THE HISTORY OF BRECKNOCKSHIRE

GLANUSK EDITION

VOL. I.

p X [illegible]

p XI [illegible] William [illegible]
[illegible] Archaeological [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 1809 q.v.

p XI [illegible] old [illegible]
[illegible] lived there a hundred years later

p XII [illegible] of the [illegible]
some of the [illegible] very dark

XII [illegible]
[illegible]

XIII [illegible] !

XIII [illegible]
[illegible]
1889 [illegible] of the [illegible]

p. 9 "This [illegible] of 30 miles" [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

(800 sq. miles would be a circle [illegible] diam?)

p. 9 area of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

p. 10 Population 1901 57213

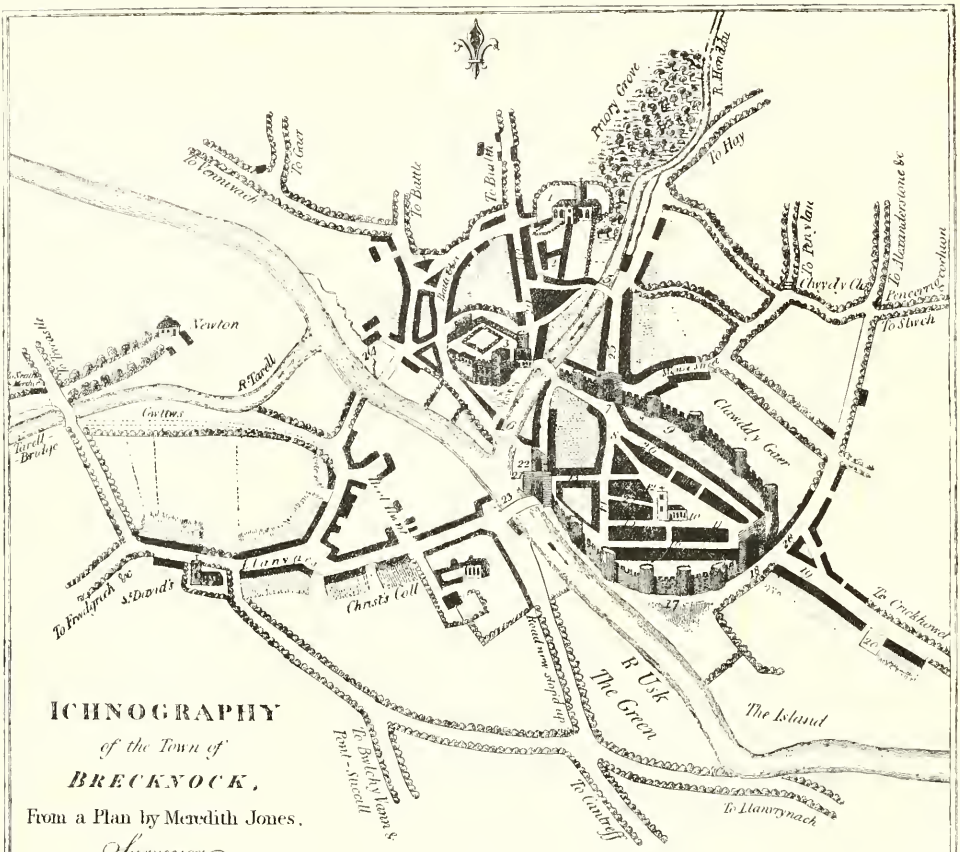
p. 11 [illegible] [illegible]
this on the banks [illegible]
[illegible]

end of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
had been threaded [illegible] [illegible] a piece of [illegible].
By his side was an open umbrella [illegible] side down.
He lowered the [illegible] into a small [illegible] of [illegible] &
feeling an eel raised the bait quickly & [illegible] it
over the umbrella into which the eel dropped.
p 11 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Petromyzon fluviatilis.
Lamprey. [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible]
Petromyzon marinus Couch [illegible] [illegible] 385
[illegible] 247 fig 1.
p 12 I remember when I was about 10 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
about a dozen [illegible] one day. I [illegible] [illegible]
2 at once.
p 12 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ([illegible] [illegible])
The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] any [illegible] the [illegible] of
[illegible]. [illegible] ([illegible] 1[illegible]) we used
[illegible] [illegible], at the [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] called [illegible]
p 12 "[illegible] [illegible]" [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible] on one side & [illegible] the [illegible] on the other
each of them produces salmon & trout; but the [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] with the [illegible], the [illegible] with the [illegible].
p 13 Salmon ascend rivers [illegible] [illegible]. They say [illegible] [illegible] not
eat whilst up the rivers.
p 16 Welsh [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

HISTORY

OF

BRECKNOCKSHIRE.



ICHNOGRAPHY

of the Town of

BRECKNOCK,

From a Plan by Meredith Jones,

Surveyor

in 1744.

REFERENCE.

1 *St John the Evangelist's*
2 *The Priory House Cloisters &c*
3 *The Castle*
4 *Castle Bridge*
5 *Upper Bridge on D°*
6 *Lower D°*
7 *Struet Gate*
8 *High Street superior*
9 *Town-Wall*
10 *St Marys Chapel*
11 *The Bulwark*
12 *High Street inferior*
13 *Ship Street*
14 *Wheat Street*
15 *St Mary's Street*
16 *Glamorganshire Street*
17 *Captain's Walk*
18 *Watton Gate*
19 *Watton*
20 *Old Bowling Green*
21 *Water Gate*
22 *Bridge Gate*
23 *Usk Bridge*
24 *Usk Mill*
25 *Struet*
26 *Lion Lane*
27 *Church Street*
28 *Heol rhydd*
29 *The Postern*
30 *Ren y drif*

A HISTORY

OF THE

COUNTY OF BRECKNOCK,

CONTAINING THE CHOROGRAPHY, GENERAL HISTORY, RELIGION, LAWS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, LANGUAGE, SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE, ANTIQUITIES, SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS, NATURAL CURIOSITIES, VARIATIONS OF THE SOIL, STRATIFICATION, MINERALOGY, LIST OF RARE AND OTHER PLANTS AND BIRDS, PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY, NAMES AND BIOGRAPHIES OF SHERIFFS AND MAYORS OF BRECKNOCK, ALSO THE GENEALOGIES AND ARMS OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES PROPERLY COLOURED AND EMBLAZONED, TOGETHER WITH THE HISTORY OF EVERY PARISH, AND THE NAMES OF THE PATRONS AND INCUMBENTS OF ALL LIVINGS.

By THEOPHILUS JONES,

Deputy Registrar of the Archdeaconry of Brecon.

Enlarged by the notes collected

By SIR JOSEPH RUSSELL BAILEY, BART., FIRST BARON GLANUSK

(Lord Lieutenant of Brecknockshire).

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS, PORTRAITS, AND MAPS.

VOLUME ONE.

BRECKNOCK:

PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY BLISSETT, DAVIES & CO., 14 BRIDGE STREET.

1909.

DEDICATED

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GODFREY CHARLES,

SECOND BARON AND FIRST VISCOUNT TREDEGAR,

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS LORDSHIP'S

BENEVOLENT INTEREST IN ALL MATTERS AFFECTING

THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTY,

AND OF THE GENEROUS

PATRONAGE HE HAS BESTOWED UPON THIS AND SIMILAR

WORKS ISSUED BY THE PUBLISHERS.

From a drawing made by Rev. Thos. Price ("Carnhuanawc").

In the possession of Miss G. E. F. Morgan, Brecon.

PREFACE.

EXACTLY one hundred years have elapsed since Theophilus Jones published the final volume of his History of Brecknockshire. His narrative closes practically, for general purposes, with the reign of King Henry the Eighth, though in the Parochial Section he carries the history forward to about the year 1800. In the latter department, therefore, more than a century awaits a chronicle.

Since the days when the talented Historian compiled his extensive and interesting work, Archæology has been largely illustrated; ancient Welsh Literature has been translated by a learned Society into the English tongue; Geology has been written and re-written as facts have fallen into their places under the pen of the philosopher; the finest maps the world has ever known have been issued by the Ordnance Survey, rendering a revision of County topography comparatively easy; and Philology has become a new science. It will, therefore, not be necessary to enlarge upon those matters, for by the liberality of publishers the reader will find ready to his hand many books dealing with them.

But in the domain of purely county history, much remains to be added in order that it may be carried to the present period. Records of the county have been collated and arranged in a manner unknown in 1800. The iron industry of Brecknock has waxed, and alas! waned; steam has altered and vastly improved the communications with England, bringing Brecknock within a few hours' journey of the Metropolis and the great trading ports on the Mersey; towns have sprung into being, and many of the largest houses in the county have been built during the 19th century; people formerly unknown here have made it their home, and would fain record their modern fortunes after the great names of those who, in earlier times, moulded the history of the county.

The old bridle paths have given place to good roads laid in every direction throughout the county, making transit easy for man and beast; waterways, established over a century ago, and for many years extensively used for the conveyance of merchandize, have been gradually but surely superseded by various railway systems; elective bodies now control the business affairs of the county, for so many years managed exclusively by the magistrates, and this method of popular representative government has been extended to every town and almost every parish; the criminal law is administered with strict regard to the cause of justice, and the punishment of offenders is no longer inflicted with barbarity; there has been a gradual but gratifying abatement of serious crime; a crude and limited system of education, in operation up to quite recent times, has been replaced by a more generous and perfect National code, rendering possible the admission of even the humblest into the Universities, to the learned professions, and the service of the Church and State; our ancient Royal foundation, Christ College, rescued from the list of perishing and mismanaged institutions, equipped with new buildings and competent teachers, and placed under vigorous government, has developed into one of the most efficient educational establishments in Wales; and added to this we have those various Secondary Schools provided under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act.

The enactment of laws relating to water and sanitation has materially added to the comfort, health, and happiness of the people. The old candle illuminating power, replaced by oil lamps, and subsequently by gas and electricity, no longer provides employment for the tallow chandler, in which business many families of respectability were engaged and amassed wealth

and influence; and most, though not all, of the old woollen and milling factories have disappeared. Land cultivation has undergone a material change, rural populations have steadily decreased, leaving ruined cottages to mark the places where once resided families wholly engaged in agricultural pursuits. Increased activities in the coal and iron industries, employment upon railways and the like, and migration into the towns in search of the larger wages offered, have undoubtedly been factors in promoting this general exodus from the land, but the fact remains that in many parts of the county the plough is rarely brought into use, the farmer contenting himself in too many instances with the task of rearing stock for the markets, and thereby diminishing the opportunities of employment for the agricultural labourer.

These are but some of the changes which have taken place since the first appearance of Theophilus Jones' work in 1809. The recital of them will give the reader some idea of the additional material needed to complete the narrative as between that period and the present.

From the preface to Jones' first volume, we learn that the work owed its origin to the perusal of the collections of a friend of his, whose talents, said Jones, were much better calculated to elucidate the subjects and record the events here treated of, than it had fallen to his lot to possess; but a determination on the part of that friend not to appear before the public, and his wish that Jones should undertake a history of their native county, and the kind promise of his assistance, induced Theophilus Jones to commence and encouraged him to persevere in a labour which he described as "foreign to my profession, though congenial to my feelings and my pursuits."

But even this assistance and encouragement from his friend did not relieve the task of very grave responsibilities and difficulties. The Historian's enquiries and pursuit after knowledge evidently made him an object of suspicion to many, for we find him writing: "Should the Historian seek access to them [documents], and should that Historian unfortunately be of the profession of the law, ... suspicion is alive and prudence bolts the door against the intruder, who it is supposed can have no other motive for his inquiries than the discovery of objections to titles, the propagation of scandal, or the abrasion of old sores which have long cicatrized." But notwithstanding this, Jones was able to get together for publication a mass of information relating to Wales and Brecknockshire which found no rival in any work published in his time upon any other Welsh county.

With all the impediments encountered, Jones fortunately found many whom he was able to thank for their assistance. He pays a grateful tribute to the memory of the Duke of Beaufort of his day, who not only offered a liberal contribution towards the expenses of the work, but also immediately attended to his communications; and he likewise acknowledges a similar obligation to Sir Charles Morgan, of Tredegar. "To some respectable noblemen," he adds, "whose time was so completely occupied in the service of the State, or the duties of the Senate, that it became inconvenient to them to return a written answer to my application, I am indebted for their good wishes, as well as their benevolent intentions of contributing a few eleemosynary guineas towards the expense of the publication and the support of the publisher, which have been occasionally most kindly communicated to me by their agents; and to many of the gentlemen and inhabitants of the county who were really anxious that I should prosecute what they considered as a public utility, and who were ready to assist in the execution of it, I return my most unfeigned thanks."

The first volume was dedicated by Jones to the Rev. Thomas Payne, rector of Llanbedr and Partricio and vicar of Devynock in the county of Brecknock, "as an acknowledgment of the assistance he has received and in testimony of the friendship which he feels as proud thus publicly to avow as he is happy in private life to experience." This portion of the History was published in 1805 at £2 12s. 6d. to subscribers only.

The second volume, issued in two parts, was not published until 1809, at a cost of £4 to subscribers, making a total for the completed work of £6 12s. 6d. The preface to the second volume is principally devoted to answering criticisms of the first volume, but Jones finds

(Photographed from a book-plate in Lampeter Library).

The House in Lion Street where Theo. Jones lived and died.

opportunity to thank several gentlemen for assistance rendered, including Dr. Turton, Rev. Mr. Nares of the British Museum, Mr. Townsend of the Herald's Office, Mr. William Owen Pugh, the Rev. Walter Davies, Mr. Penry Williams of Penpont, Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, the Rev. Thomas Williams of Brecon, Miss Bird, and the Rev. James Donne of Oswestry.

This work of Jones's was the first real attempt at a county history within the Principality, and the first book above the size of a pamphlet ever printed and published within the county of Brecon, if we except a few Bibles from the Trevecca printing press. That typographical errors should appear is not to be wondered at, especially as the Author had had no experience in reading press proofs. Indeed, considering the primitive condition of the printing trade in Breconshire in those days, the marvel is that the book should have been so well produced. The second volume was dedicated by Jones in these words: "To the Rev. Edward Davies of Olveston, in the County of Gloucester, author of *Celtic Researches*, &c., the associate of his youth, the kind correspondent and assistant in his literary pursuits, the sincere friend in mature age, and oh! may he add, in trembling hope, '*si modo digni erimus*,' the partaker of a blissful eternity, this volume is gratefully inscribed by the author."

Miss G. E. F. Morgan, of Buckingham Place, Brecon, has written, ably and sympathetically, a Biography of Theophilus Jones[1], and we have extracted therefrom the following particulars relating to the County Historian.

Theophilus Jones was the only son of the Rev. Hugh Jones, Vicar of Llangammarch and Llywel, and Prebendary of Boughrood, Llanbedr Painscastle, whose father, another Hugh Jones, married Mary, daughter of Rees Lloyd, of Nantmel, a member of the family of Lloyd of Rhosferig and Aberannell. Our Historian was thus of the line of Elystan Glodrydd, Prince of Ferregs, whose descendants peopled the hundred of Builth, and through his paternal grandmother he was connected with the Jeffreyses of Brecon and the Watkinses of Penoyre.

The Rev. Hugh Jones married Elinor, elder daughter of the Rev. Theophilus Evans, vicar of Llangammarch from 1738 to 1763, in which year he resigned the living in favour of his son-in-law, Mr. Hugh Jones; Mr. Evans was also vicar of St. David's, Brecon, to which he was inducted 8th June, 1739. It is always interesting to note the hereditary influences which have helped to form the tastes and characters of remarkable men, and no account of Theophilus Jones's life would be complete that did not touch on the career of his maternal grandfather, who seems to have been a man of considerable ability, and is spoken of by his grandson with affectionate respect.

Theophilus Evans was the fifth son of Charles Evans, of Pen-y-wenallt, Cardiganshire, of the tribe of Gwynfardd Dyfed, whose father had suffered even to imprisonment for his loyalty to Charles I. He was born in 1694, ordained deacon in 1718, and priest in 1719, by the Bishop of St. David's. The friendship existing between his countrymen the Lloyds of Millfield and the Gwynnes of Glanbran, induced him to settle in this county.

Mr. Evans lived at Llwyn Einon, in Llangammarch (now a farmhouse), and on his death left the little estate to Theophilus Jones, who honoured the memory of his grandfather by a peculiar attachment to the place. The Rev. Theophilus Evans died September 11th, 1767, aged 73, and was buried in the Churchyard of Llangammarch, "near the stile entering from the east."

Theophilus Jones was born in Brecon on 18th October, 1759, and on 8th November following he was baptized in the chapel of St. Mary in that town. His father was at that time curate of St. David's, Brecon, and lived in a charming old house in Lion Street (one of the many town residences of the county families, who used to come to Brecon for the Assizes and other gatherings), where Dr. George Bull, Bishop of St. David's, had died earlier in the

[1] "Theophilus Joues, Historian: His Life, Letters, and Literary Remains. Biography by Miss G. E. F. Morgan. Letters, &c., compiled by Edwin Davies, of Brecon." Demy 8vo., 7s. 6d.; published by Davies & Co., 14 Bridge Street, Brecon. *Portraits*, &c.

century. The future Historian passed some of his early years at Llwyn Einon, and, young though he was, there can be little doubt that his antiquarian tastes were awakened and fostered by his grandfather, from whom he inherited valuable materials for the History. The Rev. Thomas Price, who was born in the hundred of Builth less than a generation later, has left a graphic picture of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of that district: "Brought up, as I have been, in the remote parts of the Principality, often do I dwell with pleasure upon the recollections of my infancy: when in the winter's night I sat in the circle around the fire under the spacious chimney-piece, and listened to the songs and traditions of the peasantry, or to the poetry of David ab Gwilym read by the firelight; and if but a harper should chance to visit us happy was the day, yea, I might say, earthly speaking, blessed was the time. . . . . About the year 1750 the young people in Wales were very fond of dancing. They met together frequently in parties, and danced country dances, some of which had four and twenty variations, all of which were to be danced through; and I think there were variations in the figure of the dance to correspond to those of the tune. . . . . The introduction of Methodism made a great change in the habits of the people. Dancing was altogether discouraged as profane."

