confined by these very sons. At another time he is a captive in the hands of Henry II; whilst later on we find him entertaining that monarch on his way to Ireland.

The fatality which attended some of Rhys's doings must have furnished Holy Church with much material for many warnings. Referring to his forcible detention by his sons, Giraldus says: "I think it also worthy to be remembered that, at the time this misfortune befell him, he had concealed in his possession, at Dinevor, the collar of St. Canauc of Brecknock, for which, by divine

[1] *Matthew Paris* (Bohn's Edn.), vol. ii, pp. 119-122.
[2] *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Bohn's Edn.), p. 332, footnote.

vengeance, he merited to be taken prisoner".[1] Then again, as we have already seen, just after his excommunication for pulling the Bishop out of bed, he sickened of the plague and died.

As to the numerous sons of Rhys ap Gryffith, they must have been an uncommonly lively lot. Confined by his father as a lunatic, one of them escapes, seizes some of his father's property, and is joined by another brother, also in rebellion against the paternal power. These imprison two other brothers, and tear out their eyes. Then they make Rhys himself their prisoner, and for a time have it all their own way, until the tables turn, the father is released, and the rebellious sons cast into prison instead. And yet, as we have seen, during Baldwin's crusade-preaching, Rhys's sons had been with him, disputing among themselves as to which should be the first to take the Cross. Physically, they must have been right fair to look upon. Giraldus (p. 433) thus describes Cyneuric: "This young man was of a fair complexion, with curled hair, tall and handsome . . . a man not adorned by art, but nature; bearing in his presence an innate, not an acquired, dignity of manners." Powel (p. 241) gives us a picture of Maelgwyn: "Fair and comely of person, honest and just of conditions, beloved of his friends, and feared of his foes." Fenton says:[2] "Had his talents been properly directed, Maelgwyn's name might have adorned the page of history; but in consequence of their misapplication, to gratify an inordinate ambition, his life was a horrid tissue of cruelties, whose black catalogue involves almost every crime, and barely stops short of parricide; though I fear it must be confessed, when we strike the balance between father and son, that the reciprocal duties of each were violated in their turns."

I think we have sufficiently entered into the lives of our donors, without making especial mention of the

[1] *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Bohn's Edn.), p. 425.
[2] *Pembrokeshire*, p. 501.

many who thieved from each other in a thoroughly old-fashioned manner,—or from the Irish, on the occasion of the visit paid them in A.D. 1170. We will therefore surrender the others to our readers in an untouched state, so that they might assort them according to the promptings of their sympathy or imagination. We have, it will be seen, taken a Fleming and found him bad; a Norman, and discovered nothing better; a Welshman, and, in spite of his nationality, detected in him a conscience as twisted and a life as crooked as in either of the others.

Foreign antipathy does not appear to have counted for much, in spite of all that has been written about the unforgiving hatred of the Pembrokeshire Welshmen toward the invading Fleming and Norman. The new-comers simply supplied for a while a fresh subject for quarrelsome investigation; but when they happened to be out of the way, the Welsh turned upon each other with all their old fierce gladness and fighting energy. Relationship, either through blood or marriage, made no difference in the battering about which went on ceaselessly among the natives. Broken bonds, sightless eyes, imprisoned fathers, murdered sons, were only so many items in the internal arrangements of Pembrokeshire in the twelfth century. And it is a mistake to suppose for an instant that Normans kept to themselves; that Flemings settled down in the corner of the county allotted them, and retained the language of the Low-countries together with the dress of their forefathers; and that Welshmen, proud of their nationality, stubbornly refused to have commercial intercourse or friendly communication with the invaders. They all got mixed up pretty considerably in very early days, as will be seen from the following particulars of the relationship existing between some of the benefactors of the Hospitallers, whose names appear on our pages.

(*a*) Walter, son of Wizo the Fleming, married the daughter of David Fitzgerald, Bishop of St. David's,

who was son of Gerald de Windsor and Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales.

(*b*) Rhys ap Gryffith was first cousin to William Fitzgerald, David Fitzgerald (Bishop of St. David's), and Maurice Fitzgerald.

(*c*) Odo, son of William Fitzgerald, married a daughter of Richard Fitz-Tancred, the Fleming.

(*d*) William, grandson of Martin de Tours, married a daughter of Rhys ap Gryffith; and his son David became Bishop of St. David's.

This short list could easily be extended; but it would not make any clearer our purpose, which is to show that in Pembrokeshire marriage and intermarriage soon annulled any temporary feeling of aloofness which might have troubled the party leaders, either Norman, Fleming, or Welsh; and bound up, pretty closely, the loose elements of apparently antagonistic nationalities.[1] We have been too apt to conclude that all the sanguinary doings of those days originated in the bitter feelings of Welshmen towards foreigners, or *vice versâ*; whereas aliens, having wooed and won the daughters of the land, tacitly claimed, one may be sure, the family privilege of fighting brother or father, on the occasion of any misunderstanding, however trivial; as also did Welshmen, when they married among the newcomers.

It is also apparent from the foregoing that the currently-accepted idea that the Flemings in Pembrokeshire were only so many drawers of water and hewers of wood is altogether incorrect. The new settlers had their leaders of rank and position, just like the Welsh and Normans; and by these they were guided and governed.

[1] In Glamorganshire, for instance, the Turbervilles, after the marriage of Pain with the heiress of Coity, were always looked upon as friends by the Welsh.

VI.—Excommunication and Sanctuary.

In our endeavour to understand and appreciate the life led by the Hospitallers in Pembrokeshire, it is necessary to realise, so far as we are able, the greatness of the power of the Order in cases of Excommunication, and when Sanctuary was claimed by those who would escape from hot and hurried vengeance.

(1) The Church, it will be recollected, played a by no means inconsiderable part in the politics of Wales in the Middle Ages. By her power of interdict she could influence, if not absolutely ensure, the success or failure of either party in intestine conflicts, or in any of the numerous quarrels between Welsh and English. Take for instance the case of Prince Llewelyn. In A.D. 1212, the Pope was graciously pleased to release Wales from the interdict under which he had placed it. Such an opportunity was eagerly seized by Llewelyn as favourable to an endeavour to rescue his country from the interference of the English King: especially as the Pope had not only released him from his oaths to the English, but had withal given him a strict command, under the penalty of excommunication, to molest and annoy King John in all possible ways; for, alas! *he* was now under the ban, and proclaimed "an open enemy to the Church of God". So Llewelyn's star was in the ascendant. But in a little while the repentant John was retaken to the bosom of the Church, and, to complete the see-saw, Llewelyn was excommunicated for having made war upon him. Then Llewelyn was again absolved, and so on.

We in our Britain of to-day cannot realise what this dreadful frown of the Church meant in those times. "Of all the ecclesiastical penalties inflicted by popes and bishops upon sinners, that of a general excommunication or interdict was at that time the most frequent. They made use of it against princes that were refractory to the Church; the thunderbolt was levelled at their dominions; all their subjects were involved in

the sentence, and a multitude of innocent persons suffered on account of a single offender. The form and manner of executing this sentence had nothing in it but what was dismal, and even terrible. The altars were entirely stripped; the crosses, the shrines for relics, the images and statues of the saints, were laid flat upon the ground and covered all over, to signify that it was a time of grief and mourning. The bells ceased to be rung, and were even taken down from the belfrys: no sacrament was administered but baptism to children newly born, and confession and the communion as a viaticum to dying persons. No mass was said in churches but with the doors shut; flesh was prohibited as in Lent: and to such a height was this rigour carried that people were forbidden to greet one another, or to be shaved even. Nor was it permitted to give the tonsor, or to cut the hair of the priests or clergy."[1]

And a powerful instrument it was when employed by popes and bishops against kings and sovereign-princes for interests purely temporal. It was one of the surest means of government the Church had in its possession; for the people, dreading this deprivation of religious rites, forced their sovereigns, who feared a general revolt, to submit to the commands of the authorities spiritual.

There was no mistaking the terms of the denunciation. "Let them be excommunicated and accursed," concludes one of these personal interdicts; "let them be separated from all human society! let them be prevented from entering into our Holy Mother Church where there is forgiveness of sins! let them be *anathema maranatha* for ever with the devils in hell. *Fiat, Fiat, Fiat,* amen!"[2]

[1] Vertot's *History of the Knights Hospitallers* (1757 Edn.), vol. i, p. 88.

[2] It appears from an old MS. found in Canterbury, in the year 1562, that the Church in early days took care that her power should not be forgotten. Once every quarter, the Prelate stood in his

If, however, the Hospitallers passed through an interdicted district, or in their journeyings came to a city, or village, or castle lying under the awful ban, they could cause the churches to be thrown open (once in the year) in order that mass might be said. To the excommunicated, the Knights could give the forbidden word of comfort, the "God speed", as they passed along the road. And think you not that this was but a trifle: it was water to the thirsty and bread to the hungry.

Any denounced persons might find refuge in the houses and churches of the Order; and as the Brothers of St. John were protected from excommunication themselves, they were enabled to visit and give comfort, and to even administer the sacrament to the sick who had been thrust by interdict outside the pale of religion. And if death came to these poor sinners, the Knights took their bodies and laid them in their own churchyards, with all the solemn rites of burial. They also claimed the privilege of giving Christian sepulture to all who had at any time benefited

pulpit in his *Aulbe*, the Cross being lifted up before him and the candles lighted on both sides of it; and reading out a catalogue of the possible sins against Holy Church, such as withholding tithes, rents, &c., "taking to God the worse, and to himself the better," he concluded: "And now by Authoritie aforesaid, we Denounce all thoe accursyd that are so founden guyltie, and all thoe that maintaine hem in her Sins, or gyven hem hereto either help or councell, foe they be departed froe God, and all Holi Chirch: and that they have noe part of the Passyon of our Lord Ihesu Cryst, ne of noe Sacraments, ne no part of the Prayers among Christen Folk: But that they be accursed of God, and of the Chirch, froe the sole of her Foot to the crown of her hede, sleaping and waking, sitting and standing, and in all her Words, and in all her Werks; but if they have no Grace of God to amend hem here in this Lyfe, for to dwell in the pain of Hell for ever withouten End: Fiat: Fiat. Doe the Boke: Quench the Candles: Ring the Bell: Amen, Amen!" Then the Book was clapped together, the Candles blown out, and the Bells rung, with a most dreadful Noise made by the Congregation present bewailing the accursed Persons concerned in that Black Doom denounced against them.—(*History of Churches in England*, by Thomas Staveley: 1773 Edn., p. 238.)

their Order. With this intent, the Brethren once took from the gallows some felons who had been executed at Ivelcestre. When these were being laid in their graves, one of them, a certain Adam Mester, came to life again, and was taken into the sanctuary of their Church, where he continued until he abjured the realm.

(2) Early in the history of the Church, anyone accused of crime (except treason or sacrilege) who could manage to make his way into either the sacred building or its surrounding yard, was safe from the avenging hand. In the case of the Hospitallers, various papal bulls, confirmed by royal charters, conferred the privilege of sanctuary on most, if not all, of their dwellings and adjacent lands. The following seems to have been the statement or declaration in vogue among the claimants for sanctuary in the reign of Edward I. (1272-1307):—"This hear thou, Sir ——, that I —— of —— am a stealer of sheep (or of any other beast), or a murderer (of one or more), and because I have done many such evils and robberies in this land I do abjure the land of our Lord Edward, King of England, and I shall haste me towards the port of such a place which thou hast given me; and that I shall not go out of the highway,[1] and if I do, I will that I be taken as a robber and a felon of our Lord the King; and that at such place I will diligently seek for passage, and that I will tarry there but one

[1] According to Horne's *Mirrour of Justices*, the offender, when he left sanctuary, "ungirt in pure sack-cloth," had to swear that "he will keep the straight way to such a port or such a passage which he hath chosen, and will stay in no parts two nights together, until that for this mortal offence . . . he hath avoided the realm, never to return during the king's life, without leave; and that afterwards let him take the sign of the cross and carry the same, and the same is as much as if he were in the protection of the Church; and if anyone remain in the sanctuary above the forty days, by so doing he is barred the grant of abjuration, if the fault be in him, after which time it is not lawful for anyone to give him victuals."

flood and ebb, if I can have passage; and unless I can have it in such a place, I will go every day into the sea up to my knees, assaying to pass over, and unless I can do this within forty days I will put myself again into the Church, as a robber and a felon of our Lord the King, so God me help and His holy judgment."[1]

In our footnotes to the *Schedule of the Early Possessions of the Hospitallers*, printed on a foregoing page, we have seen that a separate building termed the Sanctuary was possessed by the Order both at Loughor and at Penrice. But the privilege was so general, and understood to be so, that particular mention of it was evidently deemed unnecessary. At Amroth, however, the original grant of William Herizon makes especial reference to fifty acres of sanctuary land; which particularisation points, I think, to the necessity which existed for ample provision of the kind in that corner of Pembrokeshire in those days. What a wild and lawless horde must have frequented the place! Pirates or cattle-lifters, thieves or murderers, it mattered not so long as they could find their way into any part of these fifty acres: there they were safe for the time being. And it was no difficult matter to sally forth again; for the land in question probably extended to the sea-shore, at or near the spot on which the Temple-Bar Inn now stands, making it an easy task to step from safety into any close-lying craft.

Sanctuary was not only provided for human beings: it was for beasts as well. And not only were cattle included whilst within the sacred enclosure: these same herds were protected when feeding elsewhere during the day, provided they returned at night to the place of refuge. In those days anyone contemplating a raid on his neighbour's property could place his family and belongings in the safety of sanctuary, and then start

[1] Rastall's *Collection*.

out with a light heart, to find his own way back to the same shelter when his business had been satisfactorily accomplished.

Not only were lights always kept burning in the churches of the Hospitallers, to serve among other purposes as beacons to the distressed; crosses were also erected at the boundaries of their sanctuary-lands to indicate the character of the enclosures. Similar provisions were also in vogue elsewhere, and with other bodies. In the case of the church of the once eminent monastery of Hagulstad, there were four crosses set up at a certain distance from the church, in the four ways leading thereto. "Now if any malefactor, flying for refuge to that church, was taken or apprehended within the crosses, the party that took or laid hold on him there did forfeit *Two Hundredh.* (*In Hundredh, VIII Librae continentur*). If he took him within the town, then he forfeited *Four Hundredh*; if within the walls of the churchyard, then *Six Hundredh*; if within the church, then *Twelve Hundredh*; if within the doors of the quire, then *Eighteen Hundredh*, besides penance, as in the case of sacrilege; but if he presumed to take him out of the stone chair near the altar, or from amongst the Holy Relicks behind the altar, the offence was not redeemable with any sum, and nothing but the utmost severity of the offended Church was to be expected by a dreadful Excommunication; besides what the secular power would impose for the presumptuous misdemeanor."[1]

Like other precious possessions, this of sanctuary lent itself to abuse. Sir John Wynn, in his *History of the Gwydir Family*,[2] says:—"From the towne of Conway to Bala, and from Nantconway to Denbigh, there was continually fostered a wasp's nest, which troubled the whole country. I mean a lordship belonging to St. Johns of Jerusalem, called Spytty Jevan, a large thing, which had privilege of Sanctuary.

[1] Staveley's *History of Churches*, 1773 Edn., p. 173.
[2] 1827 Edition, pp. 87, 97.

This peculiar jurisdiction, not governed by the King's lawes, became a receptacle of thieves and murtherers, who safely being warranted there by law, made the place thoroughly peopled. Noe spot within twenty miles was safe from their incursions and robberies, and what they got within their limits was their own." These marauders, "at times were wont to be above a hundred, well-horsed and well-appointed." And yet to have forcibly taken one of these reprobates out of sanctuary would have been deemed an unheard-of wickedness.

VII.—In Pembrokeshire in the Fourteenth Century.

The wealth of the Hospitallers was of rapid growth, as aught dependant on enthusiasm must necessarily be. The principal gifts were made them during the period extending from, say A.D. 1140 to 1230; and I think we may safely look upon any subsequent possessions as the result of exchange, or the consummation of some prior promise or undertaking. For, as the thirteenth century grew on to its close, men began to appreciate the worth of anything left them, the Crusades having on all sides impoverished the many who had been all too willing to either mortgage their estates, or to sell them at a sacrifice, to provide money for the cause of religion in the Holy Land.

In sooth, men were getting tired of the apparently interminable wars in the East, to which the flower of European chivalry had for so long been sacrificed; and when, in the year 1291, Acre was finally lost to the Christians, many must have uttered a sigh of relief to know that the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was at last swept away. It is hard for us in these days to comprehend the enthusiasm which possessed men in the age of which we write. "We can only marvel at the strange infection which for nearly two centuries ran riot through the West of Europe." Although "the

spirit of adventure, the lust of power, and the desire of gain" were undoubtedly added to the enthusiasm of religion, there still remains the fact that "the Crusades were the outcome of an enthusiasm more deep and enduring than any other that the world has witnessed . . . They raised mankind above the ignoble sphere of petty ambitions, to seek after an ideal that was neither sordid nor selfish. They called forth all that was most heroic in human nature, and filled the world with the inspiration of noble thoughts and noble deeds."[1]

As with individuals, so with nations. The period of immature content is ever divided from that of manly certainty and strength by what Keats, in his Preface to *Endymion*, calls "a space of life between, in which the soul is in a ferment, the character undecided, the way of life uncertain, the ambition thick-sighted." So with Western Europe during the period of the Crusades. "The tenth and eleventh centuries were acquiescent under a *régime* of almost hopeless anarchy; the fourteenth was, through the widespread existence of social discontent, pregnant with promise for the future."

What, then, was the state of Pembrokeshire in the fourteenth century? and what the position of the Hospitallers in their Commandery at Slebech? Fortunately, we have preserved to us the balance-sheet of the Order in England for A.D. 1338,[2] to which reference has already been made; and this furnishes us with information of much value and interest. Perhaps it will be as well to set down here what we find in it having to do with Pembrokeshire, together with a translation of the items, which I have numbered to facilitate reference.

[1] See *The Crusades*, by Archer and Kingsford (London: Unwin, 1894), pp. 432-47.

[2] *The Knights Hospitallers in England*: being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338. Edited by the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, M.A.; with an historical introduction by John Mitchell Kemble, M.A. Printed for the Camden Society, MDCCCLVII.

BALLIVIA DE SLEBECH,

In Comitatu Penbrochie.

Slebech. 1. Est ibidem unum manerium cum gardino, et valet per annum . . . . . xiij*s.* iiij*d.*

2. Et ibidem de redditu assiso per annum xxxiij*li.* viij*s.* x*d.* ob.

3. Sunt etiam ibidem liij. acre terre que valent per annum, pretium acre viij*d.* . . . . xxxv*s.* iiij*d.*

4. Sunt etiam ibidem ij. gurgites qui valent per annum xl*s.*

Ad voluntatem. 5. Confraria ibidem valet per annum in comitatu Penebrigg xx*li.*

6. Item apud Minewer iij. carucate terre, pretium carucate lx*s.*, et valent . . . . . ix*li.*

7. Item ibidem una carucata terre et dimidia, et valet per annum . . . . . lx*s.*

8. Et ibidem ij. acre prati que valent per annum . v*s.*

9. Et apud Marteltwy pratum quod valet per annum . x*s.*

10. Sunt etiam apud Slebech ij. molendina que valent . lx*s.*

11. Et apud Meniwer j. molendinum quod valet per annum xl*s.*

12. Et apud Rosmarket j. molendinum aquaticum, quod valet . . . . . cvj*s.* viij*d.*

13. Et ibidem j. molendinum fullonicum quod valet per annum xl*s.*

14. Item, apud Lanthlo j. molendinum, quod valet per annum xx*s.*

15. Item apud Kermerdyn j. molendinum quod valet per annum . . . . . xxx*s.*

16. Item apud Slebech una ecclesia que valet per annum viij*li.*

17. Et ecclesia apud Marteltwy valet per annum . xiiij*li.*

18. Et una ecclesia apud Minewer valet per annum viij *marcas.*

19. Item ecclesia de Wiston, cum una carucata terre, que deservitur per vicarium loci, et valet per annum . xl *marcas.*

20. Et apud Clarebaston una ecclesia cum terra de gleba ecclesie que valet . . . . . xx *marcas.*

21. Item ecclesia de Waleton per annum valet. xvj *marcas.*

22. Et ecclesia de Amelaston cum capella valet per annum viij*li.*

23. Et ecclesia de Rosmarket cum gleba ecclesie valet per annum . . . . . xxiiij*li.*

24. Et ecclesia de Amerath valet per annum . xx *marcas.*

25. Item ecclesia Lanelau, cum redditu molendini et fraria Breconie, valent per annum . . xix*li.* vj*s.* viij*d.*

26. Item ecclesia de Lanstephan valet per annum iiij^{xx}x *marcas.*

27. Et ecclesie de Rowistich et Stremenrick cum domibus, terris, et ffraeriis ibidem, sunt ad firmam de anno in annum, pro xv *marcis.*

28. Et apud Swenesch una capella affirmata, pro viij *marcis.*

29. Et pensiones ecclesiarum valent per annum . lxij*s.* viij*d.*

30. § *Summa totalis recepti et proficui dicte bajulie* cccvij*li.* xxij*d.* ob.

REPRISE.

31. Inde in expensis domus ibidem ; videlicet, pro preceptore, ij. fratrum, j. capellani, et domini Ricardi de Multon corrodarii, domini Thome de Landstefan capellani, corrodarii, Johannis Samson et Ricardi de Conesgrave corrodariorum ad mensam fratrum, j. armigeri, j. camerarii, j. dispensatoris, i. coci, j. pistoris cum garcione, j. ballivi, j. messoris, j. janitoris, j. gardinarii, j. porcarii cum garcione, j. bovicularii, et pluribus aliis supervenientibus de Wallia, qui multum confluunt de die in diem, et sunt magni devastatores, et sunt inponderosi, in pane furnito per annum iiij^{xx} quarteria, pretium quarterii iiij*s.* et valent . . . xvj*li.* Reprise. Corrod.