Theophilus Jones was educated at Christ's College, Brecknock, which was then a large and flourishing school, attended by the sons of the surrounding country gentry, amongst whom he found many friends, and here began the life-long regard which existed between him and the Rev. Edward Davies, of Olveston, co. Gloucester, the learned author of *Celtic Researches, Mythology of the British Druids*, and other works. During the time he was at Christ's College, the Head Master was the Rev. David Griffith (grandfather of the late Rev. Charles Griffith, M.A., of Glyn Celyn, Brecon), an accomplished scholar, of whom he spoke in after years as "the respected and respectable preceptor of my youth." His parents having decided that he should become a lawyer, Theophilus Jones was articled to Mr. Penoyre Watkins, a solicitor in large practice then living in Brecon; and having passed through this period with great credit, upon the expiration of his articles he entered the profession on his own account, and continued in it for many years, practising with equal reputation and success as a solicitor and attorney in his county town.

He married Mary, daughter of Rice Price, Esq., of Porth-y-Rhyd, in the county of Carmarthen (who was a member of the family of Price of Cilgwyn, a branch of the Prices of Glynllech, in Ystradgunlais), by Mary, daughter of Daniel Williams, Esq., of Llwynwormwood. A vacancy occurring in the Deputy Registrarship of the Archdeaconry of Brecon, he was appointed to that office, which he held until his death. To this circumstance we are probably indebted for the History, which will be for ever associated with the name of Theophilus Jones. Amongst the documents committed to his care were the records of the various parishes for centuries past, in the perusal of which he must have obtained a great amount of the information he afterwards introduced into his History. There is every reason to believe that he had no natural inclination for the profession to which he had been brought up, his chief delight being in literary studies and antiquarian research, but it was not until the year 1800 or 1801 that he seriously entertained the idea of writing the History of his native county.

His father, the Rev. Hugh Jones, died 2nd April, 1799 (and was buried in St. David's Churchyard with his wife Elinor, who died 24th July, 1786), and this circumstance may have had much to do with the determination he now formed. He found it was quite impossible to write the History and at the same time to carry on his other duties. On their marriage Mr. and Mrs. Theophilus Jones lived in a large and comfortable house in Mount Street, Brecon, now converted into an inn known as "The George," the rooms of which are oak-panelled and lofty, where they remained until his father's death, when they moved to the house in Lion Street, in which the History was written. In a letter, dated Oct. 4th, 1801, to the Rev. Edward Davies, he says: "I've such a room! such a study! . . . . . it is at the back part of the house, no noise or interruption, except now and then a call into the office . . . . . I laugh, I laugh at the imps of gloominess." Having a small patrimony of his own, he determined, with his wife's

consent, to give up his practice, and live upon his private means, so that he might have time to prosecute his labours in compiling the History, which he succeeded in doing, though he lost upwards of £400 in the undertaking. He disposed of his practice to his partner, Mr. Samuel Church, of Ffrwdgrech, reserving to himself the Deputy Registrarship, which enabled him to have access to the various deeds, wills, &c., which were so important in his researches, though it was not until 1809 that he was able to write: "Done with the law!"

Having now the leisure in which to pursue the great object of his life, he spared neither time nor expense in its execution. He personally visited every parish in the county; he copied the mural and monumental inscriptions in every church (many of which have entirely disappeared during the "restorations" of recent years); he collected the folk-lore and legends from the aged inhabitants; he gathered all the information that could be acquired, and industriously gleaned from every repository that was open to his inspection, the contents of such documents as might enlarge, illustrate, or enrich his work. His perfect acquaintance with the language of his country enabled him to employ them to the best advantage. He availed himself largely of Hugh Thomas's MS. "Essay towards a History of Brecknockshire," which is preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and a portion of which is in the possession of Mr. George Hay, of Brecon. No man could have taken greater pains than Mr. Jones did, and we may be quite sure that whatever errors occur in the earlier part of his genealogies (and they are few), they are correct for at least one hundred years before the time he wrote, which period would include all his original work. So painstaking a man would have carefully recorded from the lips of the oldest members of the various families the names of their immediate ancestors, and any circumstances of interest connected with them. The orignal MS. of the History was in the late Mr. Joseph's library, and he bequeathed it to Mr. Buckley, of Bryn-y-Caerau, Carmarthenshire.

Theo. Jones's last illness is supposed to have arisen from the effect of gout upon a constitution much weakened by repeated attacks of the malady. He lingered for some time, and after severe suffering died 15th January, 1812, at his house in Lion Street, Brecon (now the property of Captain D. Hughes Morgan, J.P. for the County and Borough of Brecon, and H.S. in 1900, and the residence of Dr. T. Price Thomas), where his father, the Rev. Hugh Jones, had lived and died. He was buried at Llangammarch, in the same grave as his maternal grandfather, whose memory through life he held in the highest veneration. "When I am dead," he said, "let me be buried in the grave of my grandfather, and let my inscription be: 'Here lies Theophilus Jones, the grandson of Theophilus Evans.'" His widow erected in Christ's College Chapel, Brecon (where he had been educated when a boy, of which he had been for many years chapter clerk, and in the improvement of which he had ever taken the deepest interest), a white and grey marble tablet to his memory, with the following inscription[1]:—"To the memory of Theophilus Jones, Esq., late Chapter Clerk of this Collegiate Church, and Deputy Registrar of the Archdeaconry of Brecknock. He died January the 15th, 1812, aged 51. His remains, with those of his maternal grandfather, Theophilus Evans, Clk., lie interred in the Cemetery of Llangammarch. This marble but records his name—the History of this, his loved, his native County, will long survive and be his Monument. The above Theophilus Jones was the son of the Rev. Hugh Jones, who was Prebendary of Boughrood, Llanbedr Painscastle, of this Collegiate Church."

The tombstone in Llangammarch Churchyard was restored in the year 1889, and there is also a memorial tablet in that Church.

Previous to 1898, Theophilus Jones's History was known to but few persons. Occasionally a copy was put up for sale at a public auction, and realized prices varying from £8 to £10; indeed a copy was sold for as much as £14 14s. In that year, however, Mr. Edwin Davies of Brecon, undertook the publication of a complete re-print at a price which brought the book

[1] There is some mistake as to his age, but the inscription is given as copied from the tablet. On his tombstone in Llangammarch Churchyard, the Historian's age is stated to be 52.

within the reach of a larger circle of readers. This new edition was speedily sold, and very many of the copies were subsequently bought up at enhanced prices for the American book market; and in 1902 a third edition was projected.

Previous to this, the late Lord Glanusk, whose interest and activities in county matters were very great, began a collection of the materials necessary to continue the County History to his time, and some two years after the date of his lamented death on January 8th, 1906, his lordship's papers relating to this work were tabulated and arranged for publication. Where a particular parish had not been completed by Lord Glanusk, the materials have since been collected in harmony with the plan he adopted.

It appears to have been no part of his lordship's idea to interfere with the general scope of the old Historian's work, but rather to supplement it with such details as were needed to carry the General and Parochial History to a later date, and add thereto further notes upon the Sheriffs, Members of Parliament, the County families, and Mayors of Brecknock. His lordship also made copious extracts from the County Records, which shed a new light upon county history.

In another part of this work, some reference has been made to the many public services rendered to the county by the late Lord Glanusk, and it only remains to add here an expression of sincere regret that his lordship should have been removed by death before he had carried this third edition through the press. A conscientious effort has been made, at the expenditure of nearly two year's anxious labour, to produce this Edition on lines which were thought to be those intended by his lordship.

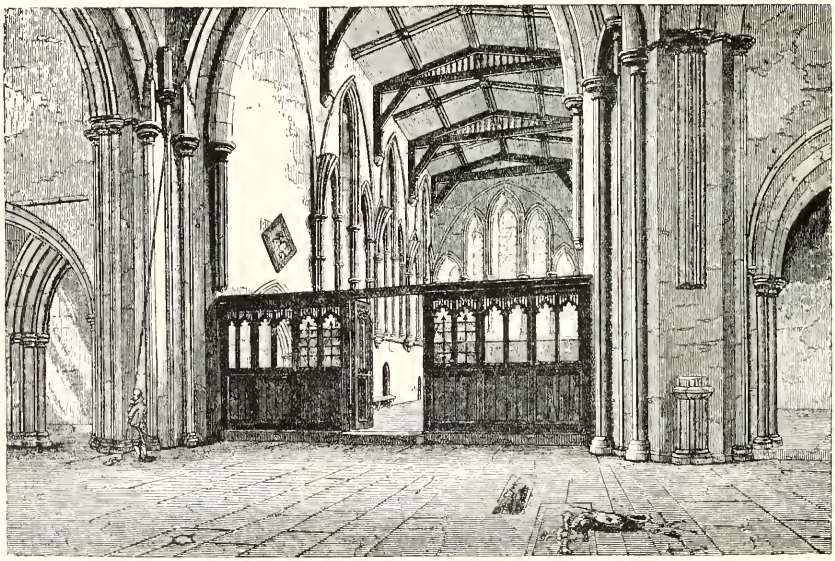
The work has been divided into four volumes, with an index to each. The thick paper copies are bound in four volumes, but the other copies are bound two volumes in one. Many of the numerous engravings now added are from photographs collected by Lord Glanusk, some have been obtained from persons interested in the work, and the others from photographs specially taken for the purpose. All the plates in the original edition have been reproduced.

Grateful acknowledgments are tendered to those ladies and gentlemen who have so kindly answered correspondence relating to this work, for amending and adding to family pedigrees, and in other ways assisting; and especially to those noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen who have contributed to the publication by the addition of their names to the list of subscribers, which will be found printed at the end of the fourth volume.

14 Bridge Street,
Brecon, July, 1909

EDWIN DAVIES.

NORTH VIEW OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, BRECON.
(*Drawn about* 1845).



INTERIOR OF PRIORY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, BRECON.
(*Drawn about* 1845).

THE HISTORY OF BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

Of its ancient and present Name.—Definition of both.—The District in which it formerly was and now is comprehended.—Boundaries described.—Extent in Length and Breadth.—Population.—Principal Rivers.—Mountains and Vallies.—General Nature of the Soil.—Observations upon the Climate and Atmosphere.—Rainfall.—Place Names.

ANCIENT AND PRESENT NAME OF THE COUNTY.

BRECKNOCKSHIRE, now also called BRECONSHIRE, was anciently known by the name of Garthmarthrin, or Garthmadrin. Brecknock, on the authority of ancient manuscripts, is said to be identical with Garthmarthrin. The grandsire of Brychan is described as "King of Morganwg (Glamorgan), Gwent (Monmouth), and Garthmarthrin." "Brychan inherited from his mother the territory of Garthmarthrin, which he called after his own name Brycheiniog." The latter portion of the name Garth*marthrin* closely resembles the last syllables of Caer*marthen*. The likeness becomes more striking as the first syllable of each is considered. Caer means a camp; Garth is akin to yard, garden, and the French jardin. It signifies a place guarded. On an old plan of Tintern Abbey the cloistered court is styled "the Garth." The word occurs more than once in Brecknock as a hill name, and is found in composition in Tal-garth, Garth-brengy; in Pembrokeshire it appears as Fish-guard. The entire name Garth-marthrin and Caer-marthrin seems to be nearly identical. South Wales was not divided into counties until the time of King Henry VIII., and it is very possible that the centre of the county of Brecknock and the county of Caermarthen may in remote days have formed one district under the same rules and be known under names almost alike.

Brecknock, or Breconshire, as the County Council has decided to style the county in official documents, is one of the many local names which have become the playground of writers on the subject. Some have ventured to assert that as Wrekin (the Salopian mountain) is derived from Gwrychin, a bristle, Brycheiniog may be a corruption of Gwrychiniog, in a land bristling with hills; they feel themselves strengthened in this view by the fact that some neighbouring counties derive their names from physical characteristics—Pen-bro, the head-land; Mor-gan-wy, land of the sea-song. No evidence exists in favour of this allegation. Brecknock, written to the varying orthography of the times, Brecheiniog Breckiniawg, and otherwise, but always in a manner suggesting a similar sound, has been the name of at least part of the county from very early days. We who dwell within the county are content to believe that Brychan, a prince ruling 400 and 450 A.D., named his county after himself—Brycheiniog, the land of Brychan.

DEFINITION OF NAME.

The termination auc, awg, wg, or og, is adjectival. In the laws of the Welsh King, Howell the Good, bearing date 940 A.D., Taeog (-Ty-og) is used to mean a peasant, the inhabitant of a house (Ty). Though Brycheiniog is not therein mentioned, the syllable wg seems to have been common as a territorial termination, the first syllable being, at least sometimes, the rulers named: "South Wales is in three parts, Rheinwg, *that is the county of Rhein*, and Riellwg, and Morganwg."

There is a very old chronicle of Wales, *Annales Cambriæ*, the approximate date 1288 A.D. It is written in Latin, but is considered to have been translated from a Welsh manuscript, the Welsh names being given in the forms prevalent in early times. In this it is three times stated that "the Northmen" (meaning the Danes) "came and devastated Brecknock"—"*Nordmanni venerunt et vastaverunt Bricheniauc* (*Brecheinauc—Brechenauc*);—and the death of Rhys, son of Teudwr, at Brecknock, by the hands of the French, as the Normans were then called, is thus given: "1091 Resus filius Teudyr, rector dextratis partis a Franc is *Brechenauc* occisus est"—Breckenawc being almost identical in sound with Brecknock.

In the *Brut y Tywysogion* (the "Chronicles of the Princes"), written in the 14th century, it is stated that "Ithel, King of Gwent, was slain A.D. 848 by the men of Brycheinawg"; it is also recorded there, with a delicate appreciation of the relative importance of the neighbouring countries, that "in 894 the Northmen devastated England, *Brecheiniog*, Morganwg, Gwent, Buallt, and Gwenllwg." The name of the county, differing sometimes in a single letter, indicates throughout the book a pronounciation closely equivalent to Brecknock.

In *Dugdale's Monasticon*, copies of ancient charters are given—"*Cartæ ad Breckenockense Cœobium in Walliam.*" No. 1 begins: "Le premier conqueror des tres Cantrefs de la terre de Breckenock estayt Bernard de Newmarch." No. 3 is in Latin, and begins: "*Sciant omnes quod ego dedi Deo et Ecclesio Sancti Johanis de Brecknock*," etc. (Know all men that I have given to God and the Church of St. John of Brecknock, etc.) Instances have now been given from Welsh, Norman, and Latin sources when translated from the Welsh, in all of which the name of the district, now the centre of the county, is Breckenawe and not Breeon.

To those who prefer English authorities, may be given Leland's *Itinerary* in the time of Henry VIII: "Then to Brekenok, when nere to 1 cam downe hilles," etc.; "Usk Bridge at Brekenoc was thrown by the rage of Uske water; it was not by rain, but by snow melted that cam out of the mountains." Elementary schools existed not in the middle ages, but men spelled as it seemed to them they heard. We may close our list of Authorities with Mr. William Shakespeare, who in his play "King Richard Third" (Act 4, scene 2), makes the Duke of Buckingham say—

"Oh, let me think of starting, and begone
To Brecknock, while my fearful head is on."

When, in the reign of King Henry VIII., South Wales was divided into counties, it was natural to enact that certain "Lordshipps," etc., "shall be reputed as membres of the counties or shire of Brekenok." Since that time "Brecon" appears in some Aets of Parliament, and it is now considered permissible to use Brecknock or Brecon at the pleasure of the writer.

THEOPHILUS JONES' REMARKS ON NAME, &C., OF BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

Theophilus Jones says: "For the time when this appellation (Garthmadrin) was assumed or conferred, the historian looks in vain; not even the glimmering light of fable or tradition can he hope to receive or expect to conduct him in his researches. It is however, worthy of remark, that this name remained in Brecknockshire until the dissolution of religious houses in Great Britain, or at least until the attainder of the last Duke of Buckingham of the name of Stafford; for in the rolls in the Augmentation Office, in the 17th of Queen Mary, among his possessions, are recited 'rents of assize amounting to £11 15s. 8d. from tenants at will in Garthmadryn,' within the lordship of Brecknock.

"This word is compounded of *Garth* and *Madrin*. The former in the British language, signifies a clift, or a precipitous, or abrupt eminenee, and is a synonym with *Allt* or *Gallt*, though the latter is generally covered with wood. Madrin is an obsolete word for a fox, which has been since succeeded by Llwynog, or the inhabitant of the bushes; and afterwards by Cadno, pronounced Canddo, the only name by which this nocturnal depredator is at present known in South Wales; assuming therefore, (as we fairly may), that at a very remote period of antiquity, these animals prouled without controul or interruption through the woody brakes which covered the vallies of this country, until upon the approach of man they were driven into their fastnesses, where they resided for such a length of time as to characterize this part of the principality, and from whence they were driven and nearly destroyed, by that favourite of the Deity, on whom was graciously conferred 'dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the eattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the face of the earth.' The appellation of Garthmadryn, under such circumstances, must be admitted to be peculiarly appropriate to Breconshire, whose surface is a succession of undulations, and whose general description may be said with Leland, to be very *montanius*.

"Brecknockshire derives its present appellation from a prince or regulus of that country, of the name of Brychan, who ruled over it about the year of Christ 400, and died in 450, or thereabouts. From him,[1] this part of the principality of Wales was called the Land of Brychan, which in the

[1] It has been suggested, with some degree of plausibility, that as Wrekin (perhaps from Crugyn, a hillock, or Gwrychin, a bristle) means an abrupt or steep mountain; Brecheiniog may be a corruption of Wrekiniog, or rather Cruginiog or Gwrychiniog, full of mountains, or sharp ridges of hills, resembling the bristles on a hog's back, which it is said is confirmed by the neighbouring counties being called Mor gan wg, the maritime county; Penfro, the head of the valley, or promontory on the western extremity of this island; but though this definition is peculiarly applicable to these three shires, the etymology is novel, not perfectly idiomatical, such a change in the initial letter unusual, and as the concurring opinion of ages and authors who have written upon the subject have established the right of this British prince to give the name to Breconshire, he may as well be allowed to retain that honour in future (if such it be), and with due reference to the antiquarian, further conjectures may be said to be unnecessary.

British language has been written at different periods, and according to the differing orthography of the times. Brechiniawg, Brechiniog, and Brecheiniog.

"Before the act of Henry VIII., which divided Wales into counties, the English with propriety called this tract of country Brecknock, or the dominion or lordship of Brecknock, which has a near resemblance in sound to Brechiniawc or Brechiniog. This termination *awc, awg, og* or *og*,[1] is intended in the British tongue to give to proper names '*a local habitation*,' and generally signifies a region or territory, of which the preceding part of the word is descriptive. Since the statute above alluded to there is no error (as has been sometimes supposed) in calling this district Breconshire, quasi Brychan's shire; and as custom has sanctioned the indiscriminate use of this latter appellation, as well as that of Brecknockshire, the reader will not be surprized, or attribute it to inattention, if both these names occur in the course of this work.

"Though we know not with any certainty the period when Britain, and particularly that part of it which lies westward of the Severn and the Dee, called formerly, and since by the natives Cymru, and now by the English Wales, was first inhabited, yet it is clear from the Roman stations and forts, as well as their public roads and works, still visible in this country, that it must have been peopled (thinly, as has already been observed), before they invaded this island. The introduction of the troops and garrisons of this enemy into the more fertile parts of the kingdom, in all probability, drove many to settle in those mountainous regions, and the subsequent incursions added to their numbers; though even as late as the 5th century, we find the region of which we are about to treat, still described by the name of Garthmadrin. Wales, however, even at that time, was divided into North and South; the former was called by the Welsh, Gwynedd, or y Gogleddir, and the latter Deheubarth, (and sometimes Dyfed), which the Romans latinized into Venedotia and Demetia, to which two provinces a third was afterwards added, called Powys.

SOUTH WALES DIVIDED.

"South Wales was again divided (but at what period it is difficult to determine, as will be seen by and by), into Syllwg or Siluria, and Dyfed or Demetia; but etymologists are as much at a loss to define these words, as historians are to ascertain the boundaries of the two countries. Syllwg, says Edward Williams, means, 'a county abounding in beautiful prospects;' consequently the Syllwyr or Silures were men who delighted to look at beautiful prospects, or in other words, lovers of landscape. This is very ingenious, very pretty, and very poetical. The learned Dr. Whitaker, in his genuine history of the Britons, tells us that Silures means 'Sil or ill ur, the great men, or they are great men.'

"Dyfed, says Baxter in his glossary, is derived from defaid, sheep, because this country abounded with pasturage for sheep; and Rowland Jones of the Inner Temple, in his *Origin of Languages and Nations* (London, 1764) pronounces the word to have been originally Di-fyd, without habitation, abode, or livelihood! Neither of these attempts at derivation are intitled to the smallest attention, and the latter is absurd. Dyfed means precisely the same as the modern British word for South Wales. Deheubarth, which has superseded it; indeed the latter may be said to be a corruption or alteration of Deheufod or Deâufod, the country on the right; Bôd being a common termination in that language, and signifying a place of residence, as Cwmbôd or Cwmwd, now pronounced Comot, a residence in the vale; and Hâfod or Hâf-bod, a summer retreat. It is indeed remarkable, that the Welsh have no other name for the South than Deheu, the right: an inhabitant therefore of that country, when describing the four points of the compass, is supposed to stand in the West with his face towards the East, in which situation, he calls the North y Gogledd, (a radical Welsh word), y Gogledd-dir, or y Gogleddfod; and the South and neighbouring regions, Deheu, Deheubarth, Deheu-dir, or Deheu-fod, the land on the right, or on the right hand. The East and West are called y Ddwyrain, and y Gorlewin; two of the most beautiful and poetical words which any language can boast of. The first may be translated the active or lively, and joyous arising, and reminds us of that sublime passage in the Psalms of David, in which it is said the sun 'cometh as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course,' and the latter word means, a resting place on high; both these expressions are now nearly obsolete, and the points are in South Wales generally described by the English names, even by those who speak the Welsh language. But to return to Dyfed (in which province we apprehend Breconshire was included, notwithstanding the general opinion is to the contrary)[2] Giraldus Cambrensis[3] makes the province so called, to comprehend the whole of South Wales, while Sir John Price and Powel[4] confine it to Pem-

[1] Awg or og at the end of a word, also sometimes signifies the inhabitant of a place or country, as Ty, a house; Taeawg or Taeog, the inhabitant of a house, a peasant, &c. (*Hywel Dda's laws.*) In this it has an adjective quality, which cannot well be translated into English, or at least not without much circuity.

[2] A writer in the Cambrian Register (vol. 2. p. 8) agrees in placing Breconshire among the Dimetæ.

[3] Itin. passim. Cambriæ descriptio.

[4] Description of Wales, prefixed to Powel's history. Powel's hist. of Wales.

brokeshire alone; others have supposed that it 'consisted of Caerdiganshire only;' and Warrington[1] says, Monmouthshire and the whole of South Wales were in Demetia, excepting Radnorshire. Camden, upon the authority of Ptolomy, asserts, that the Dimetæ inhabited Caermarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire. But let us see what Ptolomy says, (we use a translation published at Frankfort, in 1605):

Iterum sub dictis populis (Trinoantes aut Trinobantes) sunt metæ aliter Dimetæ in quibus urbes
Loventium.
Maridunum.
His magis *orientales* Silyres sunt in quibus urbs
Bulleum.[2]

THE MISSING CITY OF LOVENTIUM.

"Here then we have one city with its '*muris coctilibus*' safe enough. The Muridunum or Maridunum of the ancients, has been universally admitted to be the modern Caermarthen; but ask where Loventinum or Loventium was,

'Twas here, 'twas there,
At Nova Zembla, or the Lord knows where.

"If it was situate, as Camden conjectures, where Llangorse pool or Brecknock mere now is, there is an end of the difficulty at once, and Brecknockshire is part of Dyfed from the evidence of the author whom he himself quotes.[3] One of Camden's annotators having heard of the discovery of some old ruins and bricks in Cardiganshire, has, from the *similarity of the sounds*, placed Lovantium as he calls it, at Llannio issa, in that county; this is something like Fluellin's Macedon and Monmouth, for there are certainly *ls* in both;[4] but if every Llan in Wales be a Loventium, we shall have cities enough to supply the continent of Europe. But let us hear Camden's own words, for he certainly forgets that he is in Demetia, when he talks upon the subject. According to *his* arrangement, speaking of Llynsavaddan or Llangorse mere, he says,[5] (and says truly), 'it hath been an antient tradition in this neighbourhood, that where the lake is now, there was formerly a city, which being swallowed up by an earthquake, resigned its place to the waters; and to confirm this, they alledge besides other arguments, that all the highways in this country tend to the lake; which, if true, what other city may we suppose on the river Lleweny,[6] but Loventium, *placed by Ptolomy in this tract*, which, though I have diligently searched for, yet there appears no where any remains of the name, ruins, or situation of it.' If therefore, Loventium was not here, it may be very safely asserted, that all vestiges of it elsewhere are totally effaced, and that all further attempts to ascertain its site can only end in idle conjecture and useless labour.

THE ANCIENT NAME OF BUILTH.

"Some of those who wish to support Camden's opinion, that Breconshire was part of Siluria, have said, that Builth in that county, was the antient Bulleum Silurum; but though Builth has a greater resemblance to Bulleum, than Llannio issa to Loventium, it is the adjacent country or *hundred* of Builth only which has been called Buallt, or Gwlad Fuallt, the land of Boscage. The town which is not of the highest antiquity, has always gone by the name of Llanfair or Llanvair ymhuallt, Saint Mary's in Builth; and at this day, any one who says in the Welsh language, *Yr ydwyfi'n byw ymhuallt*, (I live in Builth,) is understood to mean that he lives in the country, and not in the town of Builth. Upon the authority therefore of Camden alone, supported or rather unsupported as he is, if not contradicted by the historian whom he quotes, rests the present general belief that the *inhabitants* of Breconshire were Silures, and that the country was not part of the province of Dyfed; for we lay no great stress (as far as it regards this question) upon a dispute at a very early period, between a bishop of Llandaff and a bishop of Saint David's about the lands of Ystradyw and Ewyas; as it frequently happened formerly, as at present, that a diocese had possessions in two provinces. But if the conjecture as to Llangorse pool's being the site of Loventium be correct, or if Giraldus Cambrensis

[1] Warrington's hist. of Wales, vol. i. 8 vo. edit. p. 227.

[2] This is a strange description, "much to the West of these (the Trinoantes or Trinobantes) are the Metæ or Dimetæ, among whom are situated the cities of Loventium and Maridunum, &c." To the westward of the Trinoantes or Trinobantes (the inhabitants of Middlesex and Essex) were the Cuteuchlani, or inhabitants of Buckinghamshire; then proceeding westward, the Attrebates, or inhabitants of Berkshire; then the Dobuni, or men of Gloucestershire; then the Silures, or men of Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire, and Herefordshire; and lastly, westward of all these were the Dimetæ; so that this is pretty much to the same effect as if a geographer describing modern Europe, said "To the westward of Little Tartary is France, on the east of which is Switzerland."

[3] Note in Camden's Britannia, or Cardiganshire.

[4] Since the above was written, we have been informed that there are evidently the remains of the works of the Romans at Llanmo; we are by no means inclined to deny that that people had a station, and perhaps a very considerable one in this place, but we are not prepared to admit the inference, that it *must* be the site of Loventium.

[5] Camden's Brecknockshire.

[6] Llevenni, is pronounced Llynvy. Surely there is more of Loventium in the name of this river than in Llannio issa.

be accurate, though he proves rather too much, Camden must be wrong; and as the mistake of so respectable an author, first raised and has since continued this error, so that it is now become inveterate, and perhaps after all, incorrigible, we trust it will not be necessary to apologize, if this subject should require some further discussion, as well as consideration.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN DYFED.

"Among the laws of Hywel Dda (an authority infinitely superior to Ptolomy or Camden upon this subject) we have an account of the religious houses in *Dyfed*, belonging to the see of St. David's, among which, are Llandegemman and Llangeneu; but as the book is rather scarce, though to be had in most public libraries, we shall quote the words:

Am saith ysgopty Dyfed.[1]

Saith ysgopty sydd *yn* Nyfed, un yw Mynyw yn eisteddfa arbennig, a Mynyw yw'r penna ynghymru; ail yw eglwys Ismael; trydydd yw Llandegemman; pedwerydd yw Llanussyllt; pymmed Llandeilaw; chweched Llandyfodog; saithfed yw Llangenau. Llangenau a Llanussyllt rhydd ynt o ebediwau, canys nid oes tyr eglwys iddynt.

Concerning the seven religious houses of Demetia.

There are seven religious houses *in* Dyfed, one is at Menevia, the cathedral, and this is the first in all Wales; another is Saint Ismael; the third is Llandegemman; the fourth is Llanussyllt; the fifth Llandeilaw; the sixth Llandetlydog; and the seventh, Llangenau. Llangenau and Llanussyllt are exempt from mortuaries, as they have no church lands belonging to them.

"Llandegemman is the name of a farm in Saint Michael Cwmdu, in the hundred of Crickhowell, formerly Ystradyw; and though there is now no appearance of a religious house or monastery there, this may be easily accounted for, when we hear that the revenues attached to it were so small as not to be sufficient for its repairs. Llangenau now spelt Llangeney, is a parish in the same hundred, near the eastern boundary of this county, and adjoining to Monmouthshire; no other place called Llandegemman is known in South Wales, and it is certain that there is no other parish called Llangenau, either in Demetia or Siluria. Add to this, that the dialect of Breconshire and Carmarthenshire is nearly similar, while that of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire is very different from that of the two first counties.

"From the quotation just made by Hywel Dda, as well as from his conduct towards Morgan hên, or the old, who was king or prince of Glamorgan at the same time that Hywel governed Dyfed as well as Gwynedd, it seems clear that the latter potentate considered Ystradyw as part of his dominions; and he and his successors always possessed it, until it was taken from them by the Norman invaders on the conquest of Brecon, and though his evidence cannot be said to be perfectly disinterested, he must be allowed to have had more and better information upon the subject than we can now possess. We find him publicly asserting his right in his book of laws, compiled by the wisest men of his day, *among whom was the archdeacon of Llandaff*, and we know he enjoyed the whole of Breconshire as part of Dyfed, without interruption, unless the entry in the *Liber Landavensis* is entitled to implicit credit; but before that is admitted, it must be examined and considered, and we shall then perhaps discover that it is impossible it can be correct. Cradoc of Llancarvan, though a Glamorganshire man and a monk, certainly paid no attention to it, although he, as well as his translator Powel, must have seen it; the public, however, shall hear the story, and those who feel themselves interested in the question, may decide upon it.

CANTREDS IN THE LORDSHIP AND BISHOPRIC OF MORGANWG.

"[2]Be it known to all the people of Britain, that there are seven cantreds (or hundreds) in the lordship and bishopric of Morganwg; the first is Cantreff Bychan; the second, Gower and Cydweli; the third, Gorwent; the fourth, Cantreff Penuchen; the fifth, Gwentllwg and Edeligion; the sixth, Gwent is coed; and the seventh, Gwent uch coed. Ystradyw and Ewyas are called the two sleeves of Gwent uwch coed. When Edgar was king in England, and Hywel Dda, the son of Cadell, was prince of South Wales, which was one of the three kingdoms into which that country was divided, Morgan hên reigned in peace over all Morganwg, until Hywel Dda endeavoured to deprive him of Ystradyw and Ewyas.

"When Edgar heard this, he sent to Hywel Dda and Morgan hên, and Owen his son, and desired them to come to his court at London, and he heard the story, and the dispute which was between them; whereupon it was determined by the lawful judgment of his court, that Hywel Dda had wrongfully dispossessed Morgan hên and Owen his son, and therefore it was adjudged that Hywel Dda should give up Ystradyw and Ewyas for ever. Afterwards king Edgar *granted and gave* to Owen the son of Morgan hên, Ystradyw and Ewyas, within the *bishopric* of Llandaff; and confirmed them to him and his heirs by instruments in writing, attested by all the archbishops, bishops, earls and barons of England and Wales; a curse was denounced upon any one who should attempt to deprive

[1] Lib. 2. cap. 9. published by Wooton, London, 1730.

[2] Myfyrnan Archæology, vol. 2. p. 612. London, 1801.

the *parish* of Teilaw of these lands, and a blessing invoked on all those who should thereafter contribute to preserve them to the lawful owner. Thus did Edgar, and the record of the proceedings is kept in the chapter house of Llandaff.[1]

"Not a tittle do we hear of this *now* famous award, made in the presence of all the archbishops, bishops, earls and barons of England and Wales, in the English, any more than in the Welsh histories, and unluckily for the credit of the Cwtta Cyfarwydd, there is a small anachronism, which will perhaps consign it to 'the family vault of all the Capulets.' Hywel Dda died A.D. 958, and Edgar did not begin his reign until 959, so that the truth probably was, that an old dispute between the bishops of Llandaff and Saint David's was revived some time in the tenth century, and the monk who related it, not satisfied with asserting the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the see of Llandaff over Ystradyw and Ewyas, called in the help of Edgar, and proceeded to maintain the temporal power of his prince, in order to secure more effectually his support when it should be wanted.

"We will only add a few words more and then proceed to take a hasty tour round the county of Brecon, and mark its boundary, as it is now known. A Latin MS. in the Cottonian library. (Domitian A. i. Fo. 13. 157.) is styled Cognacio Brychan unde Brechenawe dicta est, *Pars Demetiæ*. This writing, which appears from the spelling, as well as some other circumstances, to be as old as the reign of Hywel Dda, if not older, is an additional proof that we have been wrongfully classed among the Silures, and that anciently we were considered to be in the same province with Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire; and to which, with Baxter, we think Radnorshire, or at least the greatest part of it, ought to be added."