32. Item ibidem, pro cerevisia bracianda iiij^{xx} quarteria brasei ordei, pretium quarterii ij*s.*, et cxx. quarteria brasei avenarum, pretium quarterii xviij*d.* . . Summa xvij*li.*

33. Et in coquina per annum, pretium stauri, per septimanam v*s.* . . . . . xiij*li.*

34. Et in xl. quarteriis ordei, pretium quarterii ij*s.*, et xv. quarteriis faborum et pisarum, pretium quarterii [xvj*d.*], furnitis ibidem per annum pro distributione pauperum, per ordinationem fundatoris dictorum locorum ex antiquo, et valent . c*s.*

35. Item in prebenda equorum preceptoris et aliorum supervenientium iiij^{xx} quarteria avenarum, pretium quarterii xij*d.*, et valent . . . . . iiij*li.*

36. Et in robis, mantellis, et aliis necessariis preceptoris, et ij. fratrum per annum . . . . ciiij*s.*

37. Et in robis et stipendiis famulorum domus existentium ad mensam . . . xvij *marce* et dimidia.

38. Item in stipendiis vij. capellanorum deservientium ecclesias suprascriptas ; videlicet, j. capellano apud Slebech l*s.* et cuilibet aliorum vj. capellanorum xl*s.* . Summa xiiij*li.* x*s.*

39. Item pro procuratione et sinodalibus ecclesiarum supradictarum . . . . . lxix*s.* ij*d.*

40. Item in redditu resoluto pro ecclesia de Wiston antedicta, x marce et dimidia, et Vicario de Lanstephan qui pro tempore fuerit, in augmentacionem porcionis sue, per annum xij. marce, et est summa . . . xxij *marce* et dimidia.

41. Et in redditu resoluto, pro warda castri de Penebrigg iij*s.* et pro teñ apud Marteltwy iij*s.* . . Summa vj*s.*

42. Et soluto ij magnatibus Wallie, ad maintenendam et protegendam bajuliam, pro insidiatoribus et malefactoribus in partibus Wallie, qui sunt ibidem feroces; videlicet, Ricardo Penres xl*s.* et Stephano Perot xl*s.* . . Summa iiij*li.*

43. Et in reparatione domorum, grangiarum, ecclesiarum, et capellarum, per totam bajuliam . . lx*s.*

44. Et in forincecis expensis preceptoris, ut in donis datis ministris domini Regis, et aliorum dominorum, et eundo et redeundo, ad supervidendam bajuliam suam . . iiij*li.*

45. Et in visitatione Prioris, per vj. dies . . vj*li.*

Corrod.

46. Item in pensione soluta domino Ricardo de Multon, per factum capituli . . . xvj *marce* et dimidia

47. Et domino Thome de Landstephan, per factum capituli liij*s.* iiij*d.*

48. Item Johanni Samson, per factum capituli . liij*s.* iiij*d.*

49. Et Ricardo de Conesgrave, per factum capituli liij*s.* iiij*d.*

50. § *Summa omnium expensarum et solutionum* cxlj*li.* ij*s.* vij*d.*

51. Summa Valoris.—Et sic remanent ad solvendum ad Thesaurarium,[1] pro oneribus supportandis cclviij *marce,* xij*s.* vij*d.* ob.

52. Nomina Fratrum
- Frater Johannes de Ffrouwyck, miles, preceptor.
- Frater Simon Launcelyn, s.
- Frater Jacobus de Mount Gomery, s.

TEMPLETON.[2]

Templeton.

53. Est ibidem unum mesuagium, et redditus, et una carucata, et valent per annum . . . ix *marcas* iij*s.* iij*d.*

Nil.

54. Et dimittitur domino Roberto de Hungerford, militi, ad terminum vite, absque aliquo inde reddendo, tempore fratris Thome Larcher, ad inveniendum j. Capellanum in capella ibidem celebraturum, et residuum, videlicet, l *s.* conceditur ei, nomine pensionis.

[1] Should be *thesauraria* ("*thes̃*").
[2] A transferred Templar property.

Translation.

BAILIWICK OF SLEBECH,

IN THE COUNTY OF PEMBROKE.

	£	s.	d.	
1. One manor with a garden, worth yearly		13	4	Slebech.
2. Fixed rent from free tenants	33	8	10½	
3. 53 acres of land, at 8d. per acre	1	15	4	
4. 2 fish-weirs	2	0	0	
5. Subscriptions from the County of Pembroke	20	0	0	At will.
6. At Minewer, 3 carucates of land at 60s.	9	0	0	
7. At the same place, a carucate and a half of land	3	0	0	
8. At the same place, 2 acres of meadow		5	0	
9. At Marteltwy, a meadow		10	0	
10. At Slebech, 2 mills	3	0	0	
11. At Meniwer, 1 mill	2	0	0	
12. At Rosmarket, 1 water-mill	5	6	8	
13. In the same place, a fulling mill	2	0	0	
14. At Lanthlo, 1 mill	1	0	0	
15. At Kermerdyn, 1 mill	1	10	0	
16. At Slebech, 1 church	8	0	0	
17. A church at Marteltwy	14	0	0	
18. A church at Minewer	5	6	8	
19. The church of Wiston, with 1 carucate of land in the hands of the vicar of the place	26	13	4	
20. At Clarebaston, a church with glebe-land	13	6	8	
21. The church at Waleton	10	13	4	
22. The church at Amelaston, with its chapel	8	0	0	
23. The church at Rosmarket, with the glebe	24	0	0	
24. The church of Amerath	13	6	8	
25. The church of Lanelau, with the rent of the mill and subscriptions from Brecon	19	6	8	
26. The church of Lanstephan	60	0	0	
27. The churches of Rowistich and Stremenrick, with their houses, lands and subscriptions, let yearly at	10	0	0	
28. At Swenesch, a chapel let to farm	5	6	8	
29. Pensions of the churches	3	2	8	
30. *Total receipts and profits of the said bailiwick*	307	1	10½	

EXPENSES.

31. Out of this, in expenses of the house at Slebech, viz., for the preceptor, two brothers, one chaplain, Sir Richard de Multon, the commoner, Sir Thomas de Landstephan, chaplain (also a commoner), John Sampson and Richard de Conesgrave (also commoners), at the table of the brethren; and for one esquire, one chamberlain, one steward, one cook, one baker and his boy, one overseer, one reaper, one porter, one gardener, one swineherd and his boy, and one cowherd; and for the many others who come in from Wales, in great numbers, from day to day, and are great wasters and a heavy burden:—in wheat, for bread for the year, 80 quarters at 4s. a quarter	16	0	0	Reprise. Corrodaries.
32. For the brewing of beer, 80 quarters of barley-malt at 2s. a quarter, and 120 quarters of oat-malt at 1s. 6d. a quarter	17	0	0	
33. For stores in the kitchen for the year, at 5s. a week	13	0	0	

	£	s.	d.
34. For 40 quarters of barley, at 2s. a quarter, and 15 quarters of beans and pease at 1s. 4d. a quarter, provided yearly for distribution to the poor by the institution in olden times of the founder of the said houses	5	0	0
35. For the horses of the preceptor and visitors, 80 quarters of oats at 1s. a quarter	4	0	0
36. For robes, mantles, and other necessaries of the preceptor and two brothers every year	5	4	0
37. For robes and wages of the serving-men of the house having places at the table	11	13	4
38. For the stipends of seven chaplains serving the churches above written, to wit: 50s. to the one at Slebech, and 40s. to each of the other six.	14	10	0
39. For the proctorship and synodales of the above-named churches	3	9	3
40. Rent returned to the aforesaid church of Wiston £7; and to the Vicar of Lanstephan for the time being, in augmentation of his portion, £8	15	0	0
41. Rent repaid to the ward of the castle at Pembroke 3s.; and on account of a tenement (?) at Marteltwy 3s.		6	0
42. Payment to two of the magnates of Wales, for maintaining and protecting the bailiwick against the highway robbers and malefactors of the countryside of Wales, who are fierce in those parts; to wit, to Richard Penres 40s., and to Stephen Perot 40s.	4	0	0
43. Repairs of houses, granges, churches, and chapels throughout the whole bailiwick	3	0	0
44. Out-of-pocket expenses of the preceptor, in gifts to the servants of our lord the king and of other lords, and in going about superintending the bailiwick	4	0	0
45. For the visitation of the Prior during six days	6	0	0
Corrodaries. 46. Pension paid to Sir Richard de Multon, by charter of the chapter	11	0	0
47. And to Sir Thomas de Landstephan, by charter of the chapter	2	13	4
48. And to John Samson, by charter of the chapter	2	13	4
49. And to Richard de Conesgrave, by charter of the chapter	2	13	4
50. *Total expenses and payments*	141	2	7
51. *Summary of value*:— There remains to be paid into the Treasury for the general charges of the Order	172	12	7½

52. *Names of the Brothers*:—

John de Frouwyck, knight, preceptor.
Simon Launcelyn, s.
James de Mount Gomery, s.

TEMPLETON.

	£	s.	d.
Templeton. 53. One house, and a rent, and one carucate of land, value per annum	6	3	3

Nil. 54. This was granted to Sir Thomas de Hungerford, knight, for the term of his life, rent free, in the time of Brother Thomas Larcher, on condition of his providing a chaplain to do duty in the chapel there. The residue: to wit 50s., is the annuity granted to Sir Thomas.

Here we have an entirely new picture of the Knights of St. John. Both hospital-nursing and infidel-slaying

had turned to profit; and although as individuals they had been unable to acquire property, as an Order they had managed to attach to themselves considerable riches. Instead of poor brothers of the Hospital they were now wealthy and powerful land-owners, especially in France and England. All through their career a noticeable trait had been their power to adapt themselves to all possible changes in countries and conditions. In Palestine they tended pilgrims, nursed the sick, comforted the dying, and fought, as only Knights of the Cross could fight, against the Saracens. In Rhodes, when the impossibility of recovering the Holy Land had been acknowledged, they built rampart and ditch, and fortified, with all the skill of engineering science, the little island, from which they went forth, sailors to the backbone, to harass the infidel and protect the Christian all along the waters of the Mediterranean. The warrior-monk had become Christ's mariner. Here at Slebech we find Christ's mariner a powerful Pembrokeshire landlord, and a faithful steward to boot, with carefully kept accounts rendered regularly to his superiors of the Order.

To a right appreciation of what this balance-sheet contains characteristic of Pembrokeshire in the fourteenth century, and of the position of the Knights then resident at Slebech, the following analysis will, I think, prove of assistance. Some of the figures are clearly the result of an existing assessment under which the several properties were charged to the Commander at a fixed rate; the balance (or responsions) being the general property of the Order.[1] It will be

[1] "*Of the Charges of the Common Treasury, and the regulations to be made on that head.* Since the estates and effects belonging to our order were conferred upon it by the liberality of pious men, to support the expense of hospitality and to make war upon the enemies of the Christian name, our brothers have no right of property therein, it being entirely vested in the Order. But as there is no making the most of them whilst they are left in common, by reason of the distance of the places and differences of the nations where they lie, our predecessors entrusted the management of them

well to recollect that a shilling in those days was a sum equivalent to about a pound sterling of our money.

to our brothers in different places, under the title of commanderies, charging them with pensions that were to be paid annually, and might be augmented or diminished according to the time and circumstances of affairs. So that the commanders are obliged to remit at least the fifth part of the revenues to the common treasury, frequently the fourth part, sometimes one-half, or even the whole profits, if it be so ordered by the general chapter, which has the sole authority of regulating and imposing these pensions or contributions, which we call responsions or imposts; and determines and declares publicly what is to be paid by every particular commander. The chapter sends its orders and decrees under its seal to the priors, the castellan of Emposta, and the provincial chapters, enjoining them to take care that every administrator pays the pension laid upon him."—*Statut. Ord. S. Johan. Hierosol. Tit. V.* §1.

(*To be continued.*)

THE SPOILS OF THE WELSH RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BY EDWARD OWEN, ESQ.

In the number of the *Arch. Camb.* for July of last year, p. 262, I offered a few remarks on the fate of the bells belonging to the Welsh religious establishments that were dissolved and ruinated in the reign of King Henry VIII; and I appended a copy of a document from the Public Record Office, which for the first time disclosed the mode of disposal of the bells of several of our most famous monastic churches. The scanty information then given appears to have aroused considerable interest amongst our ecclesiastical antiquaries, which I trust will exhibit itself in the practical form of researches amongst the public records, by which alone we can hope to enlarge our very imperfect knowledge of the actual circumstances under which the Act of Suppression was carried out in Wales. I now append a few more extracts drawn from the same source.

As was observed in the July number of 1896, the documents whence the information has been derived are a number of more or less disconnected fragments. Those now dealt with have reference to the lead which had been stripped off the roofs of the churches, as well as to the bells. The papers consist for the most part of memoranda made by the officials of the Court of Augmentations, and of calculations showing the unadjusted balance between the quantity of material entered in the king's books directly after the suppression and the quantity that had been accounted for up to the date of these memoranda, a period of about

twenty years. Such of them as are complete in themselves are given *verbatim*, but where others are merely fragments, or are no more than disconnected notes, I have summarised the facts they embody. The papers are calendared as *Land Revenue Records* $\frac{449}{10}$ and $\frac{449}{11}$ (Public Record Office).

The lead at Margam weighed 93 fodders 3 cwt. 1 qr. 13 lbs.—practically 100 tons.[1] This, together with 6½ fodders 8 cwt. 2 qrs. 15 lbs. of lead from Brecon priory, had been run into ingots, termed sows, and had been consigned to the havens of Caerleon,[2] Carmarthen, and Haverfordwest for shipment thence. There remained (probably directly after the dissolution of the respective houses) 2 fodders, "by estimacion", of lead upon Neath, and 5 fodders upon Strata Florida. A little lead remained in sheets, as when it was stripped, but the greater part seems to have been melted into ingots. One sow weighing 4 cwt. 2 qrs. 7 lbs. still lay at Conway, and there was a little left at Basingwerk,[3] Penmon, Llanllugan, Vale Crucis (4 fodders 4 cwt.), Kymmer and Rhuddlan.

Of the Basingwerk lead we have the following account:—

"A note of thentrie of a warr'unt for leade in the Register of the signet a° xxxviij° H. viij.

"A warr'unt to the Chauncello^r and treasourer of the Augmentac'ons for the delivery of [*blank*] fodders of leade out of the late monastery of Basingwerke in the countie of Fflynt for the reparacions in Irlande and for xxx*li.* for the conveying of the same over. Dated at Windsour iiij° Novembris, a° xxxviij°.

[1] A fodder of lead weighs a little over a ton.

[2] In the number for July 1896, p. 264, I suggested that for Carlya was meant Carlisle. Caerleon is the place intended.

[3] The lead from Basingwerk shipped for Dublin is said to have been intended for the mint there, not for the castle as stated in my former note (*loc. cit.*); but I am pretty certain I have met with a document stating that lead from Basingwerk was used for roofing Dublin Castle; and as it is stated in these papers to have been intended for "reparacions", it is probable that the lead from Wales came in for both.

"This agreth w^{t} thoriginall entrie in the said signet book examined by me, John Clyff, clerke of the signet.

"(Signed) JOHN CLYFF."

This is followed by a copy of the king's order for the removal of the lead.

To the number of bells accounted for by Henry Evered, clerk to the auditor of the Court of Augmentations (*Arch. Camb.*, July 1896, p. 264), may be added those remaining at Brecon and Abergavenny, about which the interesting communications given below have been preserved. The evidence thus afforded of the affection with which the people of those towns regarded the bells which had countless times tolled for them "the knell of parting day", and of the manner in which they managed to get the better of the rapacious government officials, imparts a touch of human interest to these communications that was absent from Evered's methodical statement.

The first of the following communications is from Walter Herbert, probably of St. Julien's (Clark, *Genealogies*, p. 282), to whom an order had apparently been forwarded to inquire into the balance of the lead and bells. To this he replies in a letter written in the month of January 1556.

"Pleaseth it your worshippes to be advertised that havynge received yor worshippes l're of the xxiiijth of November last unto us addressed touchynge certificate to be made of certen lead of the late priorye of Brecknok whiche shulde remaigne there to the kynge and quenes ma'ts uses, and of certen bells in the same especyfied. We only ffynde there remaignynge at Brecknok at this present one sowe of leadde weynge [*inserted in margin*, v^{c} xxi^{lb}]. And for the rest of the same we ffynde by confession of Sr Roger Vaughan knyght that to the necessarye reparacions of the kynge and quenes ma'ts castell of Brecknok the said Sr Roger Vaughan in anno quinto regni regis Edwardi Sexti by th' appoyntment and delyverey of John Bassett esquier late their surveio^{r} of Sowthwales bestowed and employd 6 sowes poiȝ [*in margin*, ut in l'ris Will's Goȝ poiȝ p'est' ij ff] parcell of the same uppon the said castell. And for eighte sowes of leadde weynge two thowsande ffoure hundrede three score and sixtene powndes and haulf a pounde, p'cell of the said

them that those bells and none other did belong, &c. Dated the xviijth daie of Januarie in the thirde and fourth yeres of the raignes of Phelip and Marie.

"JOHN W'LL'M W'LLS } Bailifs of Abergeynie.
"RICHARD D' POWELL OGHAN }
"JOHN BARRYE } Commyn Attorneys these."
"EVAN MORGAN }

The Bishop of St. David's (Henry Morgan) was also addressed by the Court of Augmentations with reference to the bells and lead still unaccounted for. The bishop's reply seems to have been hurriedly written, and its exact meaning is not always clear. It, however, appears to convey that Sir John Wogan and Thomas Catharne were still in possession of some "chalices and other peltreys", which the bishop with good feeling begs may be distributed amongst the sadly-necessitous churches of his diocese.

"Right wurshipfull after moste hartye comendacyons you shall understand that I ame nowe at Carm'then to enquire for the ledde that you com'aunded me to do and do sende you hereinclosed a byll therof and further cannot I lerne and as for the ledde of Hauerford I send an answere alreadye in my laste l're. As for the plate of the churche I can her of non that those com'issioners had but onlye the value of *xli* that Sir John Wogan and Thomas Catharne chalices and other peltreys I cannot lerne of any more you may do a gracious dede to lett the poore churches have it againe w'ch lacketh it as I have caused muche the like to be restored accordinge to the com'ission sende to me therin and the quenes grace's comaundment that it should be so her grace cannot be made enriched by this trifilles yet the pore men shall have lacke of it. As knoweth God who send you longe life and increase of muche worshippe. Ffrom Carm'then this xviij day of June 1557.

"yor owne to comaunde

"HENR. MENEVEN."

A few months later he writes :—

"Right wurshipfull after my hartie comendacons thiese be to assh^{r}ten you that ther is certen ledd lefte in the castle of Hau^{r}fordeweste the nomber wherof this bearer shall declare unto you thiese shalbe moste hartely to desyre you that I maye have the same for my money for the repa'con of my churche and

poore houses and to be as good m^rs^ unto me in the sale as you can. As I shalbe alwayes redy to do you any sh^r^uice and please [pleasure] that may lye in my lytle power. As knowth God who sende you all longe liff with increase of muche worshipp ffrom Brecknocke this viijth of November 1557.

"yor owne assured to his power

"HENR. MENEVEN.

"To the right wurshipfull & my very lovinge friends Mrs Will'm berners, Thomas myldmaye & John Wiseman comission's for the tryall of ledd & bell mettall these be d'd [delivered]."

This is all the connected information that can be gathered from these interesting papers. The fragmentary memoranda add a few more details.

It appears that the district auditor of the Court of Augmentations accounted for eight more bells than were contained in the statement taken from the books of the receiver of the Court. These were bells taken from the various friaries which were not suppressed and demolished for two or three years after the monasteries. They came from :—

Newport, two. The figure is obliterated, but must have been a two to make a total of eight. One only is accounted for in Evered's statement, and no explanation given of what had become of the second; in the case of Cardiff the difference between the two lists is explained.

Cardiff, two. John Ll'n is said to have in his possession one bell, weighing 7 cwt. 7 lbs., from one of the four houses.

Haverfordwest, one; Carmarthen, two; Beaumaris, one.

Of the bells of Llantarnam, four had been taken away by William Jones, of Caerleon.

Talley seems to have possessed but one bell, which tradition makes out to have been of unusual size. It is reported to have been sold to Exeter Cathedral within comparatively recent times; but the story,

though by no means improbable, must, I am afraid, be given up in face of a note appearing on one of these scraps of paper, to the effect that the bell of Talley Abbey had been sold and the purchaser had been called into the Court (of Augmentations) and ordered to pay, but whether the amount had been accounted for was not known to the district auditor.

NOTES ON THE OLDER CHURCHES
IN THE
FOUR WELSH DIOCESES.

BY THE LATE SIR STEPHEN R. GLYNNE, BART.

(*Continued from p. 57.*)

ILSTON (ST. ILTYD).

August, 1851.

AN interesting specimen of a church of Gower, lately put into a state of order and repair, and beautifully situated on a sloping bank finely shaded by trees. It comprises a chancel with south chapel, nave, and a tower on the south side of the nave. The latter is peculiar, being low and rude, and unusually large and massive, partaking quite of a castellated character. It has no openings, but mere slits and no stringcourse, a plain battlement, which in the centre of the south side rises into a low gable, and a roof of saddle form. The east and west faces have corbel tables under the battlement. The tower is vaulted, and opens to the nave by a low, rude, obtuse arch. The chancel arch is pointed, and springs immediately from the wall without moulding. The west end of the nave has a middle-pointed window of two lights. On the north is a lancet trefoiled, and one transitional from first to middle-pointed; also of two lights with foiled circle above and no hood. There seem to have been no windows originally on the north. The east window has three lancet lights beneath a pointed arch, the hood having crowned heads for corbels. On the north of the chancel is a lancet restored, if not quite new. The ground being very uneven causes an unusual ascent eastward, and there are two sets of steps in the

chancel. The chancel arch is not in the centre, whence arises a crooked appearance. The font has an octagonal bowl on a similar base. In the north wall of the chancel is an arched recess. The chapel on the south of the chancel is perhaps debased, with little architectural character. The roofs are newly slated, and there is a good cross on the east gable and on the west. There is a rude arch between the chancel and the south chapel. The whole interior is very neat, with new open benches, and the general appearance of this church contrasts agreeably with the neglected state of most churches in Gower.

The churchyard is beautiful and secluded.

Llangyvelach (St. Cyvelach).

June 4th, 1860.

This church has a nave and chancel, with chapel to the north of the latter, and a detached tower on the south of the churchyard. The nave has been rebuilt in very poor Gothic. The chancel, which is of unusual length, perhaps retains the original walls. The chancel arch is obtuse, of doubtful character; on the north is a flat arched doorway; and opening to the north chapel from the church is a rude flat arch. This chapel is full of marble monuments; south of the chancel appear some ruined walls, probably of vestry or chapel. The tower is quite distinct from the church, on an elevated spot in the burying-ground. It is rude and characteristic of the country, with little of architectural feature. The parapet has a low gable in the centre on the east and west, and is embattled on the other sides. There is neither string nor buttress. A pointed doorway on the west, belfry windows square-headed and divided by a mullion, and some small slit-like openings.