BOUNDARIES IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

Brecknock is bounded on the East by Monmouth and Hereford; on the North-East and North by Radnor; on the North-West by Cardigan; on the West by Carmarthen: on the south by Glamorgan and Monmouth. Since the beginning of the 19th century an ever-improving series of Ordnance maps have been published, on which are carefully laid down the boundaries of counties. It is therefore scarcely necessary now to follow Theophilus Jones in his beautiful walk over mountains and by rivers to trace the present boundaries of the county. Yet it should be noted that certain alterations have taken place. At the date of his writing, the hamlet of Glasbury, south of Wye, was in the county of Radnor; it has since been placed in Brecknockshire, and was in 1884 by an Order in Council amalgamated with Tregoyd and Velindre. Therefore the centre of the Wye is now the north-east boundary of Brecknock from Hay to its junction with the river Elan. Note also in passing that the Parish of Llandefalle reaches Wye at Tre-ricket between Llyswen and Crickadarn: it is omitted from the list by Jones. The Elan, from the point where it joins the Wye to that where the Clairwen joins, afterwards the Clairwen, until its junction with the Brwyno, "the rushy brook," and from that spot the Brwyno form the northern boundary of Brecknock. On these brooks there have been constructed lakes to supply Birmingham with fresh water; the boundary therefore will be in future years an imaginary line, drawn across the sea of waters, representing the original course of the boundary brooks. On the southern boundary, while the geographical and Parliamentary county is still as described by Jones, an administrative county has been formed of slightly differing area. After the passing of the Public Health Act of 1874, the southern portions of the parishes of Llangynidr and Llangattock were constituted part of the Local Board Districts of Rhymney, Tredegar, and Ebbw Vale. By the Local Government Act of 1888, the whole of an Urban District is placed within that county where the majority of its inhabitants reside; these portions of the two parishes, therefore, passed into the administrative county of Monmouth, the boundary being marked with stones across the mountain. Similarly a small portion of the parish of Aberystruth, formerly in the county of Monmouth, was placed in the Urban District of Brynmawr; it passed into the administrative county of Brecknock under the Act of 1888. These places have since, under the subsequent legislation of 1894, been elevated into separate parishes under the names of Llechrhyd, Dukes Town, and Rassa, formerly in the parish of Llangynidr, and Beaufort, formerly in the parish of Llangattock, all of which now form part of Urban Districts within the administrative county of Monmouth, and Aberystruth, Brynmawr-Urban, formerly in the county of Monmouth but now included within the administrative county of Brecknock.

1 This is a translation of a copy of the *Liber Landavensis*; This document is called Cwtta Cyfarwydd Forganwg, a brief statement of the rights of Morganwg. Edgar gave the lands in dispute to the *bishoprick* of Llandaff; the word in the British, is the *parish* of Llandaff. In the early ages of Christianity, what we now call the cathedral, was the only church in the diocese. *Kennet's case of impropriations.* After all it is extremely uncertain how far this claim of the princes of Gwent extended. Ystradyw is now supposed to comprise the hundred of Crickhowell only; but the word imports the vale of Usk, or the vale of water. This squabble may therefore have related only to the lands about Abergavenny, where the reguli of Breconshire having unjustifiably pushed their boundaries too far Eastward, prevented the communication of the Gwentians with Ewyas and Erging, in Herefordshire.

BOUNDARIES IN THEO. JONES' TIME.

And now let us give the ancient Boundaries as described by Theophilus Jones. He says:—"Breconshire is bounded on the East by Monmouthshire and Herefordshire; on the North, by Radnorshire; on the North West, by Cardiganshire, on the West by Carmarthenshire and on the South by Glamorganshire and part of Monmouthshire. To describe its boundary, I begin Eastward, where a small brook called Baiden falls into the Usk on the South side of the river; follow the same downwards in the middle of the river, until the conflux of another brook on the North, called Gwenffrwd: up this rivulet, proceeding North or North East, having Llanwenarth in Monmouthshire on the right, and Llangenny in Breconshire on the left. Cross the turnpike road from Abergavenny to Brecon, where there is a shire stone placed between Sunny Bank and a farm house, called from its situation, Cydiad y ddwy shire, or the boundary of the two counties, up to the source of the Gwenffrwd, on the North side of the Sugar Loaf hill. From thence, crossing the mountain in a direction rather more to the East, but leaving the high summit to the right, we come to a brook called Cwmbweh or Nant y ffin; pursue the course of this brook downwards to its fall into the Grwyne fawr; up the middle of that river, Llanbedr in Breconshire, on the left, and Llanwenarth and afterwards Llandilo-Pertholeu, in Monmouthshire, on the right, until we come to a bridge leading from Llanvihangel Cileornel to Crickhowell, called the Coal-pit road: proceeding still Northward up along Grwyne fawr; Partrishaw, Breconshire, on the left, Llandilo-Pertholeu, Monmouthshire, on the right, we come to a small brook, called Nantddu, which falls on the Monmouthshire side into the Grwyne, near a blacksmith's shop, where the insulated hamlet of Ffwddog, in Cwmyoy,[1] Herefordshire, is on the right. Here recross the Grwyne to half the river; proceed upwards in the same direction Northwards to a bridge, called Pont-yseub, (correctly Pont-Eseob), or the bishop's bridge, upon the road leading from Patrishaw to Cwmyoy: Patrishaw, on the left, Cwmyoy, Herefordshire, on the right. Still along the Grwyne upwards when a brook called Nant y ffin falls in on the West, which brook divides Patrishaw from the hamlet of Grwyne fawr in Talgarth, and the hundred of Crickhowell from the hundred of Talgarth in Breconshire. After which, Sychnant, Brwynant, Cwmddoinant, and Cwmnant y bedd brooks fall in upon the Western or Breconshire side: cross Grwyne fawr where Cwmnant Trethin falls in on the East; proceed up this brook in a direction Eastward, having Talgarth, Breconshire, on the North, and Cwmyoy, Monmouthshire, on the South: pass over a hill called the Van, turning towards the North to a river called Honddu, where we have Cwmyoy, Monmouthshire, again on the right: along the Honddu to Cappel y ffin, from thence to a cottage near the confluence of two brooks; one rising on the Western or Breconshire side, and the other on the Eastern: follow the latter up to the Hatterell hills, to a spot where a third prill rises, which falls into the Olchon, in the parish of Clodock, until the source of this third prill, where, however, there is no boundary, mere stone, or mark; Cwmyoy in Monmouthshire, afterwards Clodock, Herefordshire, on the right, and Llanigon, Breconshire, on the left: proceed from this spot Northward, along the brow or summit of the hill on the Herefordshire side, to a place called Rhyw'r Daran, where there is a mere stone called Carreg Lwyd, being the boundary between Llanigon and Hay, Breconshire, on the right, the latter of which parishes continues along the boundary on that side, 'till the Dulas empties itself into the Wye; excepting only a mill, and two meadows, insulated within the Hay parish, called Llangwaithan mill and meadows, but which are part of Llanigon.

"From Carreg Lwyd we proceed down the hill in a North Easterly direction to a cottage, called Syke's cottage, where another prill rises and divides Clodock and Cusop parishes in Herefordshire; the latter of which follows the boundary on the Herefordshire side to the Wye. Along the prill above mentioned, called Creigieu brook, we come to its fall into the Dulas; the boundary to its conflux into the Wye, near Hay: here turn, and proceed Westward up the middle of the latter river, which is the boundary between Radnorshire on the North and Breconshire on the South, for three or four miles: Clyrow and Llowes parishes on the right, upon the left Hay: about a few hundred yards above or South Westward of Llowes church, Radnorshire, cross the Wye and the turnpike road leading from Brecon to Hay, between two farms, called Fford fawr and Llwyne bach, but nearer to the latter: from thence we proceed about half a mile from the river Wye, in a Southerly direction: then turn, and proceed for the like distance from East to West; turn almost angularly from South to North, proceed in that direction by Glazbury churchyard, leaving this church a few yards, and that part of the parish which is in Radnorshire all the way to the left. Recross the turnpike road to Brecon, and through the great meadows, called the Stonces, into the middle of the river Wye, which now becomes the boundary between Breconshire and Radnorshire, until the conflux or fall of the Elan, about two miles below Rhayader.

[1] All the maps of Herefordshire and Monmouthshire, hitherto published, have erroneously placed the Ffwddog, as surrounded by Breconshire, instead of Monmouthshire.

"From the place where the boundary line returns to the Wye, near Glazbury, we have the hamlet of Pipton, then the parishes of Llyswen, Crickadarn, Gwenddwr (on the Western boundary or confines of which last parish, we quit the hundred of Talgarth, and enter the hundred of Builth), Alltmawr, Llandewi'r cwm, Llanfair in Builth, Llanfihangel-bryn-pabuan, Llysdinam, and Llanwrthwl, in Breconshire, on the left or South, and on the other, or Northern side, Glazbury, Boughrwd, Llandilo-graban, Aberedw, Llanfareth, Llanelwedd, Disserth, Llanyre, and Llanfihangel-helygen, in Radnorshire.

"From the fall of the Elan into the Wye, we quit the latter river and proceed up the middle of the former, in a direction nearly from East to West, 'till it receives the Claerwen: up this river turning a little towards the South, 'till the Brwyno falls in, running nearly from North to South. Follow this river to its source, near which it receives a supply from the lake of Llyngynnon, in Cardiganshire: Llanddewi brevi, in that county, all this while on the right, and Llandewi abergwessin, in Breconshire, on the left. From the source of the Brwyno, proceed from North West to South East, for about three miles along a wet bog (where the boundary line is not precisely ascertained) to the Tawe, not far from its source, follow this river down 'till it runs opposite to and near Ystrad y ffin. From the Tawe, near Ystrad y ffin, we come to the top of Hirgwm; here he have Llanfair ar y brin, Caermarthenshire, on the right, and Llanwrtyd, Breconshire, on the left. Down Hirgwm proceeding South East, to a common called Llwydlo fach, in the same direction to Cwmcrychan; thence to the source of the river Gwenol, which follow to its fall into the Gwydderig. Up this river, turning from West to South East, until we come opposite to a brook running into it, on the Southern side, about four miles and a half from Trecastle, in Breconshire, called Nant y meirch; which trace upward from North to South West. Turn near a white stone to the Westward, leaving this stone in Caermarthenshire; cross the old turnpike road over Trecastle mountain to Llandovery, to Cors Pendaulwyn; then to a brook, called Henwen; down the same in a course nearly from West to East, 'till it falls into the Usk. Up the Usk turning from North to South East, to its source between the two Vans or Bannau; thence South South East to the river Twrch, which follow in nearly the same direction 'till it empties itself into the Tawe.

"From Llwydlo fach to Gwydderrig, we have Tyr yr abad, or Llandulas, in the hundred of Builth, and afterwards Llandilo'r tân, in the hundred of Merthyr in Breconshire, on the left, and Llanfair ar y bryn, Caermarthenshire, on the right. From the fall of Nant y meirch into the Gwydderig, we have the parish of Llywel in the hundred of Devynnock, in Breconshire, on the left, and Myddfe and Llanddoisant parishes, in Caermarthenshire, on the right, and from the spot where we reach the Tawe downwards to its fall, the parish of Llanguke or Llanguik, Glamorganshire, adjoins on the right, and Ystradgynlais, Breconshire, on the left. Upon coming to the Tawe, we proceed upward along the middle of the river from West to East, to Abercynlais: then cross a common called Cefn y bryn, Southwards to Nant y quarrel; then to Bryn y rhedin, near Goitre Genfford y Drain, and so to a brook called Nant y Pebyll Bedw: thence to the river Pulas, along which to Corslwyn du; from thence to the river Pyrddin, which follow in a direction from West to East to its fall into the Neath, which unites itself with the Mellte at Pontneathfechan. From the fall of the Twrch into the Tawe, to the meeting of the streams of the Neath, and the Mellte, we have Llanguke and Cadoxtone parishes, Glamorganshire, on the right, and Ystradvellte, Breconshire, on the left. From Pontneathvechan a few yards below the bridge, we proceed up the Mellte, having the hamlet of Rhygoes, in the parish of Ystradyvodog, Glamorganshire, on the right, and Ystradvellte, on the left, until we come to Dinas rock, in Penderin, in Breconshire; here we cross the Mellte, and proceed from North to South up a brook, called Sychryd: then cross the Cynon river, a little above Hirwain furnace; Penderin, on the left, and Aberdare parish, in Glamorganshire, on the right; down the Cynog, 'till a brook called Nant hir falls into it on the North or North Eastern side; which trace upwards, proceeding from South West to North East, 'till we come to another brook, called Pistill Nant y derin: then to a brook, called Nant y ffrwd, which follow to its fall in the Taaf fawr, a little above Coed y cymer. Follow the Taaf downwards, 'till it receives Taaf fechan on the North: here cross the former river where we have Vainor, in the hundred of Penkelley, in Breconshire, on the left, and on the right, Merthyr Tidvil, Glamorganshire. At the fall of the Taaf fechan, or lesser Taaf, turn from South to North, and proceed up this river to three stones in the river, called Yr hen steppau, about 300 yards below Pontsticill: here cross the river, and from thence we come in a direction from East to West to Bwlch issa, then to Castell y nos, then to Pwll morlais, thence to Pwll llwch mere, thence to Carn y clyn dwr, thence to Carn helig, and from thence to Rhyd y milwyr. From Taaf fechan, we have Llanddetty, Breconshire, on the left and Merthyr Tidvil, and Gellygare, Glamorganshire, on the right.

"At Rhyd y Milwyr, or the soldiers' ford, upon the brook called Nant y milwyr, the lordship and hundred of Penkelly, and of Tretower, in the hundred of Crickhowel, in Breconshire, and the

lordship of Sanghenydd, in Glamorganshire meet near the source of the Romney or Rhymny; which river follow downwards nearly from West to East, for 568 perches, where the counties of Brecon and Monmouth unite, at the fall of a brook called Nantmelin into the Rhymny; near this spot (in Breconshire) iron works have been lately erected: Nantmelin divides Llangynider, in Breconshire, from Bedwellte, in Monmouthshire: proceeding up this brook North East for 144 perches, we cross over it, and continue our course North Eastward for two hundred perches more; having the lordship of Coed meredith, on the right hand, until we come to the source of a brook, called Nant y bwch; down this brook, 'till it falls into the Sorwy or Sirhowy, where we have Llangunider, in Breconshire, on the left, and Bedwellte still on the right. From Sirhowy, proceed Eastward to the river Ebwy fawr, which cross by a cottage called John Goodluck's: here we have a very small spot of ground on the South or South Eastern side, in Breconshire. Then down the middle of the river Ebwy fawr to Blân Ebwy, where we have Beaufort iron works close upon the boundary line, on the left in Breconshire: from thence, follow the stream quite round the works; then proceed to Gwar y Cae coal works; then to the outside of Wain dew, where we have Aberystruth, Monmouthshire, on the right; and Llangattock, on the left: from thence to Carreg y ffin, to Carreg Wain y Bwlch, to Carreg croes blân y Llammarch, to Pound y Wain wen, to Carreg cefn carn yr erw, to Blân Dâr fawr, to Carreg Maên y Tarw, to Carreg clawdd y mwyn, to Carreg Pen Garn lwyd, to Carreg Pen rchyw winau, to a mountain ash, to Bedd y gwr hir, to Pwll Carreg and from thence down the brook Baiden to its fall into the Usk, where this tour commenced; having Llanelly, Breconshire, on the left, and Llanwenarth, Monmouthshire, on the right.[1]

"Within this circle, (for such it nearly is, except on the north Eastern and South Western boundary, which is elongated and protrudes about four or five miles at each point) are contained 800 square miles, or 512,000 acres of land; and 300 acres of water, besides the space occupied by rivers and brooks.[2] This county is a radius of thirty miles; in the center of which, as nearly as art or design could place it (though it may be doubted whether it is to be attributed to either), is situated the town of Brecknock; from whence the traveller, proceeding along either of the four main roads, intersecting the county, and leading to Monmouthshire, Carmarthenshire, Radnorshire or Herefordshire, finds himself on the confines of the county of Brecon at the end of fifteen miles, and the same thing may be said, as to the distance from Brecon towards Merthyr Tidvil, in Glamorganshire, on the South, although the present road has rather increased it, by taking a circuitous sweep to avoid the inequalities and other natural difficulties of the old one."

AREA AND POPULATION AS DESCRIBED IN 1891.

The area of the ancient county of Brecknock was 475,224 acres, that of the newly formed administrative county (certain Urban districts having under recent legislation passed into Monmouth) is 469,894 acres. The uninclosed land in the county is 115,106 acres, or nearly a quarter of the whole.

A return of the population of the county of Brecknock in 1673, "as appears from a return made by the Churchwardens to the Archbishop of Canterbury," gives the total at 13,311, of which Papists 156 and Dissenters 682. Several parishes were entirely omitted: these having been added give a total of 13,496. This return must, however, be discarded as absolutely incorrect. The religious statistics, if true, would be a curious contribution to Church history, for "Papists and Dissenters" would perhaps not have selected Churchwardens to give a favourable estimate of their numbers. From 1792 to 1801 the baptisms were transcribed by Theophilus Jones from the registers: in 1792 the number of persons born was 771; in 1801 it had sunk to 643. Assuming the number of births to be the same per thousand, as later experience has shown, this gives a population approaching 28,000—such an increase, from 13,311 in 28 years, is quite impossible. Amongst the country people an idea holds that the population in ancient days was larger than at the present time; there does not appear the slightest reason for such a supposition. The few ruins of cottages in agricultural parishes, which may have given rise to the idea, being easily accounted for by the desertion of old houses as new and better ones were built: in any case they are not sufficient to affect materially the general result.

[1] These are the boundaries of the county of Brecon in 1800; but there are strong reasons for supposing that in very early ages, and particularly in the time of Brychan Brycheiniog (who will soon be introduced to the reader), Garthmadryn, or the possessions over which this prince ruled, were of considerably greater extent to the Westward. At Duffryn Cydrych, in the parish of Llanddoisant, in Carmarthenshire, were formerly considerable ruins and excavations, called Llys Brychan, or the court of Brychan, where this regulus probably resided occasionally: and if so, we conceive his territory comprehended the whole of the country on the East side of the Towy, as far down as Llandilo fawr, from whence the boundary line crossed Southward to Llandebie, and followed the Loughor to its fall into the sea. This will account for the claim and possession of Gower, by the descendants of Bernard Newmarch, who supposed they had a right to all the lands of which they had robbed Bleddin ap Maenarch.

[2] Clarke's General View of the Agriculture of the county of Brecon; published by the Board of Agriculture in 1794. 831 square miles, or 467 according to Smith's maps. See Gent. Mag. for July, 1804.

In country parishes, purely agricultural, the accurate decennial census from 1801 to 1891 show that the population has decreased, or at best remained stationary. The people have shared the tendency observed throughout England and Wales to leave the country and flock into the towns. The corollary of this proposition is that towns have steadily increased their number. Brecon, with a population in 1801 of 2,700, has in 1891 over 6,000 inhabitants. Builth from 347 has increased to 1,414, to which must be added nearly 200 due to the building of Oaklands, a small suburb in the parish of Llandewi ewm. Hay has grown from a population of 1,170 to 2,154. Talgarth and Devynock have increased, though to lesser amount; Llanwrtyd has felt the value of a railway, and has sprung from 457 to 847. Crickhowell, the only town still without railway communication, but within the influence of the iron district, increased from 566 in the year 1801 to 1,561 in 1861, receding since that to 1,246 in 1891 in sympathy with depression in the neighbouring mineral industry. Lastly Brynmawr, now the most populous town in the county, came into existence in answer to the demand for labour at the works at Nantyglo. Since the cessation of manufacture at Nantyglo, Brynmawr has been saved from extinction by the railways, which enable the inhabitants to seek their living at Ebbw Vale and other centres of industry. This town is still an increasing place.

The most remarkable increase has been in parishes formerly agricultural, since worked for coal or iron. Llanelly in 1673 is credited with 86 persons; in 1800 it had increased to 937; in 1861 to 9,600; and even now, after the failure of the Clydach works, there is still a population of nearly 7,000 persons. Llangattock increased from 1,000 in the year 1801 to over 5,700 in 1861, since which time it has somewhat fallen back. Llangynidr has had a continuous increase from 775 in 1801 to 3,625 in 1881; Penderyn has grown from 1,000 to 2,800; and the lower part of Ystradgunlais from 709 to 3,600. The general effect on the county has been as follows: In 1801 the population was 32,325. The making of the railways of England between 1840 and 1860 made also the fortune of Brecknock. The population nearly doubled in 50 years, the culminating point being reached in 1861 when Brecknock showed a population of 61,627; since that time it has again dropped to 57,031.

The whole of the above remarks apply to the ancient, geographical, and parliamentary county. When in 1888 the Local Government Act formed "administrative counties," an urban district partly in one county and partly in another was placed in the county where a majority of its population resided. The Urban Districts of Brynmawr with part of Aberystruth; of Beaufort, Rassa, and Llechryd, had become portions of Urban Districts: Brynmawr being within the county of Brecon for Parliamentary and administrative purposes; and Aberystruth in Brecon for administrative and Monmouth for Parliamentary purposes. While the other places mentioned, Beaufort, Rassa, Dukestown, and Llechryd are in Monmouth for administration; in Brecknock for Parliamentary representation; in Monmouth for sanitation; in Brecknock for Poor Law; in Brecknock for Elementary and in Monmouth for Secondary Education—a complicated arrangement which can scarcely continue. Out of modern legislation has thus come the Administrative County of Brecknockshire, with a population in 1891 of 51,393, which will probably be the initial figure with which future calculations will be compared.

POPULATION AND AREA IN 1800.

And here let us add Theophilus Jones' remarks on this subject. He says:—"The population of this county, from the returns made to Parliament in 1802, may be estimated at 32,300. From these documents, it appears that the inhabitants then consisted of 31,633; but the regular and supplementary militia, amounting to 500 men, being then out of the county, and those in the army and navy not being included, they may be fairly said to exceed 32,000. This population has varied of course here, as it has in all other counties, at different periods. At the beginning of the 17th century, when there was a considerable manufacture in woollen cloths in Brecon, and the neighbourhood, there are reasons to believe, that the inhabitants were much more numerous than after the restoration. In 1673, returns were made, in obedience to a commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury, by which we find that the population of Breconshire then amounted to about 14,000. Since that time, we see they have increased to more than double the number. Both the tables (that formed from the returns in 1673, and that from those of 1802), may be confided in and are as nearly correct as the course of human affairs will permit: for it is impossible to be precisely accurate on this subject. But the calculations from the parish registers, which was the mode resorted to, prior to the passing of the act of 41 George 3d, directing those returns to be made, were extremely fallacious. I have taken the trouble of minuting down the aggregate number of births and burials, from the transcripts of the registers of this county returned into my office for the last 100 years; little information is to be derived from them in this respect. It should seem that the population in this county was decreasing in the years 1800 and 1801. Those years were certainly sickly, the seasons unhealthy, and the bread then eaten extremely bad, which, of course, occasioned disorders, and an extraordinary mortality: but I doubt very much whether it can be safely inferred from thence, that the number of births

during those periods was not equal to many of the preceding years. The increase in the sect of anabaptists accounts in some measure for the deficiency apparent in the registers, and there are many other causes to which it may be attributed too tedious to be here discussed, though they may form a subject of inquiry hereafter."

THE RIVERS OF THE COUNTY.

The principal rivers of Brecknock are the Usk and the Wye. These alone will be described in this chapter, leaving their tributaries and the smaller streams, Towe, Hepste, Mellte, Taff, and others until their several localities are reached. The Usk rises among the mountains on the Western border of the county, and, after flowing northwards for three miles, bends sharply to the East past Brecon and Crickhowell, a course of 34 miles through the centre of the county, and so on through the county of Monmouth until it reaches the Severn Estuary at Newport. Immediately above Brecon, it feeds the Brecon and Newport Canal. The Usk is justly celebrated for its fishing, both of trout and salmon. Eels, too, give excellent sport to the rising generation; who pursue them diligently with a steel fork as spear in low water, and in flood time in summer with a clot of worms. By this latter method a hundred or more may be caught in an afternoon. These generally run small, eight or ten to the pound, though a monster of a pound and a half in weight has been occasionally jerked to grass. By more ambitious methods eels of three and four pounds weight have been captured. The small river lamperns and the larger lamprey are sometimes taken. Sewin are not often found. The trout of the Usk are numerous and when in prime condition most excellent eating; they are smaller than in some English rivers. A basket where the fish are like brothers, each of the family weighing half a pound, forty in number, weighing in all twenty pounds, will send the angler home tired but happy. The largest trout taken in Glanusk waters weighed 3lb. 12oz. The season commences on February 15th and ends October 2nd. The best months are March and April.

THE USK AS A SALMON RIVER.

As a salmon river, owing to its short length, the small number of nets at its mouth, the entire absence of inland nets, the removal of every obstruction, and an excellent system of preservation, the Usk has been greatly improved. A weir at Trostre at one time prevented the fish ascending; it was first taken by some patriotic gentleman, and finally bought by public subscription and destroyed. The Usk is largely dependent upon floods: a wet year will be a good fishing season, a dry year a bad one. Thus in 1891 the rods captured 4,931 salmon weighing an average of about 10lbs. each fish; in 1898 only 518 were taken, their average weight 12lbs. Over series of years the average weight is 10lbs. Mr Robert Crawshay, some years back, landed one of 44lbs. weight, and fish of 20lbs. to 30lbs. are not very uncommon. In 1891, the take of salmon by rods in Buckland water was 650 fish, Mr Alfred Crawshay taking with his one rod three hundred and twenty-four fish, weighing 3,513lbs.; in spite of a month's absence in Scotland from September 25th till October 26th. This is perhaps as good sport as has been recorded in the waters of Britain.

The Wye rises in Plinlimmon and flowing past Rhayader, becomes, after its junction with the Elan, the north east boundary of the county, dividing Brecknock from Radnor. As it flows by Brecknock its waters are augmented from the north by the Ithon, the Eddw, and other smaller streams. On the Brecknock side it receives, a mile and a half below Rhayader, the Elan; which with its tributary, the Clairwen, have been formed into great lakes to supply Birmingham with water. The next important tributary, the Yrvon, enters Wye half a mile or so above Builth. The Yrvon itself receives from the north several not inconsiderable brooks, the Gwessin, the Cerdin, the Camddwr, the Cammards, the Dulas, and the Chwefru, while from the south shorter streams reach it from the almost precipitous slopes of the Eppynt hills.

It was in contemplation in 1898 to form in the vale of Yrvon a lake 9 miles in length to supply the metropolis with water. After its reception of the Yrvon, the Wye flows past the town of Builth, a mile eastward of which it is joined by the Dihonow, whose head waters furnish by gravitation the water supply of Builth. Several smaller streams are passed before we arrive at the Llynfi, a stream flowing through Llangorse Lake, by means of which in the future the waters of the Usk may also find their way to London. At Hay a brook named Dulas enters Wye, which from that point leaves our county, flowing through the counties of Hereford and Monmouth till it reaches the Severn Estuary at Chepstow. The county of Brecknock is thus the most important water collecting area in Britain, supplying not only local requirements, but the vast city of Birmingham, and probably in the future the still vaster and ever increasing population of London.

THE FISH OF THE WYE.

In the Wye are found salmon, trout, pike, and other fish. For the pleasure of salmon fishing, sportsmen from a distance fill the hotels and rents the houses near the river, for their own enjoyment

and to the benefit of local trade. Since 1861 the Legislature has passed several enactments for the improvement of the Salmon Fisheries. A Board of Conservators has been formed, to whose care the interests of the river as a whole have been confided. Water bailiffs patrol the banks to protect the spent fish returning to the sea; the capture of many young salmon, known as "pink," and by other names, has been forbidden. Certain modes of fishing, the spear, the gaff, and still more fatal lime, have been made illegal; the minimum mesh of nets has been fixed by law, and on annual close time established to ensure peace for the breeding fish; while a weekly close time, during which the nets may not fish, gives a chance for a certain amount of salmon to attain in safely the upper reaches of the river.

The life history of a Wye salmon may be thus described. In the autumn the salmon travel up the Wye and Usk for breeding purposes. Net fishery closes with the end of August; after which, even if the law permitted, few salmon are in condition fit for sale. The hen fish grows dark in colour, and it is full of spawn; the cock fish gradually becomes as hideous as can well be imagined—his colour a dirty red, blotched with orange and purple spots, and his head being large and body thin. The bulk of the fish deposit their spawn about Christmas, after which they return, as best they can, to the sea. In a very exhausted state they may be seen under bush or other sheltered place, while many die of disease or combat; at this time, if unprotected by law, the "spent" fish would fall an easy prey to spear or gaff. They gradually reach their great sanatorium the sea, hanging about the lower reaches of the rivers till the late spring. The eggs remain hidden in the gravel bed of the river for about 140 days; those that escape the ravages of water insects hatch out in May. On hatching they resemble tadpoles with a bag of nutriment attached, on which they subsist for two or three weeks, when they assume the form of fishes, and are known as "fry," or "salmon pink." The received opinion is that the salmon remains a full year in this stage, wearing a coat with finger marks on it, whence some have called him a "fingerling." He now, in the second April, assumes the silvery scales of the adult fish, wearing his new apparel over his old jacket; he is now called a "smolt," and with the first flood starts on his journey to the sea. In the salt water it is believed that the smolt grows very rapidly, entering the sea with a weight of five or six ounces and returning to his native river, in three months time, a "grilse," locally called a "botcher," of from 4lbs. to 7lbs. in weight. What natural instinct it is which induces the salmon to run up the rivers in spring and summer is unknown; some think they are prompted by desire to escape from marine enemies or parasitic insects.

Some few salmon run up the Wye in February, and in March there enter the river those which are locally known as "March gillins," a nice looking plump fish of from 8lbs. to 12lbs. in weight, but these are not in any quantities. In the Wye Estuary the salmon do not start to run in any numbers until the end of April; when fresh from the sea these are bright looking fish with a fair amount of large ones amongst them. If the river is in fair condition all these fish are constantly on the move towards the Upper Wye and its tributaries; if the water is unsuitable, they may be seen lying, moping about the pools in the middle parts of the river, quickly becoming discoloured and slimy. The grilse run in June; they are lively fish, and being smaller than the full grown salmon can ascend into the smaller streams where there would be no shelter for the larger fish. The largest fish recorded as taken in the Wye was captured by Messrs Miller in June, 1895, a male in prime condition, measuring 55 inches in length, with a girth of 28 inches; it weighed 63lbs. In 1898, the largest turned the scale at 51lbs.

THEOPHILUS JONES' DESCRIPTION OF THE RIVERS.

On the subject of the rivers and their fish, Theophilus Jones says:—"The principal rivers in this county are the Wye, the Usk, the Irvon and the Tawe. The Taaf also rises in this county, but it does not become considerable 'till it receives the lesser Taaf, and enters Glamorganshire. The Wye, with a trifling exception at Glazbury (as has been seen), washes the Northern boundary of this county, and divides it from Radnorshire for thirty-three or thirty-four miles in length, when it enters Herefordshire, near Hay, and afterwards falls into the Severn below Chepstow. In this river are found salmon, trout, graylings, pike, perch, last-springs samlet, or salmon pink, chub, dace, loach, gudgeons, eels, lampreys, roaches, bullheads, minnows, shad cray fish, and muscles. The salmon and the pike of this river are remarkably good. The trout are not in equal estimation amongst epicures: the flesh is white, and they have neither the firmness, colour, or flavour of those of the Usk. It is remarkable that the cray fish or fresh water lobster is found in many brooks running into the Wye; but seldom, if ever, in those which fall into the Usk or Irvon. Many unsuccessful attempts have been made to remove them into the rivers of Caermarthenshire and Glamorganshire and even into some brooks communicating with the Irvon, *which empties itself into the Wye*; but when thus conveyed, they soon disappear. They are not found dead, nor is the shell ever seen; they, consequently, either emigrate, or are destroyed and totally devoured by the indigenous inhabitants of the stream, to which they are

thus unnaturally introduced and who perhaps dislike the company of these intruders. The sewin, (a fish in high estimation in part of South Wales) is not found in any of the rivers of Breconshire, except the Tawe. And here another observation occurs, though perhaps it has seldom if ever been attended to. The sewin is not seen in any river running in this county from East to West, but in all those flowing in a contrary direction, as the Teivi, the Towey, in Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire, and the Neath, the Avon, the Ogmore and other rivers. I leave this circumstance to the natural philosopher to account for; the fact is, as I have stated.

"In the Usk, the same fish are caught as in the Wye, except the pike, the grayling, the perch, the gudgeon, the cray fish and the muscle: but this river is celebrated principally for its trout, which certainly is equal in flavour to any in the kingdom; it is in season from the beginning of March to the middle of July, and if not destroyed by poachers, who take them at every period in the year, and of all sizes, and particularly with a kind of net called a perch net, which is suspended upon a long pole, by means of horn rings and is used in the night, they would form a much more abundant, and of course a cheaper article of food, for a fourth of the year: but the pernicious and infamous practice of throwing unslaked lime into brooks, where it is known they resort to deposit their spawn, destroys them by myriads and does more mischief than can be well calculated at the same time that the fish thus killed are scarcely eatable.

FISH AND THEIR PRESERVATION.

"Geraldus Cambrensis, speaking of Breconshire, says,[1] *fluvialibus quoque Piscibus abundat quos hinc Osca inde Vaga ministrat: Salmonibus etiam et Trutis utraque,*[2] *sed plus illis Vaga plus istis Osca fecunda est.* In this, as in most other instances (when he has not a miracle in view) he is perfectly correct; how highly then are we indebted to Providence who has formed in our rivers these abundant store houses for our use! The benefits are obvious: but sufficient care is not taken to preserve and multiply the advantages which we might derive from so plenteous a source. We have seen and felt years of scarcity and are continually complaining of the high prices of provisions, at the same time that the ocean which surrounds our shores offers a never failing supply to our wants, and our rivers may considerably contribute to the same purpose; yet man, weak and erring man, either neglects to use or endeavours to intercept the bounties of his Creator and to prevent his fellow creatures from participating in the blessings he bestows upon them. Foreigners, either more necessitous or more attentive to their interest, are permitted to avail themselves of our indolence and to deprive us of those riches which industry might make our own, while our rivers are obstructed with weirs to prevent us from receiving a supply evidently intended for the general good of the inhabitants of those lands through which they flow, and this in order to produce or promote a monopoly.[3] The salmon are induced to ascend rivers for three purposes,[4] safety from the porpus and other marine adversaries, in search of food or to deposit their spawn; in the two first cases, the fish are in general active and healthy, and the flesh is, of course, firm and palatable, or (as it is called) in season. In this state, they frequently during floods in the spring and early part of the summer, travel to an amazing distance from the ocean in pursuit of their food, which is most abundant at this time of the year, consisting principally of the young of the trout and other fresh water fishes, as well as insects; if the salmon, however, are obstructed when they quit the sea from either of these first mentioned motives, a very small obstacle drives them back again, and they perhaps never return. I say return, because it is very well known that the same fish always frequent the same rivers, and even the young fry are partial to the stream which first conveyed them to the sea. This is one among many of the serious mischiefs occasioned by these weirs, independent of the opportunities they afford the proprietors of increasing the scarcity and raising the prices at their pleasure; but this is not the only mode which the selfishness of man has discovered to lessen the stores graciously sent him by the merciful Giver of all good things. The fish coming up to spawn are not deterred by ordinary difficulties, or prevented from their purposes by trifling impediments; it is indeed wonderful to relate or consider what obstacles they will surmount to accomplish the great end of nature, but when they have made their way against the swiftest currents and even successfully resisted the force of cataracts, they are still frequently unable to escape from man, their greatest and most indefatigable adversary. Upon their

[1] Itin. l. i. cap. 2.