The churchyard is very spacious and the ground uneven, but there are very few graves on the north side.

OYSTERMOUTH (ALL SAINTS).

1836.

The church has a west tower, nave and chancel, with much of the singular and rude character of the neighbouring churches. The tower is of great strength, and has a large battlement with billet cornice under it. There are no buttresses, but a large projecting stair turret on the south side up the whole height of the tower. The tower is divided into two stages, the apertures all small and narrow, with square heads. In the belfry story there are three, of unequal size. Within the north porch is a pointed door, having arch mouldings and dripstone with head-corbels. The windows are chiefly Perpendicular, square-headed, of three lights, with labels; one on the north of the chancel, of two lights, of rather superior style. On the south of the nave is a trefoil lancet. The chancel arch is low, pointed, but with scarcely any curve, and resting upon imposts. On the south side of it is a projection opening by a pointed arch, and containing a staircase which must have led to the rood-loft. In this projecting turret is a small lancet window. There are many bad modern windows, and the chancel has been much altered. It has an excrescence both on the north and south sides—one used as a vestry—but they do not seem to be modern, the northern one having a tolerable Perpendicular window. The east window had once three lancets, one only of which is now open. The font is placed in the chancel, and is a square bowl scalloped at its base, upon a cylindrical shaft with square base. The interior is very plain and bare. The graves in the churchyard are planted with various flowers in the form of the coffin, marked out in pebbles. From the churchyard is an enchanting view over Swansea Bay, the Mumbles, and the fine ruins of the neighbouring castle. The tower is oblong.

The castle must have been very grand when perfect,

and a very considerable portion yet remains, though dismantled, and more traces of architectural features than are often met with in castellated remains. The situation is majestic and elevated.

Pennard (St. Mary).

August, 1851.

This church is more modernised than most others in Gower. It has only a chancel, nave, and small north transept, with a small steeple at the west end, crowned by a modern spire. The said turret is oblong, the longest sides being east and west, and has a battlement with corbel table and a slit-like opening in the belfry story. There is also a second corbel table lower down; no buttresses; on the west side a double window of two ogee-headed trefoiled lights, now closed. There are no windows in the north of the chancel, and those on the south of the nave are modernised. The chancel arch is an obtusely pointed one, on imposts, and very plain. The chancel has on the south a low lancet window closed, and another lancet with a hood-moulding of bold toothed ornament. The east window is Third Pointed, square-headed, of two lights, labelled. Over the east gable is a large cross. The roofs are modern and slated, and the whole is in a neat state.

Cheriton, Co. Glam. (St. Catwg).

August 28, 1861.

An interesting church, and differing in some measure from the Gower type. It consists of a nave and chancel, with a tower in the centre between them, and a porch south of the nave. The porch is, according to the custom of the neighbourhood, very large, and has stone seats. Within it is an Early English doorway, remarkable for its ornate character so rare in south Wales, and resembling those of Llanaber and Llanbadarn. It has two courses of mouldings and a hood,

with banded shafts having caps of foliage. On the south side of the nave is one lancet window and one bad modern one.

The west window is a new Decorated one of two lights. There is a rood door high up in the north of the nave near the tower arch. The nave has recently been fitted with open benches of plain character, and some improvements have been effected in the condition of the church. The tower opens to the nave and chancel by pointed arches, not at all similar: the eastern has two orders rising from pretty corbel shafts on corbel heads, having octagonal caps and neck mouldings, the outer merely chamfered, but on impost moulding, which is carried along the whole. The eastern arch chamfered on corbel shaft, with octagonal capitals and neck mouldings; the western on ditto, but with foliage and no neck moulding on the north (which has also a foliaged corbel); on the south on octagonal moulded impost, with neither neck moulding nor foliage. The western arch is of rather richer character, and springs from corbel shafts, of which the northern has a foliaged cap without neck moulding, and is set on a corbel of foliage. That on the south has merely an octagonal moulded impost, without neck moulding or foliage. All these are fluted, and good Early English. The chancel is very small, so that the space under the tower should form the Chorus Cantorum. There is a rude open staircase against the north wall of the tower seen from within. There are some indistinct openings at the north-west of the chancel. On the north of the chancel is a closed lancet, and a flat arched recess elbowed. On the S. are two lancets restored, and traces of a piscina. The east window has two trefoil-headed lights, common in South Wales. The old font has a circular bowl broken; that in use is octagonal on stem.

The tower is rude, has coarse battlements and corbel table, and lighted only by slit-like apertures. It has a small saddle-back within the parapet, and

running east and west. The rood-loft was west of the tower. There is a very considerable ascent towards the east, owing to the unevenness of the ground.

Llanmadoc (St. Madoc).

September 24, 1848.

A small church, with a chancel, nave, west tower, and south porch, of the usual rude and coarse sort. The tower is low, with saddle-back roof gabled at the east and west sides, and having a corbel table on the north and south. On the west side in the gable is a plain slit, and there is no other opening in it whatever. It presents a solid wall to the nave, with only a small door in it. There are no north windows of any kind; the roof is new, and the southern windows of the nave modernised. The chancel arch, as in the other Gower churches, is very low, of round shape upon imposts, with a large space of solid wall above it. On the north, at some height, is the rood door. There is a very old square font set low on the south side of the chancel arch. On the south-west of the chancel is a closed lychnoscope; the other chancel windows (both on the east and south side) are single trefoil-headed lancets, having internally a double arch over them. Under the east window is a rude square projection, which has some appearance of a rough reredos. In the east wall is also a bracket.

Llanddewi in Gower (St. David).

August 2, 1871.

A small neglected church, much out of repair; consists of nave, chancel, south porch and west tower. The tower is low, of very rude construction, and little architectural character; without buttresses, but having the north and south sides gabled at the top. There is a battlement and corbel table on the east side; the openings are mere slits, save the north belfry window, which is

Pointed. The chancel arch is very rude, and of obtuse form; but one half has mouldings, the other not. On the north side of it is an obtusely-pointed recess. There is a trace of a similar arched recess on the south of the chancel arch. On the north of the nave is a Norman window, much splayed, but closed. On the south is a single-light window with ogee head. In the chancel on the north is a trefoil-headed lancet; at the north-east, a two-light window without foliation.

Other windows are modern. The porch is large with stone seats, the doorway Pointed.

Llangenith (St. Cenith).

September 24, 1848.

The largest church in Gower; but, like all the others, without aisles. The nave, however, is capacious, and there is a fairly-developed chancel. The tower stands on the north side of the nave in place of a transept, and there is a large north porch containing stone seats. The chancel arch is a plain Pointed one upon imposts; there is a rood door on the south side, and a stone bench along both sides of the chancel. Near the south-east angle of the chancel is an indication of rude steps against the wall. On the south side of the altar is a square recess. The east window is modern Pointed of three lights; on the south of the chancel are two windows of two lights, surmounted by a flat arched opening to the interior; another has trefoil-headed lights. In the nave, on the south side, is a small square-headed window set obliquely, which has the appearance of a hagioscope. The nave has some Welsh-looking windows of two lights on the south, but none on the north. The tower opens to the nave by a small doorway in the wall, and is very strongly built and not square: being larger from east to west than from north to south. It has no buttresses, and only a few small slits for openings. There is a battlement on the east and west sides, and a saddle-back roof. Under

the battlement a corbel table. The font has a square bowl scalloped below upon a cylindrical stem. In the south wall of the nave, under a window, is the effigy of a knight, much mutilated; and in the chancel two slabs with sculptured crosses. The roof of the chancel is in very bad order, and there is no pavement, but the bare earth in great part of the church.

The outer walls have been partly whitewashed.

Nicholaston (St. Nicholas).

July, 1836.

An extremely small church, with only a diminutive low nave and chancel, and a bell-gable over the west end. The situation quite solitary, on a height overlooking Oxwich Bay. There is a large south porch. The west window, a single lancet now closed; the eastern, a double lancet. On the north another lancet stopped, and on the south a poor square-headed Perpendicular window. The chancel arch rude and pointed, upon imposts; the font a square bowl on a cylindrical shaft.

Oxwich.

September 25, 1848.

A small church with chancel and nave only, and a western tower; very beautifully situated on a woody, high bank looking over the lovely bay. The tower has, as usual, rather a castellated character, and in its lowest part forms a porch. In the porch are stone benches; the west door rude and plain, and over it is a two-light window with three-foiled ogee lights. The battlement is rough and broken, and under it is a corbel table. The openings are very few and those only narrow slits; there are two strings of division, one near the base which, like others in this country, bulges out. There are no buttresses. The roofs are slated, the chancel is small, its east window modern Pointed of two lights. The east window is not in the centre.

In the north wall of the chancel is a fine ogee sepulchral arch, projecting outward very considerably. This arch has crockets, finial and double feathering with foliated spandrels. Beneath it are two effigies with hands joined in prayer; the recess is very deep. The chancel is small, its arch very low, mis-shapen and obtuse, with a great mass of solid wall about it. The roofs are plain and open. The windows are square-headed without foils; some appear modern. The churchyard is very picturesque, and the graves adorned with various flowers and evergreens, each grave being marked out by pebbles following the shape of the coffin. In the churchyard is a holy well in a rocky recess. The pews are neat, plain and new. It is probable that there were originally no windows on the north side, which is generally the case in South Wales.

Penrice (St. Andrew).

1836.

This church is on a very elevated situation, surrounded by fine trees, and adjoining the park. The churchyard presents a scene of great beauty, and the graves are adorned with thyme, heartsease, and box plants. The church has a west tower, nave, north transept, south porch, corresponding in size with the opposite transept and chancel. The tower is in the rude style prevalent in the southern part of South Wales, with a battlement and cornice of billets under it; no buttress or division, but four heights of plain loop-hole openings. The tower is hollow within, having no floors. The south porch has quite the appearance of a transept; it is entered from without by a plain pointed arch, and the door within is also plain and pointed. On its west side is a small trefoil lancet. The north transept has a window, apparently Decorated but much mutilated. There is an old window on the north side of two lights within an arch, surmounted by a square frame: this may be of late

work. There is, in fact, very little architectural character about the church. The tower opens to the nave by a small pointed doorway. The chancel arch is semicircular, but ornamented in stucco in the style of the seventeenth century, in which style also the chancel has been altered, and an ugly east window inserted. There is an ascent of steps to the chancel, and along its side walls a low stone bench. On the south side is a low window, or lychnoscope, of Perpendicular character; also a two-light window with ogee heads trefoiled, also Perpendicular. The font is set in the west wall, an octagonal bowl on shaft of similar form with square base. There is much ivy on the south side of the church. The adjacent park presents glorious sylvan scenery, amidst which are the picturesque ruins of the ancient castle.

In Penrice churchyard is a gravestone of *dosd'âne* shape, with cross, to the late Sir Christopher Cole.

Port Eynon (St. Cadoc).

September 25, 1848.

This church has a chancel and nave, a modern north chapel and a south porch. Over the west end is a gable belfry, with two open arches for bells. The chancel arch is very low, rude, obtuse, and ill-shaped, springing from imposts with a considerable space of wall, on the north side of which is another low pointed arch, now blocked. The chancel has two windows, which have two trefoil-headed lights, opening to the interior by a wide pointed arch. There is no east window, and the altar is set at right angles with the east wall. There are two brackets also on the east wall, and on the south side an oblong recess. The windows of the church are all modern. The font is Norman, the bowl square upon a stem of clustered shafts set upon a square plinth. There is a benatura in the porch.

Reynaldstone (St. George).

August 22, 1849.

A small church in Gower; having only a chancel and nave, south porch and small bell-cot at the west end, with two bells. The chancel arch is a very rude Pointed one, and to the south of it is a hagioscope. There were no original north windows: a very usual circumstance in this locality. There is a rude projection on the north near the chancel arch, probably connected with the rood-loft. On the south of the chancel is an odd obtuse lancet, and a curious hagioscope.

Rhosilly.

September 24, 1848.

A long church consisting of chancel and nave, with small western tower and a south porch. The east window is modern Pointed, of two lights, the north and south windows of the chancel each a wide lancet, now closed. There is a trefoil-headed niche on the south side under a window, but there is no remaining trace of a piscina. There is also a lychnoscope on the south, now closed. The chancel arch is a very plain Pointed one. The roofs are open; the floor is bare clay. The south door within the porch is Norman, but pointed with chevron mouldings and shafts. Within the porch, stone benches; also a stone bench along the east end of the chancel. The windows are very few in the nave, and those very narrow and small. The steeple has the north and south sides gabled, and only a few slits for openings. It has an outer west door, and another opening into the nave. The font has a square bowl, scalloped on two sides, upon a short stem scarcely to be seen, and set on a square plinth. There is a glorious view from the churchyard over the sea, from the Worm's Head.

ARCHDEACONRY OF CARDIGAN—DEANERY OF ULTRA AERON.

Llanilar (St. Hilary).

The church has nave and chancel only, with a tower

Llanilar Church before Restoration.

at the west end. The tower is rather low but remarkably massive, without buttresses or stringcourses, swelling outward at the base. It has an embattled parapet, and carries a short spire. At the north-east is a square stair-turret; has some plain narrow openings, one at the west is arched. The south porch has a plain Pointed doorway; the north door is closed. The windows are nearly all poor modern Gothic, but the walls are old, and there is on the north of the sacrarium an original lancet, perfectly plain and open as a window. The original roof remains, of open timbers, with quatrefoil in the framework in Welsh fashion.

There is no chancel arch; the nave is paved, neat, but dreary; there is a priest's door.

Llanfihangel Geneu'r glyn, Co. Cardigan (St. Michael).

A cruciform church of the awkward Welsh fashion, without arches at the crossing, and having a wooden modern belfry rising from the centre. There are no aisles. The walls may possibly be original, but not one ancient feature is left evident. The windows are of the vilest, and there are none at all on the north side of the nave. The east window is perhaps Elizabethan: square, with central mullion. The roof has flat modern ceiling; the whole is pewed, and the interior very dreary. The font is a plain octagon. The ground rises very much to the west.

The churchyard is most remarkable for its quiet and picturesque beauty, and stretches to the west up a steep hill, thickly shaded with trees, amongst which appear the gravestones; there is a lych gate.

Llanfihangel in Creuddyn (S. Michael).

A cruciform church of some dignity, though rude in architecture, having a large central tower; there are no aisles. There is a south porch, and the church bears evidence of improvement, especially in the chancel. Altogether in far better case than the generality of Cardiganshire churches.

The interior walls have been stripped of whitewash, and the seats are chiefly open. The nave and transepts have ribbed roofs of a plain kind; the chancel is coved and panelled. The tower stands upon four very rude pointed arches, with strong piers having imposts. The east window has been renewed, is Perpendicular, but simply of three lights, without foils, within a pointed arch. On the north of the chancel is a trefoiled single-light window. On the south the windows are poor Perpendicular.

The windows of the transept are rude, square-headed, and poor; others are still worse. The chancel is neat, and the altar-cloth is a new one of red cloth. The font has an octagonal bowl, on a cylindrical stem raised upon two steps. The south porch is rude. The tower is large and coarse, with a battlement and flat-arched belfry window on each side, and slits for the other openings: at the north-east angle it has a staircase. The churchyard is very spacious, and contains some nice new gravestones in the form of crosses. There is but one bell.

Llanddewi Brefi (St. David).

July 5th, 1872.

This has been a church of much consideration, and belongs to an ancient college. The plan was cruciform, like Llanbadarn Vawr, but the transepts have been destroyed; the nave and chancel rebuilt in the most wretched style. Only the tower remains of the original structure: a massive plain one, of rather rude type, rising on four large plain pointed arches, opening to the nave, chancel, and transepts, of the rudest character, without any mouldings. The tower has a rude stone vault, open to the interior, without ribs. There is an embattled parapet and corbel table, and square turret at the north-east, rising above the parapet; the belfry windows oblong and square-headed. There is a door opening internally from the stair turret north of the chancel.

There is a silver chalice, thus inscribed: "POCVLVM ECCLIE DE LLANDDEWI BREFI, 1574"; the border rather pretty.

Llanychaiarn (St. Llwchaiarn).

A small church, scarcely worthy of notice, as the walls seem for the most part to have been rebuilt. It is merely a single small building, with a pointed bell-gable

at the west end, containing an open arch and a rude western porch, having plain pointed doorways. The windows are all modernised. The font is small—an octagonal bowl on a stem set in a recess in the west wall.

TREGARON.

The body of this church is so modernised that it is doubtful whether any part of its walls is original; there is, however, a trace of an original stringcourse under the windows. There is neither chancel nor aisle. The tower is very rude and strongly built, and has a corbel table under the battlement, three stages of windows, and no buttresses.

The basement swells in dimension; on the north-east angle is a square stair-turret rising above the parapet. There is a west door and slight square-headed window above it, a belfry window similar, and a slit between them. The eastern belfry window is a flattened trefoil; the tower arch to the nave pointed and plain, springing straight from the walls.

(*To be continued.*)

GLIMPSES OF ELIZABETHAN PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY THE REV. JAMES PHILLIPS.

I.—The Priory Lands.

The history of Pembrokeshire under the great Tudor Queen centres round the name of Sir John Perrot. To no one could the death of Queen Mary have come as a more welcome relief. Sir John was at heart a staunch Protestant. He was never suspected of being a saint, but he certainly was no coward. Like many other of the Protestant gentry, he had sheltered himself under a slight conformity, just sufficient to give the authorities a colourable pretext for letting him alone. Yet twice, at least, under the shortlived Catholic restoration he had found himself in trouble. He had made an application for the governorship of Carew Castle, which, since the attainder of Sir Rice ap Griffith in 1536, had remained in the hands of the Crown. The application would have been granted but for the interference of Thomas Catherne, of Prendergast Place, who reported him for harbouring heretics at Haroldston. Among those concealed there were his uncle, Thomas Perrot, tutor to Edward VI, and Laurence Nowell, afterwards Dean of Lichfield. Catherne's accusation being easily substantiated, Sir John was sent to the Fleet, but he was soon liberated by an order of the Council. He had powerful friends at Court, and his well-known relationship to the Royal family stood him in good stead.

His cousin on the mother's side, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (first Earl of the present line), had been made Lord President of Wales, and Sir John, soon after his release from the Fleet, obtained office under his relative. It was not long before he renewed

his application for the governorship of Carew Castle, but again his heresy came in the way. The Lord President had received orders to proceed sharply against the heretics of Wales, where as yet Bishop Ferrar had been the only victim. The Earl ordered Sir John Perrot to undertake the work in the three south-western counties, and was met with a point-blank refusal, which led to a bitter though short-lived quarrel. The Queen, naturally enough, refused to entertain his application for Carew, but eventually referred it to the Council. There Pembroke, by this time reconciled to his cousin, supported him warmly, and carried the grant against the opposition of the Lord Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner.

Sir John was far from being as powerful then in Pembrokeshire as he afterwards became. In 1557 he was unable to prevent the election of his old enemy, Thomas Catherne, as member for the county. Neither could he protect his co-religionist, William Nichol, who suffered death in April 1558. The martyrdom took place in High Street, Haverfordwest, near the entrance to Dark Street. Nichol is said to have been little better than half-witted. If so, he had at any rate the courage to burn for the faith which he could but imperfectly comprehend.

By the accession of Elizabeth all was changed; Sir John Perrot became at once the foremost man in Pembrokeshire. He was not slow to use his power to his own advantage. One of the earliest results of the political and ecclesiastical revolution was a commission from the Court of Exchequer, to inquire into the alleged cases of "concealed lands" in Pembrokeshire and Haverfordwest. The "concealed lands" were lands and houses which had been the property of monastic bodies or of other ecclesiastical corporations, but had not, on their dissolution, been duly surrendered to the Crown. This commission, which had been issued at the instigation of Sir John Perrot, was addressed to him, Mr. W. David, an ex-mayor, and some other Pembrokeshire gentlemen. Sir John was, of course,

practically the commission himself; his colleagues were only ciphers.

That in Pembrokeshire as elsewhere there had been such "concealments," wherever practicable, there could be no doubt. It was admitted that some small portions of the estates of the Haverfordwest Priory had thus fallen into private hands. For instance, there was a fee-farm rent of 8s. proceeding from a close occupied by John Rowe, which had not been surrendered. Sir John was a large dealer in these confiscated estates. It was out of ecclesiastical property which had come into his hands, either by grant or purchase, that he afterwards liberally endowed the town he loved so well. In pressing this inquiry he had a personal purpose to serve. The ruins of the once magnificent Priory church are familiar objects to passengers by the Great Western Railway, lying as they do close to the railway bridge over the Cleddau. The line passes between the ruins of the Priory and the Priory mill, and then through a short cutting in the Priory Hill enters the beautiful valley on the south side of which lie the ruins of Haroldston, the mansion of the Harolds, which in the fifteenth century passed by marriage into the Perrot family. On the high ground north of the valley, and west of the Priory Hills, were the fields known as Good Ale Park, Patison's Park, and Harper's Park. These are difficult to identify, but are now comprehended under the general name of the Priory fields. The hillside opposite Haroldston House, through which the railway cutting has been made, was called the Holmes.

The Priory estates, like those of the Slebech Preceptory, had been sold to Bishop Barlow's brothers, Roger and Thomas, who had purchased them at an absurdly low price. They were then held by Roger's son, John. Now the deed of sale did not specify these four fields which lay so temptingly near Sir John's mansion. The indisputable fact that some house

property in the town belonging to the Priory had been "concealed," gave a colour to the allegation that these lands had been similarly treated. It was all-important to secure a good jury. The town sheriff was anxious to oblige Sir John, and the art of jury-packing has always been well understood in Haverfordwest. The terms of the commission required the verdict of "twelve or more" trustworthy men. A jury of seventeen were empannelled. Their names were Thomas Browne (who acted as foreman), Owen Gwyn, John Webb, glover, John Deane, John Williams, Jevan Webbe, John Jevans (*alias* Fletcher), John Benfield, David Craddock, Thomas John, Otwell Taylor, John Penry (*alias* ap Henry Carver), David Voyle, David Thomas, Henry Ley, John Hake, Philip Welshe. Thomas Browne was an ex-mayor, John Webbe, the glover, the only one whose occupation is specified, had been sheriff. John Williams, Jevan Webbe and Thomas John had been Bailiffs, and John Jevans (or Fletcher) had been Serjeant-at-Mace. A Bailiff or a Serjeant-at-Mace may not appear to be a very dignified official, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was customary for substantial citizens to serve in the subordinate municipal offices on their way to the civic chair. In this inquiry personal and local knowledge would play an important part, and as twenty years had passed since the dissolution of the Priory it was desirable that the majority of the jurors should be elderly men. This the Sheriff had not forgotten, though it was afterwards objected that three or four of them were not more than forty years old, and that David Craddock was only twenty-eight. The objection would have been unreasonable had it not been that these younger jurymen were all, or nearly all, connected with Sir John Perrot, either as tenants or as servants. Three of them—John Williams, Thomas John, and David Craddock—were not even natives of Pembrokeshire, though they had lived at Haverfordwest from ten to twenty years. Nor was this all. Thomas Browne was a tenant of Sir

John, and had till recently been in his employment. Deane, Craddock, John, Tayler, and Carver, were his tenants. John Williams is described as both tenant and servant. In his anxiety to get a safe jury, the Sheriff had summoned several of the tenant-farmers of the Perrot estate, whose lands or residences lay within the borough. He had done his best to serve Sir John, without committing too flagrant a violation of the proprieties of his office. Out of a jury of seventeen, seven were tenants of Sir John, and others were supposed to be amenable to his influence, or, in vulgar parlance, "under his thumb." The Crown appeared to be secure of a verdict, yet there had been one grave omission. The jury had been judiciously packed, but where were the witnesses?

There was no question raised as to the value of the disputed lands. These were admitted to be worth £10 clear yearly value. Even if the rent-charge on John Rowe's field and another rent-charge on a field in Mr. Catherne's hands were included—which is doubtful—the estimated value must represent at least 100 acres of land.

A copy of the Barlows' purchase deed was produced. This, as was already well known, did not in any way specify these particular fields. Had they been outlying or detached portions of the estate, the omission would have been a strong *primâ facie* ground of suspicion.

In the case of lands adjoining the Priory Hills, and probably reckoned a part of them, the presumption was the other way. Some proof of fraudulent concealment was needed, and none was forthcoming. Even an accommodating Haverfordwest jury could not be expected to give a verdict without a particle of evidence. Whoever was managing the business in the interest of the Crown—*i.e.*, of Sir John—had been guilty of a gross oversight. Or was it that nobody could be found ready to swear to a notorious falsehood?

They had, however, procured the attendance of one man whose evidence would have a little weight. John Batha, the ex-Prior of the dissolved Priory of St. Thomas, was in the Court. He was still in the prime of life. At the time of the dissolution of the Priory he was only twenty-eight years old, and had had since enjoyed the moderate pension allotted him by the Government. In Wales these pensions were on a less liberal scale than those granted to the heads of English monasteries. Batha had come to the hall to help Sir John Perrot, and was ready to tell the jury all he knew, and perhaps a little more; but he was singularly unwilling to give any evidence on oath. Could not the jury take his word? So decided was his reluctance to be sworn that the jury, or some of them, excused him. They would believe his word as readily as his oath. If the version of his evidence, given by himself in the Court of Star-Chamber, is to be credited, there was no reason why he should not have kissed the Gospels instead of affirming. He said the rent-charge of 8s. on John Rowe's close had been concealed at the time of the dissolution; but of the four fields he could only say what nobody doubted, that they had formed part of the Priory Lands. He had seen the Barlows' deed (which had been already read in Court), and thought that as the fields were not named in it they might have been concealed. Beyond this, nothing on his own showing could induce him to go. Unfortunately, there is little doubt that he did go farther, and say, though in a shuffling, hesitating fashion, that he knew the lands to have been concealed; but this unsworn evidence was worse than useless. The case for the Crown had broken down. The one witness produced had found his heart fail him when called upon to swear to the "concealment." Sir John must have been mentally cursing the bungling of his agents.

But the foreman of the jury was equal to the emergency. The ex-Mayor gallantly came to the

rescue of his old employer. He confessed to his fellow-jurymen that, ever since the dissolution of the Priory, he had kept in his own hands a house and garden in St. Thomas Green which had belonged to the monastery, and that for the twenty years he had not paid a farthing of rent. As the house was pretty well in ruins, it was no great sacrifice that he made to help his patron. He added, that he knew the fields to have always been concealed. Owen Gwyn, John Webb, and John Williams followed suit, assuring their colleagues that they very well knew the concealment to be a fact.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth such action on the part of jurymen was less startling than it would be in our own day. Tradition had not yet wholly forgotten the earlier stages of the jury system. The twelve men in a box were originally witnesses rather than judges.

The court now adjourned for the day, and Sir John went home to dinner. Before giving in a verdict, the jury were expected to view the disputed lands. Even for a septuagenarian this would be an easy afternoon's stroll, and they finished their perambulations by visiting their foreman's stolen property in the Green. Here, in the garden of the ruined house, a consultation was held, and after some discussion it was agreed to find that the four fields were "concealed" land. This agreement was so far unanimous that the minority sullenly acquiesced in a decision which they thought themselves unable to prevent, for twelve votes were sufficient for a verdict. Sir John's henchmen on the jury had only too good reason to distrust the temper of some of their colleagues, so they proposed to clench the matter at once without giving time for any change of mind. "Let us go over to Haroldston, and give in our verdict to Sir John to-night." Mr. Browne set off, accompanied by thirteen others. It was nearly a mile to the entrance to the mansion, but no more pleasant walk can be found on a fine autumn evening.

On their arrival, they found that Sir John was sitting in commission on some other business, and John Williams went in to ask if his master would receive their verdict. However pleased Sir John might be, he knew better than to take the verdict of a Haverfordwest jury at Haroldston, outside the town boundaries. Besides, he had none of his fellow-commissioners with him. So John Williams came back to say that he would meet them in town the next day.

Accordingly, in the morning, Sir John rode into Haverfordwest, and took his seat with the other commissioners to hear the finding of the jury. An unpleasant surprise awaited him. Conscience, or John Barlow, or both, had been at work among the jury over-night. Instead of the unanimity of the previous evening, there was hopeless disagreement. Six—Otwell Taylor, John Penry Carver, Henry Ley, John Hake, David Voyle, and David Thomas, refused to find for the Crown. Of these, Taylor and Carver were Sir John's own tenants. Old Mr. Welshe had not turned up, and his absence was significant of his sympathies. In vain did their fellow-jurors coax and argue and remonstrate: the six were immovable; while it did not improve matters that one of the ten who were prepared to find the lands "concealed" made a reservation as to Good Ale Park, which he had always supposed to be "parcel of the Priory Hill." There was no help for it: the jury were dismissed and the court was closed. Sir John was furious. He had been beaten on his own ground, and Barlow's friends were laughing in their sleeve over his discomfiture.

The son of Henry VIII was not the man to submit tamely to such a humiliation. In one way only could he hope to attain his object and to gratify his revenge. The power of the Star-Chamber could be brought to bear on the obstinate jurors.

Sir John's "Bill of Complaynte" is an amusing specimen of mendacity and bad temper. Skilfully representing the Crown and not himself as the injured

party, he charged the seven, including Philip Welshe, with having "wilfully, obstinately, and perjuriously refused and utterly denied to find and present the said landes to be concealed." The evidence had been such "as no man of any indifferency, or respect of duty or conscience, could justly either deny it or doubt thereof." The ex-Prior had sworn positively to the concealment, and so had "divers other honest substanciall credible witnesses." If these perverse men were allowed to go unpunished, and the Crown defrauded of its rights, it would be "to the notoriouse, heynouse, detestable and dangerouse example of other suche malignant and evil disposed like persons wherewith the worlde (and especiallye these partes of your Majestie's realme) in these days is over plenteouslye replenished and complete."

The answer of the six (Mr. Welshe was not cited) is not lacking in vigour. The Commission had been issued "at the earnest and speciall request of the said complainant for his own private commodytee and gayn." The ex-Prior had refused to be sworn. The only evidence produced was the Barlows' purchase deed; the "honest substantuall credible witnesses" paraded by Sir John were some of his own tenants and servants on the jury, who, without being sworn as witnesses, volunteered their statements to gratify their master and landlord. It was only his tenants and dependants who were willing to find a verdict in his favour, and several of them were too "young and unskilful" to serve in such an inquiry. To this answer Sir John made a "Replicacion," fiercely reiterating his charges, and protesting his own disinterestedness. Then there was a "Rejoinder to the insufficient Replicacion of Sir John Perrot." Ultimately, the case came before the Court of Star-Chamber. The first witness for the Crown was Mr. William David, the ex-Mayor, who had sat on the Commission. His evidence covered the whole ground of the prosecution. He stated that since the sitting of the Commission one of the ten had died:

Thomas John—"whom God pardon"—piously ejaculated the old gentleman—forgetting for the moment that prayers for the dead were no longer orthodox. His chief point was the respectability and competence of the jury. To this point also was confined the evidence of the only other independent witness, David Howell. Then followed the foreman of the jury, and after him Owen Gwyn, John Webb, John Deane, and John Williams. All these had given "evidence" to their colleagues, to supplement the weak case for the Crown. This evidence, they averred, had been given "on oath," because they had previously been sworn as jurymen. They also protested that they had acted conscientiously and from personal knowledge, and each man vouched for the respectability of his companions. After John Williams, the ex-Prior John Batha was put into the box. He evidently wanted to say as little as possible. Had not been sworn at the inquest, nor had ever denied to swear, but had simply told the jury that the lands had belonged to the Priory, and were "not speciallye named" in the Barlowes' grant. He had also spoken positively of the concealment of the 8s. rent from John Rowe's close. After Batha, John Jevons, David Craddock, and Jevan Webbe confirmed their colleagues' evidence, but Webbe made the significant reservation as to Good Ale Park. Eight of the ten had thus given evidence, and one being dead, only John Benfield remained, but he, though in Court, was not brought forward.

For the defence Philip Welshe was the first called. Not being included in the indictment, he could give evidence for his friends, and the old man did so in a plucky fashion. John Martin, who, like Mr. Welshe, was 68 years old, could remember the field occupied and manured for the use of the Priory. Richard Higdye, who was 80 years old, remembered the fields for sixty years as a parcel of the Priory demesne. William Vaughan and Morris Walter and William

Boulton deposed to the unfair composition of the jury.

Not content with their own witnesses, the defendants summoned three of the witnesses of the prosecution. Batha cut a very sorry figure on his second examination. He had only told the jury "without anye othe makyng" that the four fields belonged to the Priory. Further pressed, he admitted that no evidence was produced except a copy of the Barlows' deed. At last he wound up by saying that they were "part of the demesne land," but "as farre as he knew were not in the compass of Barlow's purchase." Jevan Webbe was also examined, but was too cautious to admit much. Eventually Benfield, one of the ten, was sworn; he said little, but practically admitted that the "concealment" was imaginary.

Now the curtain falls suddenly. As in the trial of 1572, we know the whole history of the proceedings except the verdict. If that was according to the evidence, the charge must have been dismissed with costs, which, when the venue of a Pembrokeshire trial was moved to London, would be heavy enough.

It is more than probable that Sir John attained his end; but whether at this time, or through the Commission that sat nearly twenty years later, this deponent knoweth not.

The Pirates.

Wordsworth sings of "great Eliza's golden time". It was a golden time for land-grabbers and sea-pirates. Sir John Perrot was a fairly successful land-grabber; his enemies said he was a patron and accomplice of pirates. The Vice-Admiral of South Wales was Sir William Morgan, who lived at Abergavenny. His deputy for the western counties was Richard Vaughan, who lived at Whitland. Sir John had a "commission of oyer and determiner in causes of piracy in the County of Pembroke, and alsoe a speciall commission under the

great Seale of the Admiraltye for the apprehension of pyrattes." At first they got on fairly well together, but that did not last long. Sir John was never particularly pleasant to work with, and Vaughan was petulant and quarrelsome. So there were frequent conflicts of authority, angry collisions, bitter charges and counter-charges.

The year 1577 was a busy one with the pirates. The most notorious was John Callice, who for some time had given great trouble to the authorities in South Wales and on the coasts of the English Channel. Others who figure in the records were Robert Hickes, Clarke, Johnson, and Herberde. Edward Herberde had been formerly a servant of Sir John Perrot. Some time after he had been discharged, he sent word to Sir John at Haroldston, that he wished to pay his respects to him before going to sea. Sir John told the messenger to tell Herberde, that if he would be a seaman, he should never come near him.

Among the prizes that Herberde took was a Dutch ship belonging to Peter Muncke, with a cargo of from 80 to 100 tons of salt. Herberde put nine or ten of his men on board the prize, but the following night the ships were separated by a storm. The men in charge thought it best to put into Milford Haven, and there dispose of their cargo. They went up to the neighbourhood of Pembroke Ferry, and had the impudence to send Muncke into the town with two of their number to offer the salt to the Mayor and townspeople. Muncke represented his companions as two English merchants, but his ill-concealed sadness excited the suspicion of the Mayor. Inviting the three to his house, he contrived to have a few words of private talk with Muncke, Kift, the local sergeant of the Admiralty, being also present. Muncke offered half the ship and cargo to any one who would rescue him from his captors. No time was to be lost; so the Mayor, on pretence, no doubt, of offering the salt to Sir John Perrot, took Muncke and one of the Englishmen with

him to Carew, where the Captain repeated his offer. Sir John at once jumped at it. It was agreed that the Mayor should hospitably detain his guests till the evening, thus giving time for Sir John to get together a sufficient force to attack the pirates. Before nightfall more than fifty men had been assembled on the shore, armed some with firearms, others with bows and arrows. The boat in which Muncke had come ashore had apparently been sent back to the ship. Harry Franklin, the ferryman, and others, were ready to help, but only two boats were available. In the larger of these Muncke and his captors were taken to their vessel by several trusty men, among whom were Captain Hinde, a retainer of Sir John, and one Rice Thomas. Sir John and ten or twelve of his men followed cautiously in the dark with the other boat. When the first boat got near the ship, Muncke shouted to his men to seize the ship, for rescue had come. These, though disarmed, were more numerous than the pirates, and when Hinde and Thomas clambered up the side of the ship, the latter, seeing the odds against them, and terrified by the cry that Sir John Perrot was upon them, made no attempt at resistance. Some three or four rushed to the stern, and jumping into the small boat, cut the rope and vanished into the night. Those left behind were bound and sent to Haverfordwest goal. The ship was taken up to Pembroke.

The next thing was the division of the booty. Sir John, according to his bargain, had half the salt, five tons being given to the Mayor and his company "for their pains and powder." Presumably Muncke sold the other half; he could have had little else. The ship's tackling, ordnance, sails, foremast, shroud, rigs, etc., went to John Vaughan, the "customer" who had assisted in the rescue, and to Rice Thomas. Muncke himself gave Sir John six or seven fir boards. Little remained beyond the bare hull, the cable and anchors. These were seized by Richard Vaughan on

behalf of the Admiralty, "to be disposed eyther to the owner or otherwyse as the Court shall appoynte". The cable and anchors were bought by Sir John Perrot. "The ship was broken, spoiled and sold by Vaughan, contrary to the will of the owner"—so Sir John said—but Muncke had disappeared. When the next assizes were held at Haverfordwest, no prosecutor appeared. Sir John Perrot gave in court a full account of the capture, but Judge Fetiplace ordered the release of the prisoners.

Soon after Herberde brought in a cargo of Gascony wines; that was seized by Kift, and some of the casks seized were sold by him to Sir John at £7 per tun.

Herberde, deserted by his associates, came to the neighbourhood of Haverfordwest, but Sir John would have nothing to do with him. He was lodging with John Bateman not far from Haroldston, where Sir John was staying at the time, and the knight's characteristically rough language was reported to him. The threats of his old master preyed upon his mind, and one day he cut his throat in Bateman's house.

Vaughan, for some reason, did not consider himself fairly treated in the affair of Muncke's ship; and the dealings, real or imaginary, of Sir John's servants with pirates seemed to him scandalous. Every now and then he found his own plans for catching pirates thwarted by Sir John's action. At length he went to Sir John to remonstrate, but had a rough reception. His complaints and charges were pooh-poohed. He protested that if any persons of lower rank did what Sir John did, they would be sent to prison. Perrot told him he did not know what he was talking about. Vaughan's dignity was touched. He had been High Sheriff of two counties, &c. "Thou art a fool!" quoth Sir John; and so the colloquy ended.

There was some excuse for Sir John's contemptuous language, if he knew, as no doubt he did, how Vaughan was sometimes outwitted. For instance: Johnson had brought inside Carmarthen Bar a French prize laden

with salt, part of which he had sold at Milford and part there. The pirate was going to have his prize repaired and revictualled, when Vaughan returned from a journey to London. He was scandalised at what was going on, but did not see how to get at the vessel. So he tried the "policy" on which he prided himself, and opened negociations with Johnson's wife. This lady had formerly been the wife of Cranely, another pirate, and had profited by her double matrimonial experience. Her husband was out of the way, or Vaughan thought he was. Mrs. Johnson entertained Vaughan's proposals favourably, and eventually it was agreed that he should buy the ship and the rest of the cargo for £20. The money was sent her by Thomas Griffiths, a servant of Vaughan, and the ship was duly handed over with thirty-six barrels of salt. Alas! the barrels "were but sweepinge and noe iron." The "sweepings" and the bare hulk, stripped of everything the crew could carry off, were all that he had for his £20.

Perhaps the unsuccessful resort to "policy" was due to his having failed to frighten Davy Allen, of Laugharne. Davy's vessel was lying off the little town with a valuable cargo belonging to Sir John Perrot. The portreeve of Laugharne, like some mayors of Haverfordwest, was no friend to Perrot. He informed Vaughan that she had on board "boath murtherers and thieves." The ship was "well appoynted and trymmed in warlike sorte."

He decided to inspect the ship for himself, but the "murtherers and thieves" were not disposed to encourage visits from the authorities. Vaughan's boat was met with orders to keep off, and the warning was emphasised by "ten men with calyvers redye with fire on the cocke." Vaughan demanded to know what they had on board? "That you shall not knowe, for none have to do here but Sir John Perrot." The discomfited Vice-Admiral was rowed back to the shore. When complaint was made, Sir John disclaimed all knowledge of the affair; "but if his servants had behaved

so, they were quite right. He did not know what Vaughan had to do in his lordship of Laugharne."

Vaughan was full of stratagems. He was very friendly with some of the pirates, and even invited them to come into Milford Haven; but it was all "policy." Unfortunately, when the flies "walked into my parlour," they usually walked out again. He could not help that. It was all the fault of that wicked Sir John Perrot, who would neither catch the pirates himself nor let anybody else catch them.

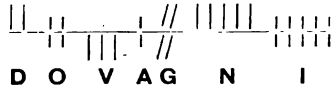
The pirates seem to have thought Vaughan hardly worth bribing. From Clarke, for instance, he had only thirty-three yards of narrow canvas, very black and coarse. This was sent him through his brother-in-law, James Reade, who had one-half for himself, and two of Vaughan's lacqueys made themselves doublets and breeches out of the other half. John Jones brought in a cable, but Vaughan only had part of it, the rest being stolen. The anchor fell into less ignoble hands, for it was "taken away by Captaine Frobisher as he returned from his last journey."

I must leave for another paper the luckless voyage of Herman Rung from Königsberg, "in Prussen land," the misfortunes of Bernard Jourdan of St. Maloes, who was imprisoned at Carew, the visit of Henry of Navarre's privateer and consequent complications, and the minor adventures of Roger ap Richard ap Harry of Aberystwith.

NOTES ON INSCRIBED STONES IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY PROF. JOHN RHYS, LL.D.

On the last day of the Haverfordwest meeting this year we visited, among other places, the old ancestral residence of the Mathiases at Llangwarren, and we were delighted to have at the head of our party Mr. Charles Mathias, the proprietor, who led us to the newly discovered inscribed stone which was the object of our curiosity. The monument is of hard trap rock, and stands 4 ft. above the ground. It is 2 ft. wide at the bottom, and tapers nearly to a point at the top. The stone has two holes, showing that it has done duty as a gate-post; and as it stands back somewhat in the wall where we found it, with stones from the wall concealing most of the face of it, it is easy to see that it is exactly where it has served as a gate-post, and that the wall has been built since. This was corroborated by Mr. Mathias, who took up a crowbar and soon cleared away the protecting masonry, exposing to our view the whole inscription. The Roman letters, as will be seen from the excellent photograph, for which we have to thank Mr. Mansel Franklen, are in two vertical lines, and read from the top downwards— TIGERNACI / DOBAGNI. And the Ogam inscription is on the left angle of the stone, and reads from the bottom upwards—



D O V AG N I

With regard to the former there are only a few points to notice: extending obliquely from the left end of the top of the T there is a sort of groove which cannot be any part of the writing, and when examined closely it

Inscribed Stone at Llangwarren.

Scale $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

is found to consist of two parallel scratches; it must be the result of some accidental injury, and the perpendicular of the T is also somewhat imperfect owing to the same or a similar reason. In fact, the letters previously exposed at the beginning of the inscription are not so plain as the others: the former, I may say, contain all or most of the first line; for, so far back as December 1896, Mr. H. W. Williams, of Solva, wrote to me that he had read TIGERNACI, his attention having been called to the stone by Mr. Evans, of Parselau. To return to the lettering: the first G is not so well formed as the second, but both are of the reaping-hook description. The curves of the R and the B are not brought back into contact with the perpendicular of these letters respectively. The Ogam is perfect, but differs from the Latin in having *v* where the former has B, just as in the case of the Dobituci Stone at Clydey in the same county: see *Arch. Camb.* for 1897, p. 129.

The whole seems to mean *Sepulcrum Tigernaci Dobagni*, "the Grave of Teyrnog Dyfan," for *Tigernac* ⊢ is a name we have had more than once before, and in modern Welsh it becomes *Teyrnog*, as in the name of the church of *Llan Deyrnog* in the Vale of Clwyd: in mod. Irish it becomes *Tighearnach*, genitive *Tighearnaigh*, anglicised *Tierney*. *Dobagn* is probably to be identified with mediæval Irish *Dobán*, which seems to have become in Welsh *Dyfan*, as the name of a saint. It is not very usual for a man to have two names in inscriptions of this kind; but it will hardly do to suppose that *fili* has been omitted, to be supplied by the reader; for in that case *Tigernac* would be the person commemorated, and his name, not that of his father, should appear in the Ogam, which, as we have seen, is not the case. So we have to suppose that one man only is meant by the two names, and that he was called either *Tigernac(i) Dobagn(i)*, or simply *Dobagn(i)*.

The thanks of the Association are due for this treat,

in the first place to Mr. Mathias, for the readiness with which he gave its members access to this important bilingual monument; in the second place to Mr. Williams, of Solva, for the intelligent interest in the antiquities of the county which he has helped to awake in the breasts of Pembrokeshire men; and in the third place to those Pembrokeshire men for reporting the discoveries made by them as the result of their keeping their eyes open.[1]

The Steynton Stone.