[2] "And there is salmons in both," says Fluellin. Was Shakespeare thinking of Ger. Cambrensis's description of Breconshire, when he put this speech in the mouth of a character supposed to be of that county?

[3] We would not be understood here to quarrel with the rights of fishery in the possession of individuals which they are clearly and legally intitled to enjoy as freely and fully as any other species of property, but merely to submit it to the consideration of the legislature whether it would not be for the good of the community, that all weirs should be abolished, and a satisfaction made to the proprietors by the inhabitants of the parishes in the neighbourhood through which the rivers run, empowering them, at the same time that the streams are free to all, under certain regulations, to punish those who may be detected in taking the fish with destructive nets or engines and at improper seasons.

[4] The fish are also infested with vermin at certain seasons, which it is said they get rid of upon coming into fresh water.

approaching the source of rivers where the stream is shallow or diminished, their pursuer watches them near a narrow gully, and either in the day time, or by burning a bundle of straw at night, by the light of which they are attracted, strikes them with a spear formed for this purpose and drags them from their element at a time when the flesh is nauseous, if not unwholesome; although the death of a single fish is frequently attended with the destruction of millions in embryo, who would otherwise have contributed to the *common stock* of the adjacent county. It is true, it may be said, that there are at present laws against their destruction in this manner and at this season of the year; but these laws are become a dead letter, the unthinking peasant laughs at those penalties which he knows will never be enforced, and while the law sleeps, claims a right to exercise that avocation which good sense and sound policy, as well as the ordinance of the legislature, prohibit. A few words more upon this subject and it is concluded; probably it will not be generally considered as of that serious import it deserves, but at a time when an additional number of mouths is introduced into the country and the neighbourhood,[1] few if any of whom raise the twentieth part of the fruits of the earth they consume, any hint tending to promote the increase of provisions is of consequence and ought to be attended to. In the county of Brecon may be found at least 1,000 acres of land which either are or may be covered with water at a trifling expence and which are unfit for the general purposes of agriculture: the number of brooks intersecting it in all directions and the quantity of water they convey is amply sufficient for forming a reservoir or pond in almost every farm within this district, which if stocked with fish would furnish a ready supply for the tables of private families or for sale in the public markets, and yet none of our farmers and few of our gentry seem to be fully sensible of these advantages. It is surely unnecessary to point them out or to observe at how cheap a rate they may be obtained and secured; they lack neither labour or manure and the husbandman derives from them a *never failing* annual crop without the trouble of sowing or the expence of seed. Surely then I may be permitted to recommend to my countrymen that they would avail themselves of those *capabilities* (not everywhere attainable) of adding to their stores and multiplying their resources, when this end can with so much facility be prompted and with so little difficulty be preserved."[2]

THE MOUNTAIN RANGES.

The county is intersected by four ranges of mountains. (1) A range in the extreme north of the county running east and west, dividing the parish of Llanwrthwl from the Vale of the Yrvon. Amongst these mountains are found slate and lead, and on the north slopes are the mineral springs of Llanwrtyd and Llangammarch. Much of the north slope has been acquired by Birmingham. The highest point is Drygarn (Druids rock), 2,120 feet above the sea.

(2) The Epynt (ascent), a name familiar to English ears in Epping Forest. This line runs from Carmarthenshire across Brecknock from west to east, terminating in the Vale of Wye at Llyswen; to the north of this range lies the hundred of Builth and the Vale of Yrvon; to the south the great Central Valley of the Usk, the ancient Brecheiniog, from which the modern county takes its name. The top of the Epynt presents no notable peak to the eye; it is rather a plateau of great extent, having a sharp escarpment to the north; the southern slope more gradual forming a series of dingles each with its brook flowing to the fertile valley of the Usk.

(3) The third, or Beacon range, runs from the Carmarthen Beacon on the west through the entire length of the county in an easterly direction forming the southern wall of the great Usk Valley, dividing the agricultural old red sand stone from the iron and coal basin. On their south slope are the Brecknock parishes of Ystradgunlais, Ystradfellte, Penderyn, and Vaynor, heads of mineral valleys, the lower parts of which are in Glamorgan. Still on the southern slope, but further eastward, are the parishes of Llechrhyd, Dukestown, Rassa, and Beaufort, in the geographical county of Brecknock, but placed in 1888 within the administrative county of Monmouth; beyond them again is Brynmawr, in Brecknock, at the extreme south east, after which the range of mountains passes to the county of Monmouth. Towering amongst his gigantic neighbours rises the Brecknock Beacon, 2,900 feet in height, for sublime grandeur difficult to surpass. The great mass of mountain is old red sand stone. To the west the southern slope is carboniferous lime stone which crossing the hill on the Llangynidr side of the Dyffryn Crawnon dingle, forms that magnificent escarpment on the north side of the mountain which is so notable a feature in the Vale of Crickhowell.

(4) The fourth and last range, rising at Buckland, north of the Vale of the Usk, here only a mile in breadth, stretches over six miles northward, having on the west Lake Llangorse, and on the east the Valley of Cwmdu. Here, turning on the mountain Mynnyddtroed as on a pivot, and sinking for a moment to the pass of Pen-y-cefn ffordd, only a thousand feet above the sea, the range continues

[1] In the Iron Manufactories.

[2] The Irvon has nearly the same fish as the Wye.

further ten miles to the north east, presenting a grand cliff from Talgarth to Hay, and throwing out to the south subsidiary ranges which enclose the Valleys of Cwmdu, Gwryne fechan, and Gwryne fawr, and others, which being in the counties of Monmouth and Hereford, are beyond the limits of the present volume.

MOUNTAINS AS DESCRIBED BY JONES.

Theophilus Jones' description of the mountains is as follows:—"This county is intersected on the North and South by two long ranges of mountains, the one goes by the general name of Epynt, an obsolete word for hill, an ascent or slope; it begins on the West, on the confines of Carmarthenshire, terminates on the East at Llyswen in Breconshire and divides for the greatest part of the line the hundred of Builth from the remainder of the county. The district called Gwlâd Faullt or the country of Builth lies on the Northern side of Epynt; the upper or Western part anciently belonged to the princes of Dinas fawr, now Dinevor, and in 1164 was granted by Rhys ap Griffith to the abbey of Strata Florida or Ystradfflur in Cardiganshire, and the vale of Irvon as well as the Cwm or dingle through which the Whefri runs, together with the lands bordering on the Wye, were at different times parcel of the possession of the princes of Fferreg,[1] Fferregs, or Fferlex, the princes of Powis and the lords of Elvel: it was not 'till long after the conquest by Bernard Newmarch that it was considered as part of Brecknockshire. Philip de Breos was the first lord of Brecknock who united this tract, which he acquired by conquest, to those dominions he possessed in right of his wife, yet it was afterwards frequently dissevered from them by the Mortimers, and sometimes it formed part of the lordship of Melenydd in Radnorshire: nature indeed seems to have placed a formidable barrier between it and the more Southern parts of the county, from which it differs materially in soil and considerably in climate. The soil of those parts adjoining Caermarthenshire and Cardiganshire, consisting of what is commonly called mountain land, is mostly peat and full of bogs, while that of the vales is argillaceous and has some resemblance in colour to the bark of an ash, the remainder of Breconshire is reddish sand or sandy loam upon a substratum of gravel, and wants a due proportion of clay to render it sufficiently tenacious for the general purposes of vegetation: and the atmosphere of Builth,[2] which is much higher is of course colder than the greatest part of the hundreds of Talgarth, Merthyr, Penkelley and Crickhowel.

"The other range of mountains, dividing Glamorganshire and afterwards Monmouthshire from Breconshire, commences on the West with Bannau Shir-Gaer, or the Carmarthenshire beacons, from whence they run in a line nearly parallel with the Epynt hills, though inclining as they proceed more towards the South, and terminate in Monmouthshire; having the vale of Usk on the North. Along this bleak and otherwise barren tract of high ground runs a vein of limestone, the course of which is minutely and accurately described in a curious old MS. lately published in the second volume of the Cambrian Register, supposed to have been written by George Owen, esq.[3] The lime is first discovered in Pembrokeshire, it then crosses Carmarthenshire and enters Breconshire on the West at Twyn melyn, in the hamlet of Palleg, in the parish of Ystradgynlais, from thence it proceeds eastward to Cribarth, Penwyll or Pannau and to Carnau Gwynnion, in Ystradfellte, soon after which it trends to the South East with the mountains, leaves the Brecknock beacons to the North, is again seen in Glyn-collwm and Pen-rhiw-calch and afterwards in Llanddetty, Llangynidr, Llangattock and Llanelly, when it enters into Monmouthshire. Upon our approach to this latter county, we have in Brecknockshire the vein of coal which supplies us principally as well as part of Radnorshire with that article: to convey which, a canal has been lately cut to the town of Brecon, and in the neighbourhood of these collieries, iron works have been established and are continually increasing, but these subjects will be more properly treated upon when I come to the description of the places or parishes where they are situated.

THE BLACK MOUNTAINS.

"Between the two ridges of mountains thus hastily travelled over, a third commences abruptly, at or near Talgarth, and is known in different places by the names of the Black mountains in Brecknockshire and the Hatterell hills, in Herefordshire. From these another line branches across in a direction from North to South about eight miles below Brecon, dividing the hundred of Crickhowell

[1] Rhosfferreg, now called Rhosferig, in Llanfihangel-bryn-pabuan, was one of the mansions of Elystan Glodrydd, prince of Fferreg, in 1010, and is now (1800) the property of one of his lineal descendants.

[2] The neighbourhood of the town of Builth must here be excepted, for near that place and from thence downward on the banks of the Wye, vegetation is as forward as in any part of the county.

[3] Lord of Kemeys in Pembrokeshire; he lived in the 17th century and left several MSS. behind him: after tracing the vein of limestone from Pembrokeshire into Caermarthenshire and so into Breconshire, he brings it from Blaencollwm to Llangrwyne, "where it crosses the Usk to Tavern Maeshir, further than which (says he) I have not learned the course of the said vayne." We write in hopes indeed we should have been able to have treated this subject more accurately as well as scientifically, but the *gentleman* to whom we were referred refused the requested information, not merely with abruptness, but rudeness, from an apprehension (we presume) that we were endeavouring to pilfer the secrets of his trade, in order to apply them to his prejudice

from the hundreds of Talgarth and Penkelley. In that portion of the county lying Eastward of this hill, the air is perceptibly milder and vegetation more forward than on the Western side of the pass called Bwlch; it is however remarkable that though the quantity of rain falling in Brecon is nearly double that which falls in London in the same space of time, yet the atmosphere there is not much colder than that of the metropolis, though rather more variable. The great excess of rain observable on a comparison with a London meteorological journal may be easily accounted for, by the vicinity of Brecon to the Southern range of hills, and particularly to the Bannau Brecheiniog. The great height of the beacons frequently intercepts the clouds charged with watery particles in their passage from the South or South West, from whence the rainy wind generally blows; thus separated or dispersed they descend in rain, and it must be admitted that when these mountains are covered with snow, we occasionally feel—

> The icy fang
> And churlish chiding of the winter's wind,
> Which bites and blows upon our bodies,
> Ev'n till we shrink with cold.

"But these inconveniences (if such they be) are amply compensated for by the advantages we derive from them: the rough blast that sweeps their tops brings with it ruddy health into our vallies and dissipates or drives before it those pestilential exhalations or fumes, which either nature or the works or wants of mankind produce to the prejudice of animal life; hence epidemic disorders are seldom known, and never so fatal here as in large towns in England, and to these hills we may in a great measure attribute our protection from accidents by lightening, which are rarely heard of in their vicinity. Imagination can scarcely paint objects more sublime and picturesque than the three lofty peaks of those nearly precipitous elevations, and continued as they are by a long range of mountains, which is terminated by the conical Sugar-loaf near Abergavenny, they form such an outline as can only be described by the pencil; the reader therefore is referred to the sketch at the bottom of the map of the county.

THE RAINFALL OF BRECKNOCK.

In considering the rainfall of Brecknock, the three years 1895, 1896, 1897, have been taken; these are the latest observations available at the time of writing. During those years, schemes to supply Birmingham and London with pure water from the mountains of Brecknock have excited intense interest, and the ranks of meteorologists, both professional and amateur, within the county, have been largely recruited. For the sake of comparison it may be stated that during the three years mentioned, gauges variously placed at Greenwich Observatory have shown readings varying from 13 inches to 22. The driest parts of England have an average rainfall of about 21 inches; 30 inches may be an average for England and the more important agricultural districts of Scotland. Brecknock, exposed to the damp south west winds of the Atlantic, and opposing to them lofty mountains reducing the temperature to the point of saturation, has as large a rainfall as any found south of the Cumberland Lake country. The gauge at Nant y Car, in the parish of Llanwrthwl, with a mountain altitude of over 1,500 feet, gave in 1897 a fall of 90 inches; further down the valley, at Nantgwilt, a point now submerged by the Birmingham reservoir, the gauge registered 66 inches. In the Yrvon Valley, soon perhaps to be acquired for London, the high valley of Abergwessin has a rainfall varying from 60 to 75 inches; at Builth, 500 feet lower, the fall is from 30 to 40 inches. In the south of the county, the gauge placed at Taff Vechan has registered the enormous total of over 101 inches, at an altitude of 2,100 feet. At Brecon, the fall has varied from 36 inches to 48 inches. At Crickhowell, the south side of the valley, influenced by the propinquity to the hills of Llangynidr, has a rainfall slightly higher than is found north of the Usk, the gauges registering 37 to 50 inches. The driest record in the county is at Gwernyfed, near Hay, which is sheltered by mountains to the south, and where the rainfall has been as low as 26 inches, and has not exceeded 40. For good or for ill, the destinies of Brecknock must be largely influenced by its rainfall; to the mountains that cause it, to the rivers which are its result, we are indebted for the beauty of the scenery, for sheep pasturage, and for the sport of fishing. Yet it is a heritage which has attracted the cupidity of great cities, which covet the water for domestic and commercial purposes, until it seems likely that in the immediate future fair valleys will be submerged beneath deep lakes. With what effect upon the future of the county? Who can say!

READINGS OF INCHES OF RAIN WITH DECIMALS.

Feet above Sea.	*Name of Station.*	1895.	1896.	1897.
1545	Llanwrthwl-Nant y Car	65.15	78.85	90.45
1250	Clairwen	46.65	62.05	62.95
764	Nantgwilt	53.36	56.59	66.13
904	Yrvon-Abergwessin	60.35	65.23	73.08
430	Builth	31.03	30.87	40.20

Feet above Sea.	*Name of Station.*	1895.	1896.	1897
	South of the County.			
2099	Taff Vechan (No. 6)	88.65	74.54	101.54
860	Pentwyn Reservoir	60.89	55.05	75.87
447	Brecon Barracks	36.11	32.65	44.79
330	Crickhowell-Pennyarth	37.77	34.94	49.23
350	Gwernyfed - Hay	32.46	26.88	34.11

Diameter of all gauges, 5 inches, placed 1 foot above ground.

PLACE-NAMES OF BRECKNOCK.

Though archaeologists have here and there found what they deem to be indications of a previous race, the Celts are the earliest historical people of Wales. Starting, it is supposed, from the temperate regions of Central Asia, they have travelled across Europe, and are now to be found in the extreme West: in Ireland, Scotland, the Isle of Man, Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. The only method of tracing their place of origin is in a comparity study of languages, from which a well known Welsh professor has shown what manner of men they were. They lived in houses with doors, were possessed of cattle, horses, sheep and dogs; they wore clothing of wool, from which is inferred their home was in a climate somewhat cold. Passing over the Continent, they have left behind them Celtic place-names, from which their journeying can be reconstructed. Here we are only concerned with the subject so far as it is illustrated by the place-names of the county of Brecknock.

The place names of Wales, a standing joke amongst those in whose ears they have an unaccustomed sound, are generally words of much beauty, never without signification, conveying with accuracy the position of the place indicated, or the natural character which prevailed when the name was given, preserving the memory of historical events which have passed from the written records of the nation; even, as has been above stated, enabling the student to dive into the dim recesses of the past and say, with an approach to certainty, of our primeval ancestors whence they came and what manner of men they were. Thus from a study of its names, we may view our own county again a land of moor and woodland untouched by the hand of man, replenish its valleys with wolf and deer, and connect our own people with their Eastern forefathers whose migrations it is beyond our purpose here to follow, but which may become clear to any enquirer who will note on the map of Europe names Celtic in origin, and possessing the same root as those which we find around us in Brecknock.