Now that I have begun, I may as well go on to mention a few points connected with the other inscriptions which we saw in the course of our excursions. First in order of time, namely Tuesday, comes the Steynton bilingual reading in Ogam *Gendili.* I found that the Editor of this Journal was at one with me, that the cross on the face of the stone was carved after the Ogam writing, since it cut into the Ogam for *n*, ᚅ: the left arm of the cross is made to include the last score of the Ogam. I understood him also to agree with me in reading at the top of the stone the letter G, followed by a faint E, and forming the beginning of the name GENDI[L?]L ⊢. I am sorry to say that I am not sure about the final L ⊢ which I thought I detected on a former visit.[2] But there

[1] The Association itself is also fairly entitled to a certain amount of credit for having initiated the Archæological Survey of Pembrokeshire, one result of which has been to stimulate an interest in local antiquities and cause a keen search to be made for inscribed stones. —ED.

[2] On comparing the photograph with my rubbing, I think there is no doubt about the sickle-shaped G, which is on the top arm of the cross, nor about the final I which is on the bottom arm of the cross near the right edge, and is placed vertical. There are very faint traces of the E after the G and the L before the I. The Latin inscription thus appears to be slightly askew, and runs from the centre of the top arm of the cross towards the second R in the name "Harries". The cross and the ogams overlap in such a way that it is not easy to say for certain which was cut first, but as the Latin

Inscribed Stone at Steynton.

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$ linear.

can be no doubt that the name was there in full in Latin letters, and possibly also that of the deceased's father, before the cross was carved, not to mention the later things on this ancient monument,[1] as to which see *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. xi, p. 392, and 5th Ser., vol. vi, p. 308. Lastly, in a previous notice of mine of this stone, I find that I called attention to a sort of a semicircle on the other face of it: has anybody examined it carefully? It is very gratifying to find these ancient monuments becoming the objects of keen interest, but the simultaneous examination of their scanty literature by a considerable number of eager antiquaries sometimes leads one to forget what one came to see or to test. The photograph here given was taken by Mr. Mansel Franklen, by whose kind permission we reproduce it.

The Brawdy Stones.

On Wednesday morning we drove to Brawdy, where the two Caswilia Ogam stones and the recently-discovered stone from Rickardston Hall are now to be seen. Two of them had been serving till lately as gate-posts and the third as a foot-bridge. How Mr. Henry Owen succeeded in getting them together to Brawdy I have never exactly ascertained; but I have found that quite a crop of stories have sprung up connected with his quiet but persistent efforts to save from destruction and decay the antiquities of "the Premier County". In another corner of Pembrokeshire he is said to have, for instance, paid a minister a tidy sum of money to secure an ancient monument, in order to promote it from the humble and

letters are obliterated by the cross, the most natural assumption is that the cross is of more recent date than the ogams and the Latin inscription. The form of the cross is an early one, and it is probably pre-Norman.—Ed.

[1] A heater-shaped shield (upside down), a star, and some small incised crosses, which come out clearly in the photograph.

dangerous position of a gate-post to a place of safety and the story goes on to relate how this minister was one Sunday morning subsequently expatiating to his audience on Moses's conduct in breaking the stone tablets on which were written the Ten Commandments; and how, after applying several uncomplimentary adjectives to the great Hebrew, he reached his climax in the observation, that if Moses had only kept the stones, he might have had "a deal o' money for them." Which of the many ministers with whom Mr. Owen has had dealings this may be I do not know, but I suspect the story of having been helped to its present stage of development by a reverend canon of the Established Church. However, it is certain that Mr. Owen has been doing a great deal more for Pembrokeshire archæology than is generally known to our Association.

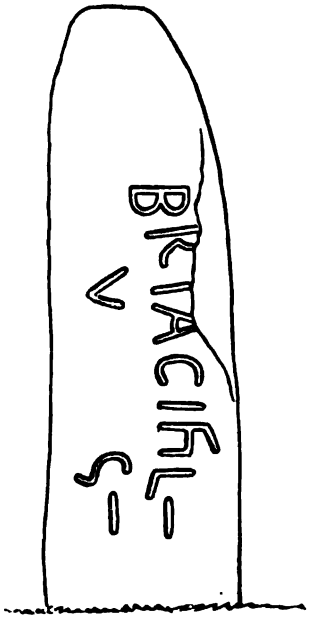
(1) But to return from these charming modern legends to the stones on which they seem lichen-like to grow, I may first mention the *Vendogni* Ogam: that is the reading, I am sure, and not *Vendogne*, as I once thought possible: see the *Arch. Camb.* for 1895, p. 184.

(2) As to the other Caswilia Ogam reading *Maqui Qu..gte*, I said when I first described it (*Ibid.*, p. 185-6) that the second vocable was *Quegte*; the second time I saw it, I was inclined to read it *Quagte* (*Arch. Camb.* for 1896, p. 104); and now the third time I am inclined to return to my first guess, the note I made on this last visit being, that "besides the one notch before the *g*, one could trace preceding that one notch slight depressions for three others."

(3) Our principal object, however, was to try to read the second line of the Rickardston Hall stone. Some account of our former attempts will be found in the *Arch. Camb.* for 1897, p. 135, and the result was the following:—

BRIACI FIL—
...V.....G—

It is right to remark that a flake or a spawl in the stone has carried away with it the top of the letters RIA; and it was pointed out by Sir John Williams, that if the A was only of the same height as the other letters, it must have had a square or flat top. It will be found of service to bear this in mind as we proceed to try the next line. First the V and the G seem to stand, while just before the G one seemed now to guess an N, and following the V one traced a sort of L with a short back stroke making it rather like a Z, except that the oblique line should incline in the contrary direction slightly, that is towards the V; but some of my friends perceived, as they thought, a small irregular O between the V and L, the three letters being curiously crowded together. So I went away without knowing what to make of them, though I was convinced that we have here some spelling of the genitive EVOLENG — already discovered on other stones in the county. We had guessed N, and there was room for a weathered E just before it, and for another at the beginning, of which I thought I detected traces, The letters V . . L exercised me greatly, and when we had gone too far to turn back, it dawned on my mind that they formed a conjoint character made up of V, a flat-topped A, and an L, thus VA. This would explain the back tag at the top of the L as the top of the A, and the irregular pentagon forming the upper part of the A was the small battered O which attracted attention. I am constrained, however, to confess that the Editor,



Inscribed Stone at Rickardston Hall.

who was absent that morning on another excursion, has since visited the stone without being able to corroborate my guessings; but provisionally I read the whole inscription as—

BRIACI FIL–
EVALENG–

Thus, instead of *Evolengi*, we should have *Evalengi*, which would be more Goidelic, as having the thematic vowel of the first element in the compound represented by *a* rather than *o*. Another spelling, *Evelengi*, with *e*, is quite conceivable, but it would not fit the remains of the lettering in question so well as *Evalengi*, or *Evolengi*. Perhaps a good squeeze of the stone would help one to surmount the difficulties caused by the weathering of the stone.

The Inscribed Stones at St. David's.

They have been noticed in the *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. iii, p. 44; 5th Ser., vol. ix, p. 78; and 5th Ser., vol. x, p. 281. They are much later than the foregoing ones, and I have nothing new to say of them.

The Spittal Stone,

which has always stood near the door of the parish church, has now had a porch built over it. For this we have, I believe, to thank the liberality of the resident squire and the advice of Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A. I have read the stone hitherto thus:—

EVALI FILI DENCV–
CVNIOVENDE
MATER EIVS

But Mr. Edward Owen, who has always taken the keenest interest in these inscriptions, and was the first to publish Lewis Morris's readings of several lost or damaged ones (*Arch. Camb.* for 1896, 5th Ser., vol.

xiii, pp. 129-144), rather shook my confidence, as he read the first line EVALI FILI DENOV ⊢. To understand the difference, it is necessary to mention that between the C and the V there is a sort of step across a part of the face of the stone, so that the letters V ⊢ are on a lower level than the preceding ones; and, if I remember rightly, they do not appear in the version in the *Lapidarium Walliæ* (pl. 52, fig. 2). Now the C ends on the step I have mentioned, and the edge of the step is uneven and probably a little damaged of old. So here comes in the uncertainty whether one is to read C or O; but in favour of the former I may observe, that it would be very similar in shape to the C in the name *Cuniovende*. Other points worthy of notice in connection with this inscription are, that the V of DENCV ⊢ and of EIVS has its second arm curved, V̊, and that in the former instance the first arm is also curved to a slight extent. Lastly, the V of EVALI forms a conjoint character with the A, but the L is a separate letter in this case.[1]

[1] The late Mr. Longueville Jones read the last word in the first line of the inscription DENO, but omits the final V ⊢ (see *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. vii, p. 302). There is ample room betweed the N of DENOVI and the step or fracture in the stone just beyond it for a complete O; and on referring to my rubbing and Mr. T. Mansel Franklen's photograph, I find the letter is more like an O than a C. Prof. Westwood probably copied Mr. Longueville Jones's drawing without verifying it.—ED.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

Reasons why Inscribed Stones should be Housed.—The casual remark of an archæologist has awakened me to a knowledge of the fact that the importance of putting all inscribed stones of archæological interest under cover is not generally understood. But few stones have the power to withstand the forces of Nature, and, so far as my acquaintance with them goes, the early Christian inscriptions of this country are not cut upon stones likely for all time to resist "weathering" when allowed to remain in exposed situations. The chemical action of the constituent gases and vapours of the atmosphere alone is very great and fatal. The hardest Cornish granite rocks have in places been decomposed to a depth of 600 feet. The fact that a stone is lichen-covered is a powerful argument in favour of that stone being housed. Lichen will only grow upon stones which are to some extent porous and retentive of water, and the stone for the reason stated is subject to comparatively rapid decay. But the circumstance that a stone is not lichen-grown by no means proves that it is weatherproof. In some stones the decomposed particles fall off as soon as the process of change is complete, leaving the new surface undistinguishable from the original surface; and should it be an inscribed stone (when the disintegrating agencies are not taken into account), it would appear as if the inscription had been imperfectly cut. Sun-heat, rain and frost have each the power to break up stones, and to these are probably due the flaking and fracturing which worry the souls of the Old Stone men. The only cure is housing. Fortunately, in the premier county, Mr. Henry Owen has realised the dangers, and has caused a number of the Pembrokeshire stones to be placed under cover.

H. W. Williams, F.G.S.

Discovery of Windows in St. David's Cathedral.—A discovery of considerable interest has lately been made in St. David's Cathedral, in the chapel constructed by Bishop Vaughan early in the sixteenth century.

This chapel, the longer axis of which runs from north to south, lies immediately beyond the east wall of the presbytery. It occupies a space which, till Bishop Vaughan's time, seems to have been a sort of internal court open to the sky, which was thus left when the eastern chapels were added, in order to give light to the lower range of lancets at the east end of the presbytery.

Window recently found in St. David's Cathedral.

Bishop Vaughan roofed it in with a fine groin of stone, built large arches to the north and south, connecting it with the aisles, in which are beautiful stone screens, and adorned the east wall in a somewhat peculiar manner. This wall, being as long as the width of the presbytery, is of an unusual length for so small a chapel. The centre was occupied by the altar, some portions of which remain; close to this, to the right and left, are very small two-light windows, perhaps intended to give a priest standing at the altar a view into the Lady Chapel, which lies beyond its vestibule still further to the east. Outside these small windows are fine and lofty niches, from which the figures have unhappily gone. To the north and south of the niches there is a length of wall still to be accounted for, and it is to this that the discovery relates. At first sight the wall appeared to consist of plain ashlar only, pierced by hagioscopes or squints, passing diagonally through the wall and aiming at the sites of the altars which once stood at the east end of the north and south aisles; but, on closer inspection, upright joints could be seen in the ashlar masonry, one close to each of the large niches and another near the extremity of the plain wall to the north and south, the squint coming between these joints in each case. These features were indications of some alteration having taken place, but they were very inconspicuous, and it was on the eastern face of the chapel wall, within the vestibule to the Lady Chapel, that signs of the previous existence of openings through the wall could be most readily seen. Here the outline of windows with four centred heads were pretty clear in the rough walling. They were pointed out by me to the Dean during a recent visit, and it was decided to remove some of the rubble stonework within the lines of the southern window. As soon as this was done, a very excellent arch moulding was at once found, and within this a perfect three-light window, with rich details and very delicate tracery. The whole of the upper part of the window was exposed, but the stonework forming the squint, which was found to pass beween the two mullions, was left. Some of the ashlar within Bishop Vaughan's chapel was then taken out, and the other face of the window exposed. It was found to be even richer in its moulding than towards the east, while the outer order, instead of being arched, finished with a square head, the spandrels between this and the tracery arch being ornamented with rich cusping and shields. These shields bear the arms of Bishop Vaughan, and probably of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who was the chief layman in the district during Vaughan's episcopate. In the northern window, which has been opened since my visit, the arms are those of the See of St. David's and a St. Andrew's Cross, St. Andrew being the saint to whom, with St. David, the Cathedral is dedicated. I am indebted for the description of the shields to Chancellor Davey. The two windows are low down in the wall, within 4 ft. of the floor, are small in scale, and are of much architectural beauty. It would seem that very shortly after the chapel was finished it became necessary to find places for two additional

altars, and that the windows were walled up with this object—traces of one of these altars may be seen below the southern window. The late date of the chapel and the absolutely perfect condition of the stonework of the discovered windows indicates that they were built up very soon after their erection. The exact purpose of windows in this position is not quite clear; that one object was to enable the priest at the main altar in the centre of the chapel to see those at the east ends of the north and south aisles, is proved by squints aiming at them having been inserted when the windows were filled in with stone; but it seems also likely that the windows were intended to enable a larger number of persons to join in the services of the chapel than could be brought within its walls. The screened arches in the north and south aisles were clearly built for this purpose, as well as for the additional light and architectural effect which they afforded. The windows were never glazed, but the old ironwork in them remains. The opening of these beautiful old windows gives a new charm to this most interesting part of the Cathedral. J. OLDRID SCOTT.

HERALDS' COLLEGE HERALDRY.—In the April number of the *Arch. Camb.*, Mr. Stepney-Gulston notices in a friendly way some idle speculations of mine as to Sir Rhys ap Thomas' Arms, and shows on the authority of his Garter plate in St. George's Chapel that I was quite wrong in supposing that his Arms might have been Choughs; but I hope I shall not be thought impertinent if I say that Mr. Stepney-Gulston's notice proves too much. He supports a derivation of Sir Rhys ap Thomas' Ravens from the insignia of Urien Rheged by the authority of the "Vaughan Pedigree Roll;" and this Roll, as I understand his account of it, gives to Urien Rheged a coat-of-arms parted per pale, Baron and Femme; and Mr. Stepney-Gulston appears to argue that because a galaxy of kings-of-arms and heralds signed this roll, therefore we ought to treat this blazon of Urien Rheged's Arms with some respect. Inasmuch as Urien Rheged was a warrior of the fifth century, and marshalling "Baron and Femme" was not invented till the fourteenth century, the signature of every king-of-arms that ever existed would not suffice to cover such an anachronism.

I doubt whether the Heralds' College had ever much to do with real heraldry. The College came into existence in the year 1483, and at that time real heraldry, which was dependent on the feudal system and the method of warfare which was practiced before standing armies came into vogue, was losing its reality.

The reality of heraldry seems to me to depend on the value of it for historical purposes, and I should hesitate before calling any heraldry real, if the study of it was of no assistance in the consideration of the way of the world.

In one sense the heraldry of the Heralds' College is real, as explaining and illustrating the tournaments, jousts and pageants of

the Tudor times, culminating in the magnificence of the Field of the Cloth of Gold; but the chief significance of heraldry must, I think, be sought in the later middle ages between 1190 and 1490.

Coats-of-arms to the Heralds' College seem to have been merely indicative of what was called gentle blood, either inherited or created by the exercise of the sovereign's prerogative; and the right to bear arms in no way depended on the personal merit or prowess of the bearer, except so far as the first recipients of the sovereign's favour might be supposed to have earned that favour by merit. Readiness to pay fees may have had something to do with grants of arms.

Real arms probably arose from the necessity of the case, and indicated primarily military rank, and secondarily, power and influence: chiefly, but not exclusively, arising from the ownership of real property.

In the good old days, when men defended their possessions and attacked their neighbours with weapons for title-deeds, the ownership of real property meant the defence of it or the seizure of it. From emperor, kings, princes and dukes, through lords of the marches and counts, to barons and knights, the first care of life was to hold their own from kingdom to manor, and to attain this end a military framework of society was evolved. Every man had his lord, and every man had his armed following to maintain his own and his lord's rights, to say nothing of his own or his lord's wrongs. Allegiance was conditioned by protection. If a man was strong enough to dispense with protection he threw off his allegiance; if a man was too weak to secure to his under-tenants the quiet enjoyment they bargained for, then they transferred their rent or service to a lord who could protect them. Another development of the calling of arms was the raising and leading of a band of men-at-arms by those who, though they had no property to defend, were able in this way to assist in the quarrels of property owners, and at the end of the struggle these free-lances might find themselves ranged within the respectable ranks of land-owners.

The crucial question in those days to ask concerning any man was: what is the extent of his command—or, shortly, what is his rank? That is the question we ask now when we consider the influence of an individual in those days, and so far as heraldry supplies an answer, heraldry is real.

A coat-of-arms carried for military business purposes differs widely from a coat which is a sign of legitimate pretension to gentle blood. A business coat implied at least a certain military rank, and at most it might imply the power of an empire. The only business coats of the present day are national insignia. The justification of a coat-of-arms was not its source of origin, but the end it could achieve.

Then came the invention of gunpowder and the amalgamation of the fighting forces of a realm under the standard of its ruler; and within the realm of England the Statute of Liveries, enforced by

Henry VII in the case of the Earl of Oxford, put an end to all private war.

It is obvious that the failure of any real use for a coat-of-arms rendered it available for purposes of show and advertisement. We find Caxton advertising the sale of books at the sign of the "red pale," and printers for a long time followed his example. Taking books out of my shelves, I find books printed at the "Cross Keys," the "Black Swan," the "Green Dragon," the "Red Lyon," and the "Golden Buck." All the sons of an armiger, whether they followed arms as a calling or not, would sport the paternal coat, and every one of their sons after them in a widening stream.

Such a custom takes all the reality out of heraldry. A coat-of-arms implies nothing but the accident of birth, and one must look elsewhere for a test of a man's importance in his generation; in other words, heraldry, after the institution of the Heralds' College, answers no question worth asking.

Hill Cottage, Tenby, C. F. EGERTON ALLEN.
June 23rd, 1897.

WANTON DESTRUCTION OF THE CROMLECH ON BODAFON MOUNTAIN, IN ANGLESEY, BY A PARISH COUNCIL.—Mr. J. E. Griffith, F.G.S., of Bangor, reports the breaking up of the fine cromlech on Bodafon Mountain (illustrated in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. 12, 1867, p. 344), to get stones for road-metalling. This piece of wooden-headed vandalism received the sanction of the parish council: a body for whose existence we have to thank a Conservative Government—such is the irony of fate. From a purely archæological point of view, the sooner these bodies are either disbanded or deprived of power to do any further mischief of a similar kind, the better we shall be pleased.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN.

Reviews and Notices of Books.

THE CELTIC CHURCH OF WALES. By J. W. WILLIS BUND, F.S.A. London: D. Nutt, 270, 271, Strand, 1897.

THIS is an able and interesting book, audaciously original and brilliant, the work of one who has a wide knowledge of accessible authorities, and who can think for himself; who can, moreover, at times adorn the expression of novel views by keen and biting epigram. Much that he says is excellent and true; much, though doubtful, is deserving of careful consideration; and much is, in my opinion, utterly false and misleading. The book is not a namby-pamby one, and it would not be a compliment to its author to review it in a namby-pamby fashion. I shall claim the same privilege of freedom of speech as the author has abundantly enjoyed.

To a critic who prefers originality to accuracy Mr. Willis Bund's book would appeal with irresistible force. It is unquestionably an original and striking work, and it avoids as far as possible any agreement with previous books on the same subject. Its author indeed goes out of his way at times to emphasize his independence of thought, and to set at nought not merely the conclusions of the moderns but the evidence of the ancients. His statements are marked, moreover, by a refreshing definiteness and decision. Others before him have sometimes hesitated between conflicting theories through the scarcity of evidence. Mr. Willis Bund never hesitates, never requires evidence; he has a perfectly clear conception of what ought to have happened, and if awkward facts present themselves, they have to fit in with his conception. He has at all times the courage of his convictions; he carries them to their full conclusion, nay, even at times beyond it, and he never flinches from any legitimate deduction, however surprising it may be. So perfect is the conception of the work, and so adequate its fulfilment, that even those who differ most widely from its statements cannot withhold from its author a tribute of admiration for its completeness as a work of art.

Hitherto, according to Mr. Willis Bund, the history of the Celtic Church of Wales has been written generally from a Latin point of view; he is the first to treat it from the purely Celtic side. The clue which will guide the adventurous inquirer through the labyrinth is to be found in the Welsh and Irish laws. Bede, the *Liber Landavensis*, the *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, in fact, nearly all the other documents we have, are tainted with Latin ideas, and are to be regarded with grave suspicion, and can only be used with caution when they can be made to square with Mr. Willis Bund's

theories. The development of Celtic Christianity "was local without any external aid, and without the exercise of, or the pressure from, any external authority"; and this development went on in accordance with tribal ideas. The Christianity of Wales is not to be greatly differentiated from that of Ireland, but to be treated pretty much as one and the same, and all Celtic Christianity alike "was the dilution of Christianity with Paganism, a mixture in which Paganism largely predominated. It is not, as has been said, that the religion of Wales was Christianity with a veneer of Paganism: it was really Paganism with a veneer of Christianity. The result of this method of introducing Christianity was to accommodate the old tribal system to the new Christianity—a process which led to the existence and continuance of various peculiarities in the Celtic religious system, such as those which arose from the adaptation of the rules which regulated the relations between a chief and his tribesmen. It also brought about the absorption into Christianity of a large amount of Pagan customs, which long survived the nominal abolition of Paganism, and some of which seem to have lingered even to our own times". When the Christian missionary came to Britain he had to deal with two different sets of ideas: the Brythonic religion, which was idolatry pure and simple, and the Goidelic religion, which was the Ivernian Druidism with a modified form of the Brythonic polytheism, or in other words, "philosophy plus idolatry". The missionary could make no terms with the idolatry, but he accepted the philosophy. In Wales, therefore, which was mainly Goidelic, the result was a Christianised Paganism. In history we sometimes find this Paganism called Pelagianism; this is merely a euphemism. From the end of the fourth century Wales never nominally relapsed into heathenism, as contrasted with Ireland, which certainly relapsed once, and probably more than once, and with Scotland, which, except in places, was long only nominally Christian. The reason that the Welsh never relapsed was that there was nothing for them to relapse into, as their Christianity was only modified Paganism. Consequently, when Augustine came in contact with the Welsh Church, his difficulty was how to deal with this queer form of Christianity. Bede, in his account of the conflict, has "depreciated the differences between the Latin and Celtic Churches, so as if not actually to assert, at least to prepare the way for asserting, the complete supremacy of the Latin over the Celtic Church". In reality the contest was upon much greater issues than he states, on subjects still unsettled—"whether the Church is supreme over the State, whether the Clergy are supreme over the Church". The Church in Wales had submitted to be "the handmaid, if not vassal, of the Tribe". The clergy, too, were servants of the tribe. "Each member of the tribe was entitled, because he was a member of the tribe, not on account of holiness, not on account of conduct, but on account of his being a tribesman, to the services of the priest of the tribe, and to any advantages arising from such services, one of

which was to have the Sacraments of the Church administered to him." The priest had no discretion in the matter, however gross were the sins of the tribesman. Still less authority had the bishop. "In early Celtic times each church was a monastic establishment, and had among its officials a bishop, just as it had a porter or any other officer." The Celts "had no belief in apostolic succession, or the mystical powers of a bishop." There were no diocesan bishops; the stories of early bishops of Llandaff, St. David's, St. Asaph, Bangor, Llanbadarn, and the like, are frauds and fictions. David himself was not a bishop, any more than he was a saint. What are called the Welsh saints were often half robbers and half monks, who, because they were the members of a class and could give the required security, were admitted to rule over some religious house, The rights and privileges of saints became—or tended to become—hereditary. "Birth is one of the especial distinguishing marks of the Welsh saints." Columba's "real claim to sanctity rested on the fact that he was a chief of the northern branch of the great Irish tribe of Hy[1] Niall". In reality the Celtic saints were semi-Pagan heretics, and the Celtic bishops were irregularly consecrated, and no bishops at all, if judged from an orthodox Latin standpoint. The Welsh saint was "an official, the head of the ecclesiastical tribe"; he was generally a foreigner. "Piety had nothing to do with saints." The Celtic saint "lived and died, not as an example to humanity of the height to which sinful nature could be made to attain; his loftiest idea of excellence was to do his best for his tribe in the office of saint, to add to its riches, to extend its territories". Consequently, there were no Welsh martyrs. "If a more powerful chieftain, or some Danish pirate, or Saxon Pagan, conquered the Welsh saint, all he had to do was to enlarge the borders of his Christianity by the admission of a little more Paganism. As Gibbon said of the Old World philosophers, to them all religions were equally true. So to the Celtic saint, a little further dilution of his Christianity by Paganism did not matter; at best his Christianity was but a mixture of these two elements, and he would hardly care to suffer martyrdom when it was merely a question of an alteration in the proportions of the mixture." The religion of the Welsh saint was "not the idea of universal brotherhood, or of peace and goodwill, but how the fortunes of the tribe could best be advanced"; as the warriors of the family used the temporal arm, the saints used the spiritual, and "their whole object was to promote the prosperity of the tribe and tribal interests". The Celtic robber looked forward to end his days as a saint. "There were, in those days, but few ways of making oneself famous: the two main ones being by victories with the sword, or by victories as a saint; but the best and the most certain mode was the combination of the two—a life of plunder, a death as a saint."

[1] A printer's devil, too clever by half, once altered this from my manuscript into *Henry* Niall.

these remarks about Welsh morality are only "seasonin'"; but then some people do not like too much red pepper; we do not all possess the tastes of an Indian nabob.

The only place where Mr. Bund is at all reserved in his criticisms is on p. 359. "The Celt", we are told, "did not think—*some would say, does not think*—a false oath a crime, unless it was taken in a particular place and under particular circumstances". With this exception, Mr. Willis Bund's criticisms on the Welsh and on Celts in general are absolutely free and outspoken. Some of these remarks, too, have a present application, and cannot assuredly be justified by reference to Welsh laws drawn up in the remote past. We may judge from these unsparing conclusions respecting Welsh morality what is the value of equally sweeping conclusions drawn respecting the Welsh Church. The tone and temper in which the book has been written are those of a man determined to speak the truth, the whole truth, and perhaps a little more than the truth.

The first demand, perhaps, that one makes of the author of such a book as this, and the first test of its worth, is exactness. A writer who controverts all the work of his predecessors, and who is so unsparing in his remarks and draws such sweeping conclusions, ought surely to take heed to his ways that he be not caught tripping. True, the subject is so complicated and so full of little details that all students must almost perforce make some mistakes, or if we do not, our printers' devils will do it for us. To err is human. But a moderate amount of exactness is required of all, and more especially is required of him who aims at upsetting everyone else. The old firms may have made mistakes, but if the new and opposition business makes more, it will not attract custom. Now Mr. Bund cannot lay claim to exactness. If he alludes to the present religious bodies in Wales, he must speak rhetorically, and describe Wales as having passed "under the sway of *numberless* sects and into the power of *countless* schisms" (p. 48). As a matter of fact, the sects of Welsh Wales are comparatively few, though here and there in the big towns a few English members of the more obscure denominations may be found. As for Mr. Bund's spelling of Welsh names it is certainly erratic, and the printer cannot always be blamed. Hywel Dda appears as "Hwyel Dda" on pp. 43 and 46; as "Hwyel Da" on p. 252 and in the Index, and as "Hywel Da" on p. 205. Rhygyfarch is mentioned frequently as Rhyddmarch, notwithstanding Mr. Egerton Phillimore's censure of this form. Whatever may be thought of this, the following are certainly inaccurate:—"Benignius" (p. 125) for Benignus, "Celstius" for Celestius (p. 108), "Deniol" for Deiniol (p. 246). The Book of Llandaff appears twice (pp. 250, 251) as the "Liber Llandavensis." These are trifles; but what are we to say respecting the statement on p. 108? "Pelagius, the Greek form of Morgan, was a Goidelic Celt educated at the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed, who with his friend Celstius, an Irishman, preached at Rome about the year 410." First of all, Pelagius is not the Greek form of Morgan; it

was more pardonable to make this mistake a few years ago, before Professor Rhys had exposed it, than it now is. Next, it is a mere guess that Pelagius was a Goidelic Celt; all we really know is that he was a Briton. Thirdly, his education at Bangor Iscoed is as probable as St. Patrick's principalship of Llantwit Major, neither more nor less. All the theories about Pelagianism being Paganism are similarly mere guess-work: certainly, both begin with the same letter, like Macedon and Monmouth, and it is an interesting guess that Pelagius was influenced by Druidic teaching. But we really have nothing like certain evidence that Pelagianism ever prevailed in the district we now call Wales at all. Mr. Willis Bund, however, knows all about its extent in Britain. "While," he says, "Goidelic Britain became moved by Pelagianism to its centre, Brythonic Britain seems hardly to have felt it. To such an extent is this the case, that if a map was prepared showing the parts of England and Wales which were affected or otherwise by Pelagianism, it would be found that the map showed roughly the division of the country between the Goidel and the Brython." This is a bold prophecy, for anyone who chose to draw such a map might draw it just how he liked, seeing that there is absolutely no evidence on the matter.

But the most extraordinary mistake of Mr. Bund's, and one which is particularly noticeable as illustrating his methods, is his curious misinterpretation of a well-known passage of Montalembert. Everyone will remember how that brilliant writer, when relating the origin of English Christianity, ascribes it to the monks. "If France has been made by bishops, as has been said by a great enemy of Jesus Christ, it is still more true that Christian *England* (l'Angleterre Chrétienne) has been made by monks. Of all the countries of Europe it is this that has been the most deeply furrowed by the monastic plough. The monks, and the monks alone, have introduced, sowed, and cultivated Christian civilization in this famous island. From whence came these monks?" From two very distinct sources—from Rome and Ireland. The context, the mention of Christian *England* (not Britain), and the succeeding narrative, abundantly prove that what the author means is that English Christianity is due to the labours of the monks of Iona and to the monks who came from Rome with Augustine; that he meant, in fact, just what Mr. J. R. Green meant, when he saw a wall placarded with the exhortation: "Vote for Gregory and Scott," and exclaimed: "Gregory and Scott! I'll vote for them; they founded the Church of England." But Mr. Bund quotes the words of Montalembert to answer the question: "Is Celtic monasticism a Latin or a Celtic growth?" and argues from it that "Montalembert admits the Irish, that is, the Celtic origin of some of the Welsh monasteries" (p. 149); and he states that "at first sight it would appear (from this passage) that Montalembert recognises the Celtic origin of the Welsh Church". I add no comment, except to repeat that this is a striking example of the way in which Mr. Bund treats his authorities.

A similar and scarcely less astounding misuse of authorities is contained in Mr. Bund's account of the conferences between the representatives of the British Church and Augustine, and the part which he supposes to have been played in the second conference by Dinoth or Dunawd. He states that Bede "represents that abbot as taking the lead at the conference, and as being regarded as the head of the Celtic Church". No doubt, if this were true, the account of Bede would be—as Mr. Bund says it is—"very strong evidence to show that the Celtic Church in Wales, as Augustine found it, was ruled by abbots, not by bishops" (p. 248). As a matter of fact, of course, as every well-instructed person (not to mention Macaulay's schoolboy) knows, Bede does not say that "Dinoot" was at the conference at all, much less that he was "head of the Celtic Church." All that he says is that Dinoot was abbot at that time of Bangor, which abbey sent several learned men to the conference. Mr. Bund's statements are imagination, pure and simple.

Beside these all minor misconceptions or unwarranted inferences seem unimportant. When we are told that the mother of Foirtchernn was a Welshwoman, and it is argued that "probably the connection between her and Wales, possibly also the settlement of his own people near Menevia, led Finnian to become a pupil there" (p. 171), we think it scarcely worth while to turn to the *Book of Armagh* and find that the woman is there described merely as "de Brittonibus." Possibly, of course, she may been a native of what we now call Wales, but at any rate the *Book of Armagh* does not say so. Mr. Bund tells us that Lomman was a "Welshman" (p. 181). The *Book of Armagh* merely says that he was "Britto," and that his mother was St. Patrick's sister, so that his connection was probably rather with Strathclyde than with Wales.

A consideration of these misconceptions and hasty inferences will lead us to estimate at their true value many of those bold statements of Mr. Bund for which nothing like real evidence is adduced. He gives no proof, for example, of the lack of orthodoxy which he imputes to the Celtic Church of Wales. We cannot lawfully infer from the evidence laid before us that the Celtic priest had no discretion in the matter of administering the Holy Eucharist to an adulterer or murderer, but was bound to ignore his sins because he was a tribesman. Neither is there any reason to conclude that the Celts had no belief in apostolic succession; what evidence we possess tends all the other way. It is true that Mr. Bund is deserving of much credit for having brought out fully the tribal character of Celtic Christianity (which, however, had been recognised by other writers before), and for having done much to elucidate its monastic bent; but it is to be regretted that his theories have in certain respects carried him away on their resistless tide, and that he has lacked the power to stop where he ought to have stopped. All the dykes, however, that might have checked

the torrent have been previously demolished as "Latin." What his theories and his imagination lead him to may be seen in the marvellous summary of the later history of the Welsh Church, from which we might imagine that the Elizabethan Welsh were all disciples of Penry, that the Welsh of the Great Rebellion epoch were all strong partizans of Cromwell, and that even now the Bethesda quarryman and the Rhondda collier are looking back with longing eyes to the pre-historic paganism of their barbarous forefathers. Meanwhile "English children are taught to look upon" Dunawd and his fellows "as heretics and schismatics" (p. 143). So at least Mr. Bund supposes, but it might puzzle him to be asked to say at what schools. Whatever may be the faults and failings of the Board Schools, we can scarcely credit *them* with such teaching; for, as Dr. Jessopp has told us, all that the children of the standards know even of Oliver Cromwell is that he must be either a noun or a verb.

That there were many pagan survivals in the early age of Celtic Christianity, as in the early age of nearly all Christianity, is, of course, true enough. The condition of affairs in Ireland was just such as is characteristic of a period of transition, when a nation is passing from paganism to Christianity, from semi-barbarism to civilization. Such an age is often one of striking contrasts; high culture and deep spirituality exist side by side with gross barbarism and degrading superstition. So in Ireland in one place we might find a monastery where Horace was studied and Virgil was beloved, where the arts flourished, and where the monks kept up the *laus perennis*, and were full of zeal for the conversion of the heathen,—a monastery that was a centre of light and leading, not only for its neighbourhood, but for distant lands as well. Hard by we might find some cruel old pagan in monkish garb practising his ancestral superstitions half disguised by Christian rites, and living in the deadness of sin and the blindness of heathenism, insensible alike to the beauty of art, learning, or Christianity. How such a condition of society may be treated depends largely upon the temperament of the writer. Montalembert, with his passionate love of saintliness, discerns it beauties and describes them, and does not feel it incumbent upon him to say overmuch of its faults and failings; Mr. Bund discerns its ugliness, and paints that. He deliberately selects for treatment the worse, the unprogressive part of Irish Christianity, and we have no right to quarrel with his choice; it needs its artist quite as much as the better part; but his fault is that he exalts this worse part into the type of Irish, nay, of Celtic Christianity, and denies—at least implicitly—the existence of the higher life of the race. He has picked out all that was vile and base (and assuredly there was much vile and base, then as now, in every country and church), and he has termed this "Celtic"; he has rejected all that was precious and of good report as the interested fictions of "Latin" historians. This cannot be regarded as fair treatment. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that in the twelfth

century there were naked savages in Connaught, but it would not be thought fair if a historian were to describe all the people of Ireland of that age as naked and barbarous. The very use of the term "Celtic" may be—and often is in Mr. Bund's pages—a mere *petitio principii*. Many of the customs which are often called Celtic were no more Celtic than Latin: they were only old-fashioned. Everyone admits that this was the case with the "Celtic" Easter; the custom of consecration by one bishop was also not exclusively Celtic—that is, not Celtic at all in the sense of originating on Celtic soil. So, too, the custom of consecration *per saltum*, and even the supremacy of abbots over bishops in respect of jurisdiction, existed beyond the bounds of Celtic Christianity. The monastery of Mount Sinai in the eleventh century had 500 monks under an abbot, and having their own bishop. One has only to refer to the cases of Monte Cassino, the monasteries of St. Martin at Tours and St. Denys at Paris, or to the practice which prevailed at Fulda up to 1752, to recognise the rashness of Mr. Bund in inferring from this custom that the Celtic Church had no belief in apostolic succession, or the fallacy of his epigram that every Celtic monastery had a bishop "just as it had a porter". Adamnan, of course, proves the respect paid by Columba to the bishop as his superior in order, but then, I fear that Mr. Bund would call Adamnan a "Latin." However, people in general will not be scared from respecting the plain testimony of Adamnan, or Bede, or Aldhelm, to Celtic orthodoxy by the mere utterance of the word "Latin." Mr. Bund himself, in his assaults upon the orthodoxy of the Celtic saints, is more Latin than the Latins.

Further, in arguing so unreservedly from the case of Ireland to Wales, Mr. Bund has greatly overstated his case. The age of Welsh paganism was much more remote than that of Irish, if the testimony of Gildas be taken as of any value at all. That there were pagan survivals all around, not only in Wales and Ireland, but all over Christian Europe, is true enough; but it is certainly strange that contemporaries could not see the difference between their own Christianity and that of Britain to be so great as Mr. Bund supposes it to have been.

His suggestion that Bede minimised the points of difference, "so as if not actually to assert, at least to prepare the way for asserting, the complete supremacy of the Latin over the Celtic Church," is eminently unsatisfactory. Bede nowhere shows any trace of such a feeling; he even emphasizes his dislike of the British Christians; he treats them as a pestilent race to whose faults he never turns a blind eye. But it was as schismatics, not as heretics, that the Britons were generally denounced. Mr. Bund, however, states that "there was plenty of 'false doctrine and heresy,' but no schism" (p. 467), an opinion in which he differs completely from ancient writers. I beg his pardon: I was forgetting Boniface, who charged the Irishman Ferghal with heresy because he believed in the existence of antipodes. We have no evidence, however, that even this

"heresy" was generally prevalent throughout the Celtic Churches. Boniface and his friend Pope Gregory III might indeed be quoted by Mr. Bund in support of his charge of heresy, but their evidence comes to very little indeed when taken in connection with the general testimony of Latin writers. Heretics there may have been in the Celtic Churches, but these were not their true representatives; however Mr. Bund has chosen the baser part for treatment and has devoted himself wholly to this. The comparative method in historical inquiry is only valuable when it is fairly applied; if we argue from Irish Christianity to Welsh, as we may do with caution, we shall conclude that the great saints of Wales, men such as David, Gildas and Cadoc, of whom the great Irish saints were scholars, and from whose example they derived much of their burning zeal, shared fully in the deep spirituality and the high culture that unquestionably were the distinguishing characteristics of the higher ranks of Irish saints. But in Mr. Bund's opinion, sanctity is purely of Latin growth, and could not flourish upon Celtic soil.

Perhaps the chapter which is the most unpleasant in the book, and which to some readers may cause positive pain, is that devoted to the saints. Giraldus Cambrensis, centuries ago, intimated his doubt whether some of the saints of Ireland, accounted such on earth, would be so accounted in heaven, seeing that so little sanctity was apparent in their lives; and undoubtedly there was a class of Celtic "saints" to whom Mr. Willis Bund's descriptions are eminently applicable. Some seem to have been half-crazed ascetics, more like heathen fakirs than Christians, whose only claims to the saintly title were their austerities and an unlimited flow of very bad language. Others again, undoubtedly, had nothing about them saintly but their connection with a saintly family; they were saints by profession, and their ideal may well have been what Mr. Willis Bund says the ideal of the Celtic saint was, "to do his best for his tribe." So much all students of early Celtic Christianity will readily admit, and Mr. Bund has done good service in sketching the latter of the two inferior types of Celtic "saint". But when he generalises from particular instances, and makes his description apply to the whole of the Celtic saints, and when he includes in the same universal reprobation not merely David and Cadoc and Teilo and Illtyd, of whose lives and characters we possess only such legendary accounts as require careful sifting, but even Columba himself, whom we know well from the pages of Adamnan, we altogether fail to follow him. Such generalisation is both unjust and illogical, and in this case even worse; it offers absolute defiance to the facts of history. About the *Welsh* saints, it is true, we know comparatively little but what the legends tell us, and these Mr. Bund dismisses *holus bolus* as the "worse than worthless" compositions of "Latin" monks of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It may be noted, by the way, that there is a life of St. Samson extant, the date of which is considered by Mr. Egerton Phillimore as about A.D. 600; that a fragment of a

very early life of St. Kentigern has come down to us; and that from the use which later writers made of these, and from other indications, we may conclude that when the writer of a legend, were he Latin or Celt, had any early material to go upon, he was glad to avail himself of it. Also Rhygyfarch, Lifris, and "Galfrid, the brother of bishop Urban," were Welshmen, if in some sense they may be called "Latins." There may possibly then be some reasons to qualify Mr. Bund's wholesale rejection of the legends of the Welsh saints. But if, merely for the sake of argument, we admit that we know nothing of the lives and characters of the Welsh saints, and that we must infer everything, or nearly everything, about them from what we know of the saints of Ireland, we ought surely to take into account the worthy Irish saints as well as the unworthy ones. It is, undoubtedly, within the bounds of Mr. Bund's knowledge that there was such a man as St. Columbanus, whose letters exist, and whose life by Jonas is trustworthy and fairly accessible. Would Mr. Bund deny *his* claim to be a saint? Or what of St. Gall, the apostle of Switzerland, or of St. Aidan, the apostle of Northumbria, whose saintliness even the good but prejudiced Englishman Bede could revere? It is not worth while to enumerate other names, seeing that they will occur to the minds of all. Possibly Mr. Bund might class these also with the professional saints, for he has not shrunk from sneering at St. Columba, as having no claim to sanctity but "the fact that he was a chief of the great Irish tribe of Hy Niall"; but if he should do so, he would find but few supporters. A little consideration will induce any unprejudiced person to conclude that it would be as unjust to condemn the Welsh or the Celtic saints wholesale because there were unworthy members of the body, as it would be to condemn all early monks and hermits because of the misconduct of the Massalians and the Gyrovagi. All great movements have some unworthy followers. But it is important to note that Aldhelm, writing in 705, at a time when the chief outburst of religious zeal was almost spent, could even then find no fault with the morality of Welsh Christians, and blames them rather for Pharasaic self-righteousness than for gross moral sin. "What profit," says he, "can anyone receive from good works done out of the Catholic Church, although a man should be never so strict in regular observance, or retire himself into a desert to practise an anchoretical life of contemplation?" In this there seems to be a reference to the Welsh hermits. "The priests of the Demetae" were "puffed up with a conceit of their own purity." Possibly Mr. Bund may find here "the contemptuous sneer of a Latin ecclesiastic," or some of that "sarcasm and ridicule" which (as he guesses) "closed the list of Welsh saints". To my mind, however, it appears merely the plain statement of a candid critic: Aldhelm was no cynic. As to Mr. Bund's idea that the tribal idea of Welsh monasticism, the existence of saintly families, impaired the saintliness of the saints, there is not so much in it as may appear at first sight. When gentle birth and

the gentle nature are found conjoined, the call of hereditary position but develops the powers of the noble soul.

In our country at least, and in our age when legislators of the hereditary house show double the amount of common sense possessed by those of the elective house, there is no need to sneer at the hereditary principle. Mr. Bund makes a great point of his assertion that the Welsh Church had no martyrs, and infers from it the unorthodoxy of the Welsh Church. It is at least quite as true of the Latin mission to England, so that he might equally well impugn the orthodoxy of Augustine and Laurentius. But when he extends the scope of his assertion to include the Irish saints, he only exposes its weakness. Montalembert mentions 36 Irish martyrs in Germany, 6 in Gaul, and 8 in Norway and Iceland. I suppose Mr. Bund would not admit Donnan and his company, 52 in all, who perished in Eigg. Anyhow, whether they were martyrs or not in Mr. Bund's sense of the term, men such as these were not the philosophic indifferentists which he makes out the Celtic saints to have been. The stories of Irish missionaries do not show much of that unworthy tolerance of Paganism which Mr. Bund imputes to them. Columbanus suffered much through his struggle with Brunehault and Thierry in defence of the purity of Christian marriage; when he and his followers went into Switzerland, they burned the heathen temples and threw the idols into the Lake of Constance, so that they had to flee from the rage of the people. These are typical acts of those Celtic saints of whom Mr. Bund remarks that "to them all religions were equally true"; that "a little further dilution of their Christianity by Paganism did not matter; at best their Christianity was but a mixture of these two elements". To such statements, when made generally and universally applicable, no answer is needed but the emphatic monosyllable of the immortal Mr. Burchell.