Before dealing with the names of our own county, a word as to Wales collectively may not be without interest. In nearly every country the people call themselves "the people"; strangers, not understanding this speech, give them some name by which the fact is emphasised. The Germany amongst themselves are "Deutsche" the people; to the French they are "Alle Manni," other men. To the Greeks the tongue of foreigners sounded an inarticulate "Ba Ba," so they termed them barbaroi. The Welsh call themselves "Cymri," the compatriots, while the Teutons, to whose each the foreign tongue sounded an inarticulate Wa-Wa, styled the land Wales a foreign place. Conveying the same idea are other words. Wal-nut, the foreign nut, the German word waller to wander, from which wallet, the sack of the wandering pilgrim. The name can be traced round the whole circuit of Teutonic occupancy. Walschland is their name for Italy; the Germans of Berne call their Southern neighbour Canton Wallis. Nearer home is Corn-wall, the last syllable of which was originally Wales.

The Teutonic W and the Celtic G being convertible letters, we get by mutation of the first letter the root "Gal," our Prince of Wales becoming in France Le Prince de Galles. The same rule being applied to the name of Wales, it becomes connected with Gaul, with Cal-Edoreia, Gal-way and Galla-way; possibly with Ar-gyle, with Donegal, and with Portu-gal.

RIVER NAMES, LOCAL AND GENERAL.

Of special value in the investigation of primeval history are river names. Over the greater part of Europe we find villages with appellations of later date standing by streams still bearing Celtic names. Throughout England there is scarcely a river name that is not Celtic; nearly the sole evidence that survives of a once universal Celtic occupation of the land. River names are divided into two classes, (1) words signifying water, (2) adjectives marking the nature of the stream, smooth or swift, clear or muddy, glassy or black, and so on. Six Celtic words meaning water give names to the principal rivers in Europe—Wysg, Wye, Dwr, Rhin, Don, Afon; of these the two first are of primary importance to us. Wysg water and the related Gwy, a channel, will be recognised as the Usk and Wye, round which two rivers are grouped the main features of the county of Brecknock. The names indicate that to our untravelled ancestors these two rivers were to them "the water" to the exclusion of all others. Besides the Usk there is in this county the Eskir, from the same root. To it, also,

etymologists refer the Exe, with its towns of Ex-eter and Ex-mouth. The Axe, giving its name to Ax-minster; Uxbridge conveys a hint that the Colne on the Roman Colonia, on which it stands, may once have borne the name of Ux. The Ocke joins the Thames near Oxford, while Thames itself, Tam-isis the broad water, bears in its latter syllables the same word. Wisford, Wisley, Wiston, and the Wash in the East of England own the same parentage, while the waters of them all may be diluted with whiskey, or usque bach, under which names of water the Scotch and Irish delicately conceal the strong drink of their country. Abroad there are, in Spain the Esca; in France the Ose; in Germany, Ise and Axe; in Italy the Issa; in Southern Austria, Istria (Is-terra) a country half land and half water, with its capital Trieste. Tre-este, the same word compounded with Tre, a town, word common with us, and meaning the town by the sea. From the closely related word Guy or Wy, we get the Wye, which forms the North Eastern boundary of Brecknock. There is a river Wey in Hampshire, Dorset, and Surrey; it occurs in combination in Con-way and Vryn-wy, both in Wales. In the Solent, formerly Ye wyth, the channel, is the Isle of Wight (Ynys y Wyth) possibly still preserving the name. Similar river names exit in France and Germany.

Dwr is a third word signifying water; it does not occur within the county as a river name, though Gwen-ddwr ("white water") is the name of a parish. Amongst the English lakes the same combination occurs in Derwet-water. In the neighbouring county of Hereford the brook Dore gave its name to Abbey-Dore. Miswritten by the Normans Abbey Dôr, the Abbey of Gold, it gave rise to the faulty translation "The Golden Valley." The word is common in all parts of the British Isles, in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, where the Douro is great amongst the rivers of Europe.

The two great rivers of the county being thus *the* water and *the* river, smaller streams need a closer and more accurate description, that people may know at once what stream is meant. The colour of the water appeals to the eye for beauty or picturesqueness. The Romans loved to call the Tiber "Flavus," the yellow river. The Zankins had a similar meaning. With us Nant-melyn, the yellow stream, rises amongst the high lands of Llanwrthwl. Nant-gwyn is the white brook. Du-ar, black water, a stream at Llanelly. Du-las at Hay (Du-glas) black green, may be followed elsewhere in the patronymic Douglas; perhaps in the name of another stream Brân, the raven, the same idea is expressed. It would be ungrateful in the present writer to omit Nant-y-glo, the Coal Brook, to whose black diamonds the South East corner of the county owed, half a century ago, its sudden burst of prosperity.

The swift flowing mountain streams may be indicated in Elan, "the hind," northern boundary of Brecknock; into the same valley flows Nant Garw, the rough stream, a name which may possibly be traced in Grwyne-Garw-wye; more certainly in Garway in Hereford, and elsewhere in the Garry, the Yarrow, and the Garonne. Nant-garw, another of the names at Swansea, was well known as a manufactory of porcelain. In the south of the county flows the Mellte, the darting stream (melten, a thunderbolt); in Llangynidr the Yail (Hual strong water) once gave its name to a church; in the same neighbourhood the same rapid may be rendered by Crawnant (Cryw-nant), the Bucks brook, near to which Buckland has borne its name from early times. Bwch, the Buck, gives its name to a second stream, and Cray, a deer, to yet another. Nant y flaiddast, brook of the wolf, and Nant-y-hebog, the hawks brook, still indicate the mildness of the scenery, or perhaps preserve the memory of a savage fauna now extinct.

THE LLYNFI BROOK.

In opposition to their mountain torrents let us place Llynfi, the brook from Llyn (the lake), in old books the stream is written Leveni; lefn (smooth) being appropriate to a lake, and giving its name alike to the mountain tarn, haunt of teal and wild duck; and to the stiller pools of Wye, where the salmon, tired with travel from the sea, may rest awhile ere he continue his laborious ascent. The reader need scarcely be reminded of Loch Leven in Scotland, and may possibly observe the same root in the Irish Lean; the Lain in Cornwall; the Lincoln; Kings Lynn; Linlethgow; Linton, and so on. The more graceful aspect of our rippling streams is further illustrated in Cledau, the sheltered brook and the pebbly bed of Nant-y-gro. Generally this may be worthy of note, that amongst the steep valleys of Northern Brecknock, the names of brooks generally indicate tumultuous descent. To those that have been mentioned may be added Nant y Rhostir, brook of the Moorland, from Rhos y Moor, we may pluck "rush" the moorland plant. Nant-rhydd-coch, the brook of the red ford, seems also to tell of mountain and heather; Yrfon is derived by Jones from Yr mawn, oozing from peat. Dihonow, entering Wye a mile below Builth, is Du-nawn-Wye, the black swift water. The Llogan lake and brook (from halogan corrupted) mark one and all the nature of the landscape. On the southern slope of the Beacon range the limestone rock, worn by the water drop of ages into caves and crevice, will sometimes conceal its stream, now tumbling headlong into subterranean chasm, now burrowing amidst boulders; whence, while the bed is dry beneath the foot of

the traveller, can be heard the murmuring of the hidden brook, remarkable features leading to characteristic nomenclature. One brook is Turch (a hog) from its burrowing propensity; another Hepste (dried up), hespin meaning a ewe which gives no milk; Sych Rhyd (the dry ford) conveys a similar idea. It would be interesting to search for names of similar meaning at Adelsburg in South Austria, where the same natural features exist on a far larger scale

STREAMS IN THE COUNTY.

The water plant in bed or on bank may give the name of its parent stream. Brwynog, the rushy; Nant y craff, pool of garlic, the scent of which is strong in the nostril of the fisherman as he eats his frugal meal by Wye side; Pwll berrw, the pool of water cress; Cerdin, the mountain ash; and many another, bring back to the memory scenes of beauty amongst which is cast the lot of them who love the gentle craft. In a county so justly esteemed by the angler, the enquiry might be pushed further, each likely spot where the salmon will rise, each stream noted for trout has its proper name. Two miles below Builth, where the Wye for about half a mile surges through a narrow cleft in the rock, there are in succession Ffrwd wen, the white stream; next Hell hole, the danger of which is conveyed by its name; Cavarn hir, the long caravan; Graig ddu, whose "black rock" rears its angry head above the waters, after which Wye, delivered from its arduous passage, flows into Llyn hen, the Old pool, mentioned in history as being near the residences of the Welsh princes at Aberedw. Similiarly on the Usk are the Dwfnant, the deep stream; Nant y fin (fin is a boundary), where the parishes meet; and Carn pwll, where Usk makes a bent elbow a mile and a half above Crickhowell. Cam-bent is a common word in brook names. The Cam at Cambridge gives the names in its simple form. Arms "a kimbo" gives the bent arm of the defiant roysterer. In Scotland, an ill-favoured chieftain of Lochiel has given to a clan the name of Cam-eron, wry-nosed, while amongst us the squint-eye of the brave David Llewelyn (the Fluelyn of Shakespeare) has left his better known soubriquet of David Gam ("squinting David") as a name Games, honourably borne in the 19th century by many a good man and true.

Towns, farms, and houses, are very commonly named from the position they occupy with regard to the rivers on which they stand. The amphitheatre of hills from which each streamlet flows is called a "cwm." Anglicised to Combe it is well-known as Ilfra-combe, Wy-combe, and perhaps in Cum-berland. Here, in nearly every valley is a house bearing the name Cwm-onney; Cwm-elan, the Cwmdu, the black valley; Llandewi yr Cwm, St. David's in the vale, separates the parish from others named after the same Bishop.

Blaen, the foremost part gives its name to places facing the brook. The ruined Castle of Blaen-llynfi faces Llynfi ere it flows into Llangorse; Blaena and Blaenavon are well-known neighbouring towns. Glan, "on the banks of," gives name to one or more houses by every river. Cymmer, the meeting of two brooks, gives its name to Cefn-Coed-Cymmer, the town placed at the spot where the greater and lesser Taf mingle their waters. Of Aber, "the mouth," where brook falls into river, or river into sea, it is hardly necessary to give instances. For health, we seek Aber-ystwith, or Barmouth, name corrupted from Aber-mowddog; we sing of the bells of Aber-dovey; we trade at Abergavenny: while our country town of Brecon is still in the Welsh tongue Aberhonddu, where the brook Honddu joins the Usk.

MOUNTAIN NAMES.

Mountain names must be treated at less length than those of rivers. Pen, a head, is common through Wales, Cornwall, and elsewhere. The top of Crickhowell hill has two peaks, respectively Pen-cerrig-calch and Pen-cloch-Pibor (the Piper's clock). Pen-pont is a parish near Brecon. For a county, Pem-broke, the head of the land; in Scotland, Ben Nevis, and others; abroad, the Pen-nine Alps, and the A-penn-ines. Bryn, a brow, we know well; Bryn-mawr, the great brow, is our one mining town; abroad we hear of Bran-denburg; and those who have travelled in the Tyrol will remember the Bren-ner pass. Cefn, a ridge, gives its name to Cefn-coed, once a wooded ridge, now teaming with a mining population. Pen y genffordd, (Pen-y-cefn ffordd), head of the ridge road, occurs twice within the limits of the county. Coed, a wood, the second component in Cefncoed, used throughout the county with car (a field); Coed-car, the rough field enclosed from the mountain and attached to nearly every hill side farm. Nearly allied is Maes, a field; Tal-y-maes, the head of the field; Maes-derwyn, oak field; Maes-celyn, holly field; Gwlydd vaes, corrupted into Gliffaes, the dewy field, between Mvarth hill and Usk, where the mist of the river, penned in a narrow valley, has fallen in excessive moisture since it first bore the name in the days of Giraldus Cambrensis; Erw, an acre; Gil, a corner; and dol, a meadow; will each occur to everyone as an ordinary prefix, but space will not admit of examples. Garth has been dealt with in discussing the ancient name of Garthmadryn. Talgarth is the front of the Garth; Taly-bont the head of the bridge; Tal-yllyn, the front of the lake; Hay is a

place hedged around, and is the name of the frontier town bewixt Wales and England, commonly prefixed by the definite article; here we speak of the Hay as in France they have La Haye Sainte. It is the same as the German words "hag," a town, and "hagen" to hedge; it is contained in the ha-ha fence, and haw thorn is the beautiful hedge flower.

Dinas, a fortress, occurs several times in the county. Amongst the northern hills the slate quarries of Alt Dinas; at Llanwrtyd, Dinas, place of origin of the Lloyd family, who have named after it their house of Dinas, near Brecknock. South of Talgarth is the manor of Dinas, taking its name, perhaps, from Dinas Castle, perched on a lofty ridge, commanding the pass from Crickhowell to the north. We hear the altic root dun, a hill fortress, in Lon-don, and abroad in Thun and Au-tun, once Augusti dunum, the fortress of Augustus. Caer is the Celtic equivalent to Castra, a camp. Gaer at Cumdu is said to have been the summer quarters of a legion. Gaer as Aberyskir is more clearly marked, the square with a cemetery at one corner being characteristic of the abiding place of a Roman army. If other Gaers you seek, journey to Caer-marthen, Caer-philly, or Car-diff (Caer-taff). Let us mention a few historical names, and have done. The Dinas and the Gaer tell of Briton or Roman, the Castle of Norman or later Welsh prince; yet in every case the name is descriptive, the builder has passed from mortal ken; here and there some battle of bygone days is hinted at. Rhos-y-beddau, "the moorland graves," at Llanwrthwl, tell of an old time slaughter; at Cefn-y-bedd, "the ridge-grave," Llewelyn, last Prince of Wales, met his death. Ynys y marchog, "Knight's island," recalls the ancient days of chivalry. Battle was a cell to Battle Abbey. Tir-abbot, "abbot's land;" Wern y mynael, "monk's meadow:" Monachty, "the Monk's dwelling;" Chaunter's Wood "the spital or hospice," Pont escob, "the Bishop's bridge," speaks of a day when ecclesiastics possessed a goodly slice of the land; Nantyrarian, "the brook of silver," near Builth, reminds us that when the plague raged, in its cleansing waters was placed the money due to country folk for food supplied the stricken town. To those who care to make the attempt, the place names of nearly every parish would provide research of much interest, but want of space prevents our pursuing the subject further.

CHAPTER II.

History continued from the Invasion of the Romans, during their stay in Britain and after their departure, to the Reign and Death of Brychan Brycheiniog about the year of Christ 450.

ROMAN INVASION OF THE COUNTY.

NOTWITHSTANDING what has been said in the former chapter, writes Theophilus Jones', "concerning the division of South Wales into Syllwg or Gwent and Dyfed, may seem sufficient perhaps tedious to the reader, it is absolutely necessary, before I proceed to notice the Roman invasion of this country, to dwell a few minutes longer upon the same subject.

"From the authorities already mentioned, as well as several others which might be collected, it is clearly seen that the inhabitants of South Wales consisted of two several tribes, the one calling themselves by the names of Syllwyr, Essyllwyr or Gwenhwyswyr, and the other Dyfedwyr or Gwyr Dyfed. The current tradition of a very remote period (which in this instance is entitled to nearly equal credit with historic documents) has conveyed to posterity the distinction and the difference of dialect, as well as manners, between the men of Gwent and Morganwg and those of Dyfed, in Breconshire and Caermarthenshire, at this day confirms the fact; but however well known this might have been to the natives, it is by no means clear that the early Roman authors were acquainted with the circumstance; on the contrary it will be evident that Tacitus and all other foreign writers before Ptolomy, describe the whole of South Wales as the country of the Silures. I will not now take upon me to determine, nor could it perhaps pertinently be discussed, whether the British word Syllwyr travelled from Wales into England and from thence to Rome, where it became the parent of Silures, or whether the latter appellation was not immediately applied to this region by the Romans, upon their first bird's eye view from Malvern or some other commanding eminence on the borders of Wales, as peculiarly descriptive of the general appearance of the Southern part of the principality, at that time entirely covered with wood.

THE LAND OF THE SILURES.

"Pliny, speaking of Ireland, says it is distant only thirty miles from the country of the Silures; here it is clear that by the latter he meant Pembrokeshire, evidently part of Dyfed to every British reader. Tacitus mentions only the Silurum Gens as conquered by Julius Frontinus, though it is certain that the greatest part of South Wales was overrun by that victorious commander. Mr. Pinkerton conceives the term Silures to have been rather generic than confined: 'the whole South of England (says he) was possessed by the Belgæ, save Devonshire and Cornwall, in which and in the South half of Wales dwelt the Silures, a numerous people in two nations; the Dumnonii Southmost and the Demetæ in South Wales.'

"That the Dumnonii were Silures (continues he) appears clear from this, that Tacitus says the Silures lived opposite to Spain and the Dumnonii were in fact the only people opposite to Spain: the chief of the Scilly islands is called Silura by Solinus and the present name seems to spring from it, besides the Silures are mentioned as a vast people, like the Belgæ and Cimbri, and must of course have had various tribes, for if they were only one tribe in South Wales, as supposed, Tacitus would not have mentioned them as a distinct race, for they would have been too minute for notice: we may therefore very fairly conclude with Mr Pinkerton, that however the natives described and subdivided themselves, under the generic term Silures, the Roman historian meant when he spoke of the conquest by Frontinus, the whole circuit of South Wales or Deheubarth, the inhabitants of which uniting in one common cause and probably led on by one *tywysog*, leader or general *en chef*, were naturally enough regarded and spoken of by foreigners as one people.