But though there is much that is one-sided and misleading in Mr. Bund's book, there is undoubtedly much that deserves careful study and consideration. He has not demolished those whom he calls "Latin" historians: we may yet read our Montalembert as a serious author, and not remove him from his place in our bookshelves beside Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, to place him with the *Arabian Nights* and Mr. Rider Haggard's *She*. We may leave him where he is, but we may impartially place Mr. Willis Bund by his side; and when we feel any desire to heighten our appreciation of his life of Columba or his picture of the Welsh saints, we shall glance first at Mr. Bund's pages to get some idea of the dark background of selfishness and superstition against which the saintly life of the ancient heroes of the faith shines so brightly. For both pictures have their measure of truth, and each is the complement of the other. With all its faults, Mr. Bund's book is one for which all students of early Celtic Christianity and early Celtic life may be extremely thankful; if read with caution it will help us to understand better what a composite thing early Celtic Christianity was,

and it certainly throws a flood of light upon certain early customs and tendencies. It is besides extremely interesting and stimulating; to a "Latin" reading it for the first time it will be as enthralling as the most thrilling sensation-novel: for while he will nearly burst with indignation at some passages, at others not far remote he will be moved with admiration for the keenness of perception, the closeness of the argument, and the piquancy of wit that he recognises. He will certainly find in Mr. Bund the most powerful and thoroughgoing exponent of the theories of a school that promises for a time to obtain a transient popularity; but he will console himself by the reflection that truth, however dull and humdrum it may appear by the side of such brilliant and original theories as these, will in the end assert its greatness and prevail.

E. J. NEWELL.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF CONTENTS.

VOL. XIV. FIFTH SERIES.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDBURY, LONDON, W.C.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

1897.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Patrons.

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

His Grace the DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.
The Most Noble the MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.
The Right Hon. the EARL OF POWIS
The Right Hon. the EARL OF CAWDOR
The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF (*President*, 1888)
The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH
The Right Hon. LORD WINDSOR
The Right Hon. LORD DYNEVOR
The Right Hon. LORD KENYON
The Right Hon. LORD MOSTYN (*President*, 1890)
The Right Hon. LORD TREDEGAR (*President*, 1885)
The Right Hon. LORD PENRHYN (*President*, 1894)
The Right Hon. LORD ABERDARE
The Right Hon. LORD HARLECH
The Right Hon. LORD LLANGATTOCK
The Right Hon. LORD HAWKESBURY
The Right Hon. LORD SWANSEA

President.

F. LLOYD-PHILIPPS, Esq.

President-Elect.

Sir OWEN H. P. SCOURFIELD, Bart.

Vice-Presidents.

G. T. CLARK, Esq., F.S.A.
H. R. HUGHES, Esq., Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire
The Very Rev. DEAN ALLEN
Sir JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.
The Very Rev. the DEAN OF LLANDAFF
Sir C. E. G. PHILIPPS, Bart. (*President*, 1880 and 1883)
R. H. WOOD, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.
His Hon. Judge WYNNE FFOULKES, M.A.
F. LLOYD-PHILIPPS, Esq., M.A.

Sir JOHN TALBOT DILWYN LLEWELYN, Bart., M.A., M.P., F.L.S. (*President*, 1886)

Lieut.-Col. C. S. MAINWARING (*President*, 1887)

M. le Dr. DE CLOSMADEUC (*President*, 1889), Président de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan

JOHN RHYS, Esq., M.A., LL.D. (*President*, 1891), Professor of Celtic, and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford

The Rev. Chancellor D. SILVAN EVANS, B.D.

W. BOYD DAWKINS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Professor of Geology, Owens College, Manchester

The Rev. A. H. SAYCE, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford

The Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE

The Rev. HUGH PRICHARD, M.A.

The Ven. Archdeacon THOMAS, M.A., F.S.A.

Sir JAMES WILLIAMS DRUMMOND, Bart. (*President*, 1892)

STANLEY LEIGHTON, ESQ., M.A., M.P., F.S.A. (*President*, 1893)

Committee.

The President, with all those who have held that office; the Vice-Presidents; the Treasurer; the General and Local Secretaries; and the Editorial Sub-Committee, with the following:

Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, M.A., F.S.A., *Chairman*.

The Rev. Canon Morris, D.D., F.S.A.
Illtyd Nicholl, Esq., F.S.A.
Edward Laws, Esq., F.S.A.
J. Romilly Allen, Esq., F.S.A.
J. Ward, Esq., F.S.A.
J. W. Willis-Bund, Esq., F.S.A.
W. H. Banks, Esq.
Edward Owen, Esq.
Richard Williams, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.
A. N. Palmer, Esq.
Egerton G. B. Phillimore, Esq., M.A.
The Rev. Ll. Thomas, M.A.
Thos. Mansel Franklen, Esq.

Editor.

J. Romilly Allen, Esq., F.S.A., 28, Great Ormond Street, W.C.

Editorial Sub-Committee.

The Rev. Chancellor D. Silvan Evans, B.D.
Professor Rhys, M.A., LL.D.
The Rev. Canon R. Trevor Owen, M.A., F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

Worthington G. Smith, Esq., F.L.S.

Treasurer.

J. Lloyd Griffith, Esq., M.A., Fron-deg, Holyhead

Trustees.

Very Rev. Dean Allen.
G. T. Clark, Esq., F.S.A.
Stanley Leighton, Esq., M.A., M.P., F.S.A.

General Secretaries.

Rev. Canon R. Trevor Owen, M.A., F.S.A., Llangedwyn, Oswestry
Rev. Charles Chidlow, M.A., Conwyl Caio, Llanwrda, R.S.O., South Wales

Corresponding Secretaries.

France—Mons. Charles Hettier, F.S.A., Caen
Brittany—M. de Keranflec'h Kernezne, Château de Quélénec, Mur de Bretagne, Côtes du Nord, France
Scotland—Joseph Anderson, Esq., LL.D., Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh
Ireland—W. F. Wakeman, Esq., Blackrock, Dublin
Cornwall—Edwyn Parkyn, Esq., Royal Institute, Truro

Honorary Members.

Le Vicomte Hersart de la Villemarqué, Château de Keransquer, Quimper, Finistère
M. Pol de Courcy, St. Pol de Léon, Finistère
M. Alexandre de Bertrand, Paris
Mons. F. M. Luzel, Plouaret, Côtes du Nord, France
Mons. Charles Hettier, F.S.A., Caen, France

Local Secretaries.

Anglesey . .	J. Lloyd Griffith, Esq., M.A., Fron-deg, Holyhead
Carnarvonshire . .	R. Luck, Esq., Plas, Llanfairfechan, Bangor
	Edw. Roberts, Esq., M.A., H.M.I.S., Carnarvon
Denbighshire . .	Rev. David Jones, M.A., Llangerniew Rectory, Abergele
	A. Foulkes-Roberts, Esq., 34. Vale Street, Denbigh
Flintshire . . .	Rev. W. Ll. Nicholas, M.A., Rectory, Flint
	Rev. C. F. Roberts, M.A., Dovery House, St. Asaph, R.S.O.
Merionethshire . .	Rev. J. E. Davies, M.A., The Rectory, Llwyngwril
Montgomeryshire .	J. H. Silvan-Evans, Esq., M.A., Llanwrin, Machynlleth
Brecknockshire . .	Rev. Preb. Garnons Williams, M.A., Abercamlais, Brecon
	J. R. Cobb, Esq., F.S.A., Brecon
Cardiganshire . .	Rev. D. H. Davies, Cenarth Vicarage, Llandyssil
Carmarthenshire .	Alan Stepney-Gulston, Esq., Derwydd, Llandebie
Glamorganshire .	Thos. Powel, Esq., M.A., University College, Cardiff
	C. Wilkins, Esq., F.G.S., Springfield, Merthyr Tydfil
	T. H. Thomas, Esq., 45, The Walk, Cardiff
	Rev. E. J. Newell, M.A., Porthcawl
	Col. Morgan, Swansea
Pembrokeshire . .	Herbert J. Allen, Esq., Norton, Tenby
	The Rev. Chancellor Davey, Chancellor's Manor, St. David's
Radnorshire . . .	Stephen W. Williams, Esq., F.S.A., Rhayader
Monmouthshire . .	Joseph A. Bradney, Esq., Talycoed, Monmouth
The Marches . .	James Davies, Esq., Gwynfa, Broomy Hill, Hereford
	Rev. C. H. Drinkwater, M.A., St. George's Vicarage, Shrewsbury
	Henry Taylor, Esq., F.S.A., Curzon Park, Chester
	Rev. Elias Owen, M.A., Llanyblodwel Vicarage, Oswestry

MEMBERS.*

ENGLISH AND FOREIGN. (71).

H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES .	Marlborough House, S.W.
Hawkesbury, The Rt. Hon. Lord	Kirkham Abbey, York
Swansea, The Rt. Hon. Lord .	24, Motcombe Street, Belgrave Square, W.
Allen, Mrs. Thomas . . .	42, Connaught Square, W.
Allen, W. Bird, Esq., M.A. .	158, Portsdown Road, Maida Vale, W.
Allen, J. Romilly, Esq., F.S.A.	28, Great Ormond Street, W.C.
Allen, Rev. W. Osborn, M.A. .	83, St. George's Road, S.W.
Asher, Messrs., and Co. . .	13, Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.
Baker, Arthur, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.	Effingham House, Arundel Street, W.C.
Barnard, R., Esq. . . .	3, Hillsborough, Plymouth
Bibliothèque Nationale . .	Paris (c/o Mr. Th. Wohlleben, 45, Great Russell Street, W.C.)
Birmingham Free Library . .	Birmingham (c/o J. D. Mullens, Esq.)
Blundell, Joseph Hight, Esq. .	157, Cheapside, E.C.
Bridger, E. K., Esq. . .	Berkeley House, Hampton-on-Thames
Chetham Library . . .	Manchester (c/o W. T. Browne, Esq.)
Cochrane, R. H., Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Sec. Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland . .	17, Highfield Road, Rathgar, Dublin
*Columbia University . .	Columbia, U.S.A. (c/o Messrs. Henry Sotheran and Co., 140, Strand, W.C.)
*Cunliffe, Major J. Williams .	17, Inverness Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
Cunnington, B. Howard, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.	Devizes
Dawkins, W. Boyd, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.	Woodhurst, Fallowfield, Manchester
D'Arbois de Jubainville, M. .	84, Boulevard Mont Parnasse, Paris
De Keranflec'h Kernezne, M. .	Château de Quélénec, Mur de Bretagne, Côtes du Nord, France
Detroit Public Library . .	(c/o Mr. B. F. Stevens, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.)
Evans, Sir John, F.R.S., V.P.S.A.	Nashmills, Hemel Hempstead
Fooks, W. C., Esq., Q.C. .	The Bowman's Lodge, Dartford Heath, Kent
Griffiths, Joseph, Esq., M.D. .	King's College, Cambridge
Griffiths, Brigade-Surgeon .	Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, St. James's, S.W.
Guildhall Library, E.C. . .	(c/o Charles Welch, Esq., F.S.A.)
Harford, Miss	Blaise Castle, Henbury, Bristol
Hartland, Ernest, Esq., M.A. .	Hardwick Court, Chepstow
Hartland, E. Sidney, Esq., F.S.A.	Highgarth, Gloucester
Harvard College Library . .	Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. (c/o Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trübner & Co., Charing Cross Road, W.C.)

* Members admitted since the Annual Meeting, 1896, have an asterisk prefixed to their names.

Hereford Free Library . .	Hereford
Howell, Mrs.	Eidion, Kew
Jackson, J., Esq. . . .	25, Leazas Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne
Jesus College Library . .	Oxford
Jones, Rev. G. Hartwell, M.A. .	Nutfield Rectory, Redhill
Joseph, T. M., Esq. (*Portcullis*).	Herald's College, Queen Victoria Street
King's Inns' Library . .	Dublin
Lewis, William F., Esq. . .	2109, Walnut St., Philadelphia, U.S.A.
Liverpool Free Public Library .	Liverpool (c/o Peter Cowell, Esq.)
Lloyd, Alfred, Esq., F.C.S., F.E.S.	The Dome, Upper Bognor, Sussex
Manchester Free Library . .	Manchester
Melbourne Public Library .	c/o Messrs. Melville, Mullen, & Slade, 12, Ludgate Square, E.C.
Morris, The Rev. Canon Rupert H., D.D., F.S.A. . . .	St. Gabriel's Vicarage, 4, Warwick Square, S.W.
Morris, T. E., Esq., LL.M. .	57, Great Ormond Street, W.C.
McClure, Rev. Edmund, M.A. .	80, Eccleston Square, S.W.
New York Library . . .	New York (c/o Mr. B. F. Stevens, Trafalgar Square, W.C.)
Norman, George, Esq., M.D. .	12, Brock Street, Bath
Owen, Edward, Esq. . . .	India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
*Peter, Thurston C., Esq. . .	Redruth
Phillimore, Egerton, Esq., M.A.	26, Great Ormond Street, W.C.
Powell, Evan, Esq. . . .	Powelton, Virginia, U.S.A.
Price, Hamlyn, Esq. . . .	1A, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W.
Price, Capt. Spencer . .	Waterhead House, Ambleside, Westmorland
Prichard, Rev. R. W., M.A. .	Stoke Vicarage, Chester
Prichard-Morgan, W., Esq., M.P.	1, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Rennes, Bibliothèque Universitaire	Rennes, Marne, France
Rhys, John, Esq., M.A., LL.D., Professor of Celtic and Principal of Jesus College . .	Jesus College, Oxford
Sayce, Rev. A. H., LL.D., Prof. of Assyriology . . .	Queen's College, Oxford
Smith, Worthington G., Esq., F.L.S.	121, High Street North, Dunstable
Stechert, G. E., Esq. . . .	Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
Sydney Free Public Library .	(c/o Mr. Young J. Pentland, 38, West Smithfield, E.C.)
Taylor, W. F. Kyffin, Esq., Q.C.	1, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.
Temple, Rev. R., M.A. . .	Ewhurst Rectory, Guildford
Thomas, Rev. Ll., M.A. . .	Jesus College, Oxford
Thomas, Rev. W. Mathew, M.A.	Billingborough Vicarage, Folkingham
Vaughan, H. F. J., Esq. . .	30, Edwardes Sq., Kensington, W.
Willis-Bund, J. W., Esq., F.S.A.	15, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Williams, Rob., Esq., F.R.I.B.A.	17, Effingham Road, Lee, S.E.
Williams, Miss M. C. L. . .	6, Sloane Gardens, S.W.

NORTH WALES.

ANGLESEY. (12).

Reade, Lady	Carreg-lwyd, The Valley, R.S.O.
*Meyrick, Sir George, Bart. .	Bodorgan, Llangefni, R.S.O.
Verney, Sir Edmund, Bart. .	Claydon House, Winslow; and Rhianva, Menai Bridge
Adeane, Miss	Plas Llanfawr, Holyhead
Dew, Griffith Davies, Esq. .	Carreg Brân, Llanfair P. G., R.S.O.
Griffith, J. Lloyd, Esq., M.A. .	Fron-deg, Holyhead
*Lloyd, William, Esq. . .	Brynturog, Llanerchymedd, R.S.O.
Morgan, Rev. Daniel. . .	Llantrisant Rectory, Llanerchymedd,
Prichard, Rev. Hugh, M.A. .	Dinam, Gaerwen, R.S.O. [R.S.O.
Prichard, Thomas, Esq. . .	Llwydiarth Esgob, Llanerchymedd, R.S.O.
Thomas, R. G., Esq. . . .	Menai Bridge
Williams, Robert ap Hugh, Esq.	Plas Llwyn Gwyn, Llanfair, R.S.O.

CARNARVONSHIRE. (30).

Mostyn, The Lady Augusta .	Gloddaeth, Llandudno
Penrhyn, Rt. Hon. Lord . .	Penrhyn Castle, Bangor
Arnold, Professor E. V., M.A. .	Bryn Seiriol, Bangor
Blennerhasset, Edward T., Esq.	7, Gordon Terrace, Garth, Bangor
Davids, Miss Rose . . .	Plas Llanwnda, Carnarvon
Davies, D. G., Esq., B.A. . .	200, High Street, Bangor
Dodson, William M., Esq. . .	Bettws-y-coed, R.S.O.
Griffith, J. E., Esq., F.R.A.S., F.L.S.	Bryn Dinas, Upper Bangor
Hughes, H. Harold, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.	Arvonia Buildings, Bangor
*James, Rev. H. L., M.A. . .	The School of Divinity, Bangor
Jones, C. A., Esq. . . .	Carnarvon
Jones, Rev. Canon, M.A. . .	The Vicarage, Llandegai, Bangor
Lloyd-Jones, Miss . . .	Penrallt, Penmaenmawr, R.S.O.
Lloyd, John Edward, Esq., M.A. .	Tanllwyn, Bangor.
Lovegrove, E. W., Esq. . .	Friars Cottage, Bangor
Luck, Richard, Esq. . . .	Plâs, Llanfairfechan, Bangor
Owen, E. H., Esq., F.S.A. .	Ty Coch, Carnarvon
Parry, R. Ivor, Esq. . .	Gorphwysfa, Pwllheli, R.S.O.
Parry, Rev. John . . .	Plas-y-Nant, Bettws Garmon
Picton, J. Allanson, Esq. . .	Caerlŷr, Conway
Prichard, Mrs.	Tan-y-Coed, Bangor
Prichard, R. Hughes, Esq. .	The Cottage, Bangor
Richardson, J. A., Esq. . .	Gorphwysfa, Bangor
Roberts, E., Esq., H.M.I.S., M.A.	Plas Maesincla, Carnarvon
Sackville-West, Col. the Hon. W. E., M.A.	Lime Grove, Bangor
Turner, F. W., Esq. . . .	Plas Brereton, Carnarvon

Turner, Sir Llewelyn . .	Parciau, Carnarvon
University College Library .	Bangor
Williams, John A. A., Esq. .	Aberglaslyn, Carnarvon
Williams, W. P., Esq. . .	Cae'r Onnen, Bangor

DENBIGHSHIRE. (24).

Williams-Wynn, Dowager Lady	Llangedwyn, Oswestry
Williams-Wynn, Sir Watkin, Bart., Lord Lieut. of Montgomeryshire	Wynnstay, Rhuabon
Cunliffe, Lady	Acton Park, Wrexham
Barnes, Lieut.-Col. . . .	Brookside, Chirk, Rhuabon
Berkeley, A. E. M., Esq. . .	Wilton Terrace, Wrexham
Burton, J. R., Esq. . . .	Minera Hall, Wrexham
Darlington, James, Esq. . .	Black Park, Rhuabon
Davies, Rev. D. . . .	Llansilin Vicarage, Oswestry
Evans, Rev. E. J. . . .	Chirk Vicarage, Rhuabon
Foulkes-Roberts, A., Esq. . .	34, Vale Street, Denbigh
Hughes, Edward, Esq. . .	37, Wrexham Fechan, Wrexham
Jones, A. Seymour, Esq. . .	Pendwr, Wrexham
Jones, Rev. D., M.A. . .	Llangerniew Rectory, Abergele, R.S.O.
Jones-Bateman, Rev. B. . .	Pentre Mawr, Abergele
Mainwaring, Lieut.-Col. . .	Galltfaenan, Trefnant, R.S.O.
Morris, John, Esq. . . .	Lletty Llansannan, Abergele, R.S.O.
Owen, Rev. Canon R. Trevor, M.A., F.S.A.	Llangedwyn, Oswestry
Palmer, A. N., Esq. . . .	17, Bersham Road, Wrexham
Row, Theodore, Esq. . .	Ruthin
Sandbach, Col.	Hafodunos, Abergele
Trevor-Parkins, The Wor. Chancellor	Glasfryn, Gresford, Wrexham
*Williams, William, Esq. . .	Ruthin
Wynne, Mrs. F. . . .	Ystrad Cottage, Denbigh
Wynne-Finch, Colonel . .	Voelas, Bettws-y-coed, R.S.O.

FLINTSHIRE. (19).

Hughes, Hugh R., Esq., Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire .	Kinmel Park, Abergele, R.S.O.
St. Asaph, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of . . .	The Palace, St. Asaph, R.S.O.
Kenyon, Right Hon. Lord .	Gredington, Whitchurch, Salop
Mostyn, Right Hon. Lord .	Mostyn Hall, Mostyn
Gladstone, The Right Hon. W. E.	St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, [Chester
Cooper, Archibald, Esq. . .	Springfield, Holywell
Davies-Cooke, P. B., Esq., M.A.	Gwysaney, Mold, and Owston, Doncaster, Yorkshire
Felix, Rev. J.	Cilcain Vicarage, Mold
Hughes, Thomas, Esq. . .	Greenfield, Holywell
Kyrke, R. V., Esq. . . .	Pen-y-wern, Mold
Mesham, Colonel . . .	Pontruffydd, Trefnant (*Denbighshire*), [R.S.O.
Nicholas, Rev. W. Ll., M.A. .	The Rectory, Flint

Owen-Jones, Rev. Canon . .	Bodelwyddan Rectory, Rhuddlan, [R.S.O.
Pennant, Philip P., Esq., M.A.	Nantllys, St. Asaph
Roberts, Rev. C. F., M.A. .	Dovery House, St. Asaph, R.S.O.
Roberts, L. D., Esq., H.M.I.S. .	Rhyl
Taylor, Henry, Esq., F.S.A. .	12, Curzon Park, Chester
St. Beuno's College Library .	St. Asaph
Williams, Rev. R. O., M.A. .	The Vicarage, Holywell

MERIONETHSHIRE. (11).

Wynne, W. R. M., Esq., Lord Lieutenant of Merionethshire	Peniarth, Towyn, R.S.O.
The Theological College Library	Bala
Ansell, W., Esq.	Corsygedol, Dyffryn, R.S.O.
Davies, Rev. J. E., M.A. . .	The Rectory, Llwyngwril, R.S.O.
Griffith, Miss Lucy . . .	Glyn Malden, Dolgelly
Griffith, Edward, Esq. . .	Springfield, Dolgelly
Leigh-Taylor, John, Esq. . .	Penmaen Cliff, Dolgelly
Lloyd, E. V. O., Esq.. . .	Rhagatt, Corwen
Oakley, William E., Esq. . .	Plas Tan-y-bwlch, Tan-y-bwlch, R.S.O.
Vaughan, John, Esq. . . .	Nannau, Dolgelly
Wood, R. H., Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.	Belmont, Sidmouth, S. Devon, and Pant-glas, Trawsfynydd

MONTGOMERYSHIRE. (18).

Powis, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire	Powis Castle, Welshpool
Dugdale, J. Marshall, Esq., M.A.	Llwyn, Llanfyllin, Oswestry
Evans, Rev. Chancellor D. S., B.D.	Llanwrin Rectory, Machynlleth, R.S.O.
Evans, J. H. Silvan, Esq., M.A .	Llanwrin, Machynlleth, R.S.O.
Jones, R. E., Esq.	Cefn Bryntalch, Abermule, R.S.O.
Kerr, Mrs.	Derwen, Welshpool
Kurtz, Mrs.	Plas Dyffryn, Meifod, Welshpool
Layton, Mrs.	Plas Dyffryn, Meifod, Welshpool
Leslie, Mrs.	Bryntanat, Llansantfraid, Oswestry
Lewis, Hugh, Esq.	Glan Hafren, Newtown, Mont.
Lomax, J., Esq.	Bodfach, Llanfyllin, Oswestry
Mytton, Captain	Garth, Welshpool
Pryce, Thomas, Esq. . . .	Pentrehcylin, Llantysilio, Oswestry
Pughe, W. A., Esq.	The Hall, Llanfyllin, Oswestry
Thomas, Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., F.S.A.	Llandrinio Rectory, Llanymynech, Oswestry, and The Canonry, St. Asaph
Vaughan-Jones, Rev. W., B.A.	Tregynon Rectory, Newtown
Williams, Miss	Gwyndy, Llanfyllin, Oswestry
Williams, R., Esq., F.R.Hist.S. .	Celynog, Newtown, Mont.

SOUTH WALES.

BRECKNOCKSHIRE. (10).

Dawson, Mrs.	Hay Castle, Hay, R.S.O.
Cobb, J. R., Esq., F.S.A.	Brecon
Evans, David, Esq.	Ffrwdgrech, Brecon
Gwynne, Howel, Esq.	Llanelwedd Hall, Builth
Hay, George, Esq.	The Walton, Brecon
Jenkins, Rev. J. E.	Vaynor Rectory, Merthyr Tydfil
Powel, Hugh Powel, Esq.	Castle Madoc, Brecon
Williams, Rev. Preb. G., M.A.	Abercamlais, Brecon
*Williams-Vaughan, John, Esq.	Velinnewydd, Talgarth
Wood, Thomas, Esq.	Gwernyfed Park, Three Cock's Junction, R.S.O.

CARDIGANSHIRE. (23).

Davies-Evans, Lieut.-Col. H., Lord Lieut. of Cardiganshire	Highmead, Llanybyther, R.S.O.
Anwyl, Professor, M.A.	Univ. Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth
Brough, Professor, LL.D.	Univ. Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth
Davies, Rev. D. H.	Cenarth Vicarage, Llandyssul
*Davies, Thomas, Esq.	Compton House, Aberayron
*Davis, Prof. J. R. Ainsworth, B.A.	Univ. Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth
Evans, Rev. D. D., B.D.	Llandyfriog Vicarage, Newcastle Emlyn
Evans, Rev. Morgan	Llanddewi Rectory, Aberayron
*Evans, Rev. Thomas	Llanrhystyd Vicarage, Aberystwyth
Francis, J., Esq.	Wallog, Borth, R.S.O.
Hughes, Joshua, Esq.	Rhosygadair Newydd, Cardigan
*Jones, Mrs. Basil	Gwynfryn, Taliesin, R.S.O.
Jones, Rev. D., M.A.	Vicarage, Lampeter
Jones, Rev. Eben., M.A.	Llanbadarn Vicarage, Aberystwyth
Lampeter Coll., The Librarian of	Lampeter
Lloyd, Charles, Esq., M.A.	Waunifor, Maes y Crugiau, R.S.O.
Morris, Rev. J. A., D.D., Principal	Baptists' College, Aberystwyth
Owen, Rev. Canon, M.A.	Principal's Lodge, St. David's College, [Lampeter
Protheroe, Ven. Archdeacon, M.A.	Vicarage, Aberystwyth
Roberts, T. F., Esq., M.A., Principal of Univ. Coll. of Wales	Aberystwyth
Rogers, J. E., Esq.	Abermeurig, Talsarn, R.S.O.
Waddingham, T. J., Esq.	Havod, Devil's Bridge, R.S.O.
Williams, Rev. Canon David, M.A.	Aberystwyth

CARMARTHENSHIRE. (34).

Dynevor, The Right Hon. Lord	Dynevor Castle, Llandeilo, R.S.O.
Emlyn, Viscount, Lord Lieut. of Pembrokeshire	Golden Grove, R.S.O.
Lloyd, The Right Rev. John, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Swansea	Carmarthen Vicarage

Williams-Drummond, Sir J., Bart.	Edwinsford, Llandeilo, R.S.O.
Williams, Sir John, Bart., M.D.	63, Brook Street, Grosvenor Sq., W.; and Plas Llanstephan
Stepney, Sir Arthur C., Bart. .	The Dell, Llanelly
Buckley, J. F., Esq. . . .	Bryncaerau Castle, Llanelly
Chidlow, Rev. Charles, M.A. .	Conwyl Caio, Llanwrda, R.S.O.
Drummond, D. W., Esq., B.A. .	Portiscliffe, Ferry Side, R.S.O.
Evans, Rev. Owen, M.A. . .	The College, Llandovery, R.S.O.
Gwynne-Hughes, J. H. W., Esq.	Tregib, Llandeilo, R.S.O.
Gwynne-Hughes, Col. W. . .	Glancothy, Nantgaredig, R.S.O.
Hughes, John, Esq.	Bank House, Llandeilo
*Jones, Edgar, Esq., M.A. . .	County Interm. School, Llandeilo
Jones, J., Esq.	Penrock, Llandovery
Jones, Rev. W. Morgan, M.A. .	Carmarthen
Johnes, Mrs.	Dolaucothy, Llanwrda, R.S.O.
Lewis, W., Esq.	Lime Tree House, Llangadoc, R.S.O.
Lloyd-Harries, Major T. . .	Llwyn Dewi, Llangadoc, R.S.O.
Lloyd, H. Meuric, Esq. . .	Glanranell Park, Llanwrda, R.S.O.
Lloyd, W., Esq., M.D. . .	Llandeilo, R.S.O.
Morris, Rev. J., M.A. . .	Vicarage, Llanybyther, R.S.O.
Price, D. Long, Esq. . . .	Talley House, Llandeilo, R.S.O.
*Pryse-Rice, J. C. Vaughan, Esq.	Llwyn-y-brain, Llandovery
*Rees, Dr. Howel . . .	Glan Garnant, R.S.O., South Wales
Richardson, J. C., Esq. . .	Glanbrydan, Llandeilo, R.S.O.
Rocke, J. Denis, Esq. . .	Trimsarn, Kidwelly
Soppit, A., Esq., M.A. . .	Carmarthen
*Spurrell, Walter, Esq. . .	Carmarthen
Stepney-Gulston, Alan J., Esq.	Derwydd, Llandebie, R.S.O.
Thomas, D. Lleufer, Esq. . .	11, Campden Grove, Kensington, W., and Bryn Maen, Llandeilo
Thomas, Rev. John, M.A.. .	Laugharne Vicarage, St. Clears, R.S.O.
Thursby-Pelham, Mrs. . .	Abermarlais, Llangadoc, R.S.O.
Williams, Rev. J. A. . . .	Llangathen Vicarage, Golden Grove, R.S.O.

GLAMORGANSHIRE. (68).

Windsor, The Right Hon. Lord, Lord Lieut. of Glamorganshire	St. Fagan's Castle, Cardiff
Bute, The Most Noble the Marquess of, K.T. . . .	22A, Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W., and Cardiff Castle
Llandaff, The Lord Bishop of .	Bishop's Court, Llandaff
Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord .	Dyffryn, Aberdare
Vivian, Hon. Aubrey. . .	Parc le Breos, Penmaen, R.S.O.
Llewellyn, Sir John Talbot Dilwyn, Bart., M.P., M.A., F.L.S.	Penllergare, Swansea
Lewis, Sir W. T., Bart. . .	Mardy, Aberdare
Llandaff, Very Rev. the Dean of	Cathedral Close, Llandaff, Cardiff
*Alexander, D. T., Esq. . .	5, High Street, Cardiff
*Benthall, Ernest, Esq. . .	Glantwrch, Ystalyfera, R.S.O.
*Blosse, E. F. Lynch, Esq. .	Glanavon, Peterston-super-Ely, Cardiff
Cardiff Free Library . . .	Cardiff

University College Library	Cardiff
Clark, G. T., Esq., F.S.A.	Talygarn, Llantrisant, Pontyclun, R.S.O.
Clark, Godfrey L., Esq.	Talygarn, Llantrisant, Pontyclun, R.S.O.
Crockett, John, Esq.	23, Taff Street, Pontypridd
*Davies, Rev. David, M.A.	Newcastle Vicarage, Bridgend.
Davies, Dr.	Bryn Golwg, Aberdare
Drane, R., Esq.	Cardiff
Edwards, W., Esq., M.A., H.M.I.S.	The Court, Merthyr Tydfil
*Edmondes, Rev. F. W., M.A.	Fitzhamon Court, Bridgend
Edmondes, Mrs.	Old Hall, Cowbridge
Evans, Henry Jones, Esq.	Greenhill, Whitchurch, Cardiff
Evans, W. H., Esq.	Llanmaes House, Cowbridge
Fowler, C. B., Esq., F.R.I.B.A.	Old Bank Chambers, Cardiff
Franklen, Thos. Mansel, Esq.	St. Hilary, Cowbridge
Glascodine, C. H., Esq.	Cae Parc, Swansea
Halliday, George E., Esq.	14, High Street, Cardiff
Hybart, F. W., Esq.	Conway Road, Canton, Cardiff
James, C. R., Esq.	Brynteg, Merthyr Tydfil
James, Frank T., Esq.	Penydarren House, Merthyr Tydfil
James, John H., Esq.	3, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C., and Brynteg, Merthyr Tydvil
Jones, Benjamin, Esq.	2, Park Terrace, Merthyr Tydfil
Jones, Evan, Esq.	Ty-mawr, Aberdare
Jones, John, Esq.	Glannant House, Merthyr Tydfil
Jones, Oliver Henry, Esq., M.A.	Fonmon Castle, Cardiff
Knight, Rev. C. R., M.A.	Tythegston Court, Bridgend, S.W.
*Knox, Edw., Esq.	Twyn-yr-hydd, Margam, Port Talbot
*Lewis, Arthur, Esq.	Tynewydd, Llandaff
Lewis, J. P., Esq.	High St., Merthyr Tydfil
Lewis, Rev. Daniel	Rectory, Merthyr Tydfil
Lewis, Lieut.-Col. D. R.	Penydarren House, Merthyr Tydfil
Llewellyn, R. W., Esq.	Baglan Cottage, Briton Ferry
Martin, Edw. P., Esq.	Dowlais
Matthews, John Hobson, Esq.	Town Hall, Cardiff
Moore, G. W., Esq.	10, Bute Crescent, Cardiff
Morgan, Col. W. L.	Brynbriallu, Swansea
Morgan, J. Llewellyn, Esq.	Bryn Taff, Llandaff
Newell, Rev. E. J., M.A.	The College, Porthcawl, Bridgend
Nicholl, Illtyd, Esq., F.S.A.	The Ham, Cowbridge
Nicholl, J. I. D., Esq.	Merthyr Mawr, Bridgend, Glam.
Powel, Thomas, Esq., M.A.	University College, Cardiff
Prosser, Rev. D. L., M.A.	31, Trafalgar Terrace, Swansea
Rees, J. Rogers, Esq.	Wilts and Dorset Bank, Cardiff
Reynolds, Llywarch, Esq.	Old Church Place, Merthyr Tydfil
Royal Institution of S. Wales	Swansea
*Ryland, C. J., Esq.	Cardwell Chambers, Marsh Street, Bristol, and Clifton House, [Southerndown
Swansea Free Library	Swansea
Talbot, Miss	Margam Park, Taibach
*Thomas, Rev. Edw.	Maesllan, Neath Abbey, Neath

Thomas, T. H., Esq. . . .	45, The Walk, Cardiff
*Traherne, G. G., Esq. . .	Coedriglan Park, Cardiff
*Traherne, L. E., Esq. . .	Coedriglan Park, Cardiff
Vaughan, John, Esq., Solicitor .	Merthyr Tydfil
Ward, John, Esq., F.S.A. . .	Public Museum, Cardiff
Williams, David, Esq. . .	Henstaff Court, Croesfaen, Pontyclun
Williams, J. Ignatius, Esq., M.A.	Plasynllan, Whitechurch, Cardiff
Wilkins, Charles, Esq., F.G.S. .	Springfield, Merthyr Tydfil

PEMBROKESHIRE. (21).

Cawdor, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of Carmarthenshire	Stackpool Court, Pembroke
Philipps, Sir C. E. G., Bart. .	Picton Castle, Haverfordwest
*Scourfield, Sir Owen H. P., Bart.	Williamston, Haverfordwest
Allen, The Very Rev. Dean .	Cathedral Close, St. David's, R.S.O.
Allen, Herbert, Esq. . .	Highclere, Chesterton Road, Cambridge, and Norton, Tenby
Bancroft, J. J., Esq., H.M.I.S. .	4, Lexden Terrace, Tenby
Bowen, Rev. David . . .	Hamilton House, Pembroke
Davey, Rev. Chancellor, M.A. .	Chancellor's Manor, St. David's, R.S.O.
De Winton, W. S., Esq. . .	4, Palace Yard, Gloucester; and Haroldston, Haverfordwest
*Hilbers, Ven. Archdeacon, M.A.	St. Thomas Rectory, Haverfordwest
James, John, Esq. . . .	St. Martin's Crescent, Haverfordwest
Laws, Edward, Esq., F.S.A. .	Brython Place, Tenby
Lewis, Rev. Canon David, M.A.	The Vicarage, St. David's, R.S.O.
Lloyd-Philipps, F., Esq., M.A. .	Pentypark, Clarbeston, R.S.O.
*Lort-Phillips, J. Fred, Esq. .	Lawrenny Park, Pembroke
Mousley, Thomas T., Esq. .	Stackpool, Pembroke
Owen, Henry, Esq., B.C.L., F.S.A.	44, Oxford Terrace, Hyde Park, W.,
Phillips, Rev. James . .	Haverfordwest [and Withybush
Samson, Lewis, Esq. . . .	Scotchwell, Haverfordwest
Saunders-Davies, Gresmond, Esq.	Pentre, Boncath, R.S.O.
*Williams, Rev. D. E., M.A. .	Llawhaden Rectory, Narberth

RADNORSHIRE. (4).

Sladen, Mrs.	Rhydoldog, Rhayader
Venables, Llewellyn Charles, Esq.	Llysdinam, Newbridge-on-Wye.
Williams, Stephen William, Esq., F.S.A.	Penralley, Rhayader
Lewis, His Honour Judge . .	Pump House, Llandrindod

MONMOUTHSHIRE. (8).

Tredegar, The Right Hon. Lord	Tredegar Park, Newport
Llangattock, The Rt. Hon. Lord	The Hendre, Monmouth
Bowen, A. E., Esq. . . .	The Town Hall, Pontypool
Bradney, Joseph A., Esq. . .	Tal-y-coed, Monmouth
Haines, W., Esq. . . .	Y Bryn, Abergavenny
*Howell, Rev. Howell . .	The Rectory, Blaina, Mon.
*Jones, Thomas, Esq. . .	Clytha Square, Newport, Mon.
*Rickards, R., Esq. . . .	The Priory, Usk

THE MARCHES. (19).

Westminster, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., Lord-Lieut. of Cheshire	Eaton Hall, Chester
Harlech, The Right Hon. Lord .	Brogyntyn, Oswestry
Banks, W. H., Esq., B.A. . . .	Ridgebourne, Kington, Herefordshire
Bax, Pearce B. Ironside, Esq. .	Stanley Place, Chester
Bulkeley-Owen, Rev. T. M., M.A.	Tedsmore Hall, West Felton, R.S.O.
Corrie, A. Wynne, Esq. . .	Park Hall, Oswestry
Davies, James, Esq. . . .	Gwynva, Broomy Hill, Hereford
Dovaston, J., Esq. . . .	West Felton, Oswestry
Drinkwater, Rev. C. H., M.A. .	St. George's Vicarage, Shrewsbury
Finchett-Maddock, H., Esq. .	9, Abbey Square, Chester
Gleadowe, T. S., Esq., H.M.I.S.	Alderley, Cheshire
Grey-Edwards, Rev. A. H. .	2, Paradise Row, Chester
Leighton, Stanley, Esq., M.A., M.P., F.S.A.	Sweeney Hall, Oswestry
Longley, Mrs.	Dinham House, Ludlow
Owen, Rev. Elias, M.A., F.S.A.	Llanyblodwel Vicarage, Oswestry
Pilley, Walter, Esq. . . .	Eigne Street, Hereford
Sitwell, F. Hurst, Esq. . .	Ferney Hall, Craven Arms, Shropshire
Woodall, Edward, Esq. . .	Wingthorpe, Oswestry
Wynne Ffoulkes, M.A., His Honour Judge . . .	Old Northgate House, Chester

CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES.

The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London (c/o W. H. St. John Hope, Esq.)
The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street Museum, Edinburgh (c/o Joseph Anderson, Esq., LL.D.)
The Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland (c/o R. H. Cochrane, Esq., F.S.A., Rathgar, Dublin)
The British Archæological Association, 32, Sackville Street, W. (c/o S. Rayson, Esq.)
The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 20, Hanover Square, W. (c/o Mill Stephenson, Esq., F.S.A.)
The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen
The Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro (c/o Major T. Parkyn)
The Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Cambridge
The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society (c/o Rev. W. Bazeley, The Museum, Gloucester)
The Chester Archæological and Historical Society (c/o I. E. Ewen, Esq., Grosvenor Museum, Chester)
The Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society (c/o F. Goyne, Esq., Shrewsbury)
The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, Kendal
Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne (R. Blair, Esq., F.S.A.)
La Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, Rue Ravenstein 11, Bruxelles
The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., U.S.A.
The Library, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akadamien (c/o Dr. Anton Blomberg, Kongl. Vitterhets)

LAWS

OF THE

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

ESTABLISHED 1846,

In order to Examine, Preserve, and Illustrate the Ancient Monuments and Remains of the History, Language, Manners, Customs, and Arts of Wales and the Marches.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The Association shall consist of Subscribing, Corresponding, and Honorary Members, of whom the Honorary Members must not be British subjects.

ADMISSION.

2. New members may be enrolled by the Chairman of the Committee, or by either of the General Secretaries; but their *election* is not complete until it shall have been confirmed by a General Meeting of the Association.

GOVERNMENT.

3. The Government of the Association is vested in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Chairman of Committee, the General and Local Secretaries, and not less than twelve, nor more than fifteen, ordinary subscribing members, three of whom shall retire annually according to seniority.

ELECTION.

4. The Vice-Presidents shall be chosen for life, or as long as they remain members of the Association. The President and all other officers shall be chosen for one year, but shall be re-eligible. The officers and new members of Committee shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting. The Committee shall recommend candidates; but it shall be open to any subscribing member to propose other candidates, and to demand a poll. All officers and members of the Committee shall be chosen from the subscribing members.

THE CHAIR.

5. At all meetings of the Committee the chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the Chairman of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.

6. The Chairman of the Committee shall superintend the business of the Association during the intervals between the Annual Meetings; and he shall have power, with the concurrence of one of the General Secretaries, to authorise proceedings not specially provided for by the laws. A report of his proceedings shall be laid before the Committee for their approval at the Annual General Meeting.

EDITORIAL SUB-COMMITTEE.

7. There shall be an Editorial Sub-Committee, consisting of at least three members, who shall superintend the publications of the Association, and shall report their proceedings annually to the Committee.

SUBSCRIPTION.

8. All Subscribing Members shall pay one guinea in advance, on the 1st of January in each year, to the Treasurer or his banker (or to either of the General Secretaries).

WITHDRAWAL.

9. Members wishing to withdraw from the Association must give six months' notice to one of the General Secretaries, and must pay all arrears of subscriptions.

PUBLICATIONS.

10. All Subscribing and Honorary Members shall be entitled to receive all the publications of the Association issued after their election (except any special publication issued under its auspices), together with a ticket giving free admission to the Annual Meeting.

SECRETARIES.

11. The Secretaries shall forward, once a month, all subscriptions received by them to the Treasurer.

TREASURER.

12. The accounts of the Treasurer shall be made up annually, to December 31st; and as soon afterwards as may be convenient, they shall be audited by two subscribing members of the Association, to be appointed at the Annual General Meeting. A balance-sheet of the said accounts, certified by the Auditors, shall be printed and issued to the members.

BILLS.

13. The funds of the Association shall be deposited in a bank in the name of the Treasurer of the Association for the time being; and all bills due from the Association shall be countersigned by one of the General Secretaries, or by the Chairman of the Committee, before they are paid by the Treasurer.

COMMITTEE-MEETING.

14. The Committee shall meet at least once a year for the purpose of nominating officers, framing rules for the government of the Association, and transacting any other business that may be brought before it.

GENERAL MEETING.

15. A General Meeting shall be held annually for the transaction of the business of the Association, of which due notice shall be given to the members by one of the General Secretaries.

SPECIAL MEETING.

16. The Chairman of the Committee, with the concurrence of one of the General Secretaries, shall have power to call a Special Meeting, of which at least three weeks' notice shall be given to each member by one of the General Secretaries.

QUORUM.

17. At all meetings of the Committee five shall form a quorum.

CHAIRMAN.

18. At the Annual Meeting the President, or, in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, or the Chairman of the Committee, shall take the chair; or, in their absence, the Committee may appoint a chairman.

CASTING VOTE.

19. At all meetings of the Association or its Committee, the Chairman shall have an independent as well as a casting vote.