OSTORIUS SCAPULA, FIRST ROMAN GENERAL TO PENETRATE SOUTH WALES.

"The first Roman general, whom we know with any certainty to have penetrated into South Wales was Ostorius Scapula, who came into Britain in the year of Christ 51: for though his predecessor Plautius had several battles with Caradoc or Caractacus, yet whether Caractacus made incursions into what were then considered as the Roman territories or was attacked in his own does not appear; that he was a very troublesome neighbour is evident for Tacitus says "non atrocitate non clementia mutabatur, quin bellum exceret castrisque legionum premendo foret." For nine years did Caractacus with

his half-armed, undisciplined and almost naked troops defy the veteran Roman legions, cased in armour and accustomed to victory. The author of *Drych y prif Oesoedd*, or the mirror of former times, says, he fought thirty battles and that though he did not come off *with a whole skin* in all of them, he acquired much glory and great credit to himself for his personal valour, as well as his skill as a general. The Silures, however, under his conduct, were unfortunately attacked and overpowered by the Romans in Shropshire, in the neighbourhood of Knighton (as I conceive), and victory at last, after a hard contest, declared in favour of the assailants, by which the entry of Ostorius into South Wales was facilitated, though it by no means effected an entire conquest. The writer[1] of the Welsh work just mentioned, whose patriotism may be admired, though his zeal cannot always be commended, speaking of Caractacus, says 'Efe a ymgyrchodd naw mlynedd a holl gadernid Rufain, ac a allasai ymdoppi naw eraill, oni bu'sei ei fradychu ef gan langces ysgeler o'i wlad ei hun a elwir Curtis fin-ddu. Ei araith tuag at annog ei sawdwyr, a gosod calon ynddynt, oedd at yr ystyr hyn; 'byddwch bybur a nerthol, O Frutaniaid! yr ydym yn ymladd ym mhlaid yr achos goreu yn y byd; i amddiffyn ein gwlad a'n heiddo a'n rhydd-did rhac Carn-Ladron a Chwiw-gwn. Atgofiwch wroldeb eich teidau yn gyrru lul Cæsar ar ffo; Caswallon, Tudur bengoch, Gronw gethin, Rhydderch wynebglawr, 'a Madoc benfras.' Ar ol ei fradychu i ddwylo ei elynion, fe a ddycpwyd yn rhwym i Rufain, tle bu cymaint o orfoledd a Llawenydd, a dawnsio a difyrrwch, o ddal Caradoc yn garcharwr, a phe buasid yn gorthtrechu gwlad o Gewri." (For nine years he opposed the whole force of the Romans, and he could have resisted them nine years longer if he had not been betrayed into their hands by a dirty drab, though one of his own country women, of the name of black-faced Curtis.[2] His address, to encourage and inspirit his soldiers, was to this effect: 'Britons! Be valiant. Be firm. We are fighting in the noblest cause in which we can be engaged in life: in defence of our country, in the protection of our property and for the preservation of our liberty against a horde of highwaymen and hirelings.[3] Call to mind the valour of your forefathers Cassibelaun, Tudor the red hair'd, Gronw the terrible, Roderick Broad-face and Madoc Stout-head, who made Julius Cæsar turn his back upon our island.' When Caractacus was taken prisoner, he was sent bound to Rome, upon which event there was as much singing, rejoicing, dancing and merry making, as if a nation of giants had been conquered.) The speech of the unfortunate Briton before the emperor Claudius, is now so well known and has been so often repeated by the English historians, as to become familiar to most readers; but it is very extraordinary, that not a syllable is mentioned in the Welsh chronicle of Tyssilio about this battle, or the hero who stood so high in the opinion even of his enemies.

THE ROUTE OF OSTORIOUS.

"It is impossible to trace with anything like accuracy, the route of Ostorius after this engagement. Much must depend upon conjecture, yet if that may be permitted, it should seem that he crossed over into Herefordshire and from thence into Caerleon in Monmouthshire, then through Glamorganshire along the sea coast and the line where one branch of the Julia Strata afterwards ran, to Caermarthen, and that he returned through Breconshire; in which case, he passed the sites of the stations, Magnis, Gobannium, Burrium, Isca Legionum, Bovium, Nidum, Leucarum, Maridunum, or Muridunum, Bannium or Bannio; now called Kentchester, Abergavenny, Usk, Caerleon, Boverton, Neath, Loughor, Caermarthen, Gaer near Brecon, and also Gaer in Cwmdu, the Roman name of which is lost. In this circuit, he employed his cohorts either to repair, to fortify, or to erect some of these military strong-holds on or near the sites of British camps, or else (as I am more inclined to believe) he must after the defeat of Caractacus, have crossed Radnorshire, from East to West, into the heart of Brecknockshire, by a British intrenchment then called Caer-van or Caer-bannau, where he built the station now called Gaer, and from thence he proceeded to Caermarthen; further than this place (says Camden[4]) Antoninus continues not his journey,[5] and further Westward I do not apprehend the Roman arms penetrated in the time of Ostorius, nor indeed for many years after-

[1] The Rev. Theophilus Evans, formerly vicar of Llangammarch, in Breconshire. The book was published at Shrewsbury in 1740, and reprinted at Merthyr Tydvil in 1803: The quotation is given in his own language, because he had a remarkable peculiarity of style, which most of his countrymen admired.

[2] It is not necessary to inform the Welsh reader that this is not a literal translation, any more than the speech of Caractacus as given by Mr Evans, can be supposed to be the very words delivered by the hero to his troops, "vocabatque nomina majorum" as the phrase of Tacitus. Curtis fin ddu, is a fanciful Welticism for Curtismandua.

[3] Chwiwgi or Whwgi, of which Chwiwgwn is the plural, cannot be literally translated as it is here understood, but as nearly as it can be explained in English, it means a contemptible animal of the human species, who comes and goes, fetches and carries, upon being whistled to.

[4] Britannia.

[5] Richard of Cirencester, after Leucarum, (omitting Muridunum) adds Vigessimum and Menapia, supposed to be Narberth and Saint David's, but these two latter stations were certainly not built in the time of Ostorius; and if his route was that which We have laid down, the intermediate fortress of Bravinio and Magnis, or Kentchester and Ludlow, and perhaps Ariconium or Wroxeter, were not erected till the time of Suetonius Paulinus, or the conquest of the Ordovices by Agricola, in the year of Christ 79, when they were raised to support and protect the communications between the Roman settlements in North and South Wales.

wards. From Caermarthen he turned Eastward through Glamorganshire to Caerleon, which then became the head quarters of the second legion.

If this was the route that Ostorious pursued, the road or line of communication between Gaer in Breconshire and Caerleon in Monmouthshire was not established, or the stations of Gaer in Cwmdu, Gobannium, and Burrium erected till after the irruption into Wales; at the same time it is highly probable that most of the Roman fortresses in this county were built during the life of this general, for we learn from Tacitus, that he placed troops in them to defend his conquest,[1] who were afterwards attacked with such success by the inhabitants, that he broke his heart when he perceived he was unable to complete their subjugation.

REMARKS ON BRITISH FORTRESSES.

"Before I proceed to notice the oldest station in Breconshire admitted to be Roman, the reader will excuse the digression, if I say a few words upon British fortresses; a subject so well and so learnedly discussed by Mr. King, in his first volume of *Monumenta antiqua*, that I should not have presumed to follow him, if fortune, in recompense for the superior abilities he possesses, had not bestowed upon me one advantage in which he is deficient; my countrymen will probably anticipate the observation I am about to make. The knowledge of the Welsh language (which inclination as well as residence in the country has induced and enabled me to attain) is so absolutely necessary to a traveller among British antiquities, that without it he cannot take three steps without the risk of breaking his neck. The want of this knowledge has actually occasioned the fall of the learned writer I have just named, though he will rise I make no doubt of it, with little or no injury. This defect has precipitated him headlong in the beginning of his journey, from one of the highest hills in England. He proceeds to climb it with great caution; looks to the right, then to the left, and after assigning various reasons why Malvern cannot be a Roman, a Danish, a Saxon, or a Norman entrenchment, he concludes that it is a British fortress, and the retreat of Owen Glyndwr. In the latter conjecture, he is not supported by history or tradition; in the inference preceding he *may* in some measure be correct, because this naturally strong hold may have frequently served for the purpose of defence: but if he had been conversant in the British tongue, he would have known that the principal and earliest use to which the summit of the hill was appropriated was the assemblage of the Druids, when they acted in the three-fold capacities of legislators, priests, and judges. Malvern, with very little alteration, is Mod y varn: these words are pure Welsh, and signify the *high court* or seat of judgment.

"The original British fortress was nothing more than an almost inaccessible or precipitous rock or natural wall. To these heights men were at first driven for safety from wolves and other wild beasts, when the country was thinly inhabited and the low-lands entirely covered with wood; thither they retired at night for rest, and from thence they sallied forth in the day time in search of food. These therefore were not originally intended so much for defence against man, as against the brute creation, though they were afterwards used as stations, from whence they might more effectually annoy or with greater security resist the attacks of enemies of their own species. This most ancient and always *natural* British fortification, was called Dinas,—and here again, I am sorry to observe, King has been misled by a Welshman. Dinas (says he, upon the authority of Rowland in his *Mona Antiqua*) is derived from dinesu, from men's associating together. There is no such word in the Welsh language as dinesu. Nesu, or as we write it in South Wales, nesau, is (it is true) to draw near or to approach; but di-nesu, if the word could be justified, instead of associating or bandying, or rather banding together, would be to retire, to retreat, or *disband*. Dinas is derived from the old Celtic word *Dun*, pronounced nearly like Deen in English, and is frequently found in the names of places in Scotland; it signifies a lofty fortification or strong hold.

"When the Dinas became too small for the family, it was necessary that part of them should seek for other Dinasoedd: but as these impregnable rocks could not be everywhere met with, still preferring elevated situations, they settled upon the Bannau or summits of hills; here however they were obliged to supply by their labour what nature had denied, as the approach to these situations was less difficult and consequently more liable to the incursions of an enemy, they found it prudent to protect themselves with high ditches, or ramparts of earth and stone. The inclosures within these intrenchments were called Caer or Gaer, in the plural Caerau or Gaerau, from the verb Cau or Cued, to shut up, to inclose or surround with a fence, ditch or wall. For several centuries, the word Gaer has been most commonly applied to signify a military station or inclosure, but it is in many parts of

[1] Annal. Lib. 12. cap. 8.

Wales used synonymously with Cae, a field: thus in a humorous song attributed (I believe) to Lewis Morris, called Caniad Bugail Tregaron, or the song concerning the pastor of Tregaron:

Ac wrth ei bwys y grynnai'r llawr,
Trwy Gaerau mawr Tregaron.

And the earth shook with his weight,
As he ran o'er the large inclosures of Tregaron.

So also in Edward Richard's Bugeilgerdd or pastoral:

Mae llawer un llwus, er byw yn helbulus,
Na phrofi bwyd blasus a melus i'r min,
A'i fwthin di-foethau heb fel nag afalau.
Na chnai yn ei *Gaerau* nag eirin.

Full oft the peasant's cheek we view,
(Tho' poor his fare) of roseate hue;
What tho' no dainties grace his board,
Nor sloes or nuts his *fields* afford.
Although no honey fills his hives,
Nor near his cot the apple thrives;
Content supplies his scanty store
With ruddy health; nor seeks he more.

THE BENNI CAERBANNI NEAR BRECON.

"One of these Caerbannau[1] or hill entrenchments, is seen on an eminence now corruptly called Benni, about two miles North West of Brecon, and about half a mile South East of the confluence of the Eskir into the Usk.

"The original name of this fortress must have been Caervan.[2] Near to this camp, but still nearer to the fall of the Eskir into the Usk, the Romans erected a station, which from the British Ban, they called Bannio.[3] Castrum Bannii, or Bonium and Castrum Bonii. The genitive case of this Latinized British word produced the present name of Benni, by which the hill is now known: at its foot is a village softened according to a rule continually occurring and well understood in Welsh, into Venni, the modern name for Abergavenny.

JONES' EXPLANATION OF BANNIO.

"'Bominm Nidus and Abone[4] (says Horsley in his essay upon the Chorographer of Ravenna) must, I doubt, be *fished*[3] out of the two names Jupannia and Albinunno, if we find them at all.——— Isca and Bannio are *doubtless* Caerleon and Abergavenny, and Bannio put for Gobannio in the Itinerary.' Gently, gently, good sir! a little scepticism is allowable upon this occasion. The Roman dress has certainly made a wonderful alteration in the appearance of our Welsh ladies, and it must be admitted that those who have introduced them to us, have made them dance the hay in a very ridiculous manner: those however who have brought them up in the same school from infancy, may possibly be able to identify them even under their disguises, and may succeed (though with difficulty) in restoring them to their proper places, at least I trust the attempt will be considered as commendable. Under Bannio, therefore, I recognize the features of Ban, Bannau, Benni and Venni, as I do also of Go-bannau, the lower or lesser Bannau or Venni in Gobannio, which has undergone a still further state of *disfiguration* in Jupannia, supposed to be Caerdiff, by Mr Baxter of *happy conjecture*, (as Mr Harris,[5] whether jocosely or seriously, I protest I am not able to discover, most happily calls him). Baxter, indeed, has bestowed upon us so much learning, so much Greek, so much Latin, and so much knowledge of the religions and languages of the Armenians, and the Egyptians, and the Teutones, and the Samothracians, &c., &c.; and above all, has introduced so many happy conjectures to demonstrate that Caer ar daaf[6] abbreviated into Caerdaaf and Cardiff, means Jupapannia (here the rogue has slily interpolated two letters to support his hypothesis) that I can scarcely prevail upon myself to attempt to deprive him of the benefits of his *great labour*, and I am only comforted with the recollection, that even if I fail, it is probable his Greek and Latin will be read when my ephemeral lucubrations, and consequently the folly of this attack, will be forgotten. In justice, however, to Richard of Cirencester and Stukely his commentator, I cannot help agreeing with them that Caerdiff was in all probability Tibia Amnis; and to me it seems clear that *Caerdydd*[7] the main prop of

[1] When the Caerau increased, the Dinas was considered as the *metropolis*, or residence of the tywysog, the general or leader of the whole country; thus for several centuries afterwards, we find the courts of the princes of North and South Wales called Dinasoedd (though they were no longer rock fortresses) as Dinas Aberffraw, Dinas Marthrafael, Dinas Pengwern and Dinas fawr or Dinevor.

[2] The *v* here is used to accommodate the eyes and ears of English readers, the modern way of writing this word is Caerfan, though Mr. Owen in his dictionary and other publications is endeavouring to restore the *v*, which certainly was in use in the 13th century.

[3] Anonymous Chorography of Ravenna.

[4] Horsley's Brit. Rom. Lib. 3.

[5] He was a prebendary of Llandaff, and curate of Caerau, in Glamorganshire, in the last century; he appears to have been a man of great learning and abilities, which we fear were not sufficiently rewarded.

[6] Taaf-wy, Tawe and *Teivi*, from whence Tibia means the same thing, i. e. the winding water: in Taaf, the word wy or water is dropped, though it is preserved in some measure in both the other rivers; Thames is of the same family, with the addition of the sibillating Saxon *s*. The *v* or *f* and *m* are continually changing places, and are as it were equivocal in the old British. This, by the assistance of a valuable and ingenious friend, will be more fully shown hereafter.

[7] "Caerdyf Britannice, hodie *Caerdydh* vocatur sed corrupte," says the annotator on Giraldus Cambrensis's Itinerary, cap. 6. So Jupannia seems also to have been a corruption of Gobannau or Gobannio, Abergavenny.

BUILTH IN 1805

(From a Drawing by Sir R. Colt Hoare)

Baxter's conjecture, from whence he would wish us to believe it was Jupiter's town) is a corruption long subsequent to the time of the Romans.

THE GAER NEAR BRECKNOCK.

"But to return to Gaer near Brecon. Mr. Harris,[1] in a letter to the Society of Antiquarians, supposes this fortification to have been the Magnis[2] of Antoninus (Magna of Richard of Cirencester). Horsley has satisfactorily proved that there was no Roman station at Old Radnor, though the learned had agreed for some time that this was the scite of Magnis; yet though this station is thus blown out of Radnorshire, if the latter part of the 12th Iter of Antoninus, or the 13th of Richard of Cirencester, be correct, there is no more reason for placing Magnis at Gaer, than at Caerffili It is totally out of the line from Abergavenny to Wroxeter in Shropshire, and then Kentchester will be admitted to be as Horsley has suggested (notwithstanding Harris's assertion that it is *universally* allowed to be Ariconium) the lost fort Magnis. Harris's confirmations of his opinions (I say it with reluctance, but with great confidence) are extremely futile, and such as we should not have expected to have heard from *him*. He thinks, that because Gaer in two or three charters of Bernard Newmarch and Roger earl of Hereford to the monks of Brecon, is called *vasta* Civitas, it follows it must be the Civitas *Magna*. Bernard Newmarch, soon after his arrival in Brecknockshire, razed Gaer, then called Caervong or Caervon, to the ground, and brought the materials, or at least such as were worth carrying, to Brecon.

"The vastum or vastatum Civitatem, mentioned in these charters, meant nothing more than the ruined or ruinated city, or site of a city, called Gaer. It is observable that in one of these, it is called Carneys, a corruption of Carnau, or heap of stones.

THE BUILDING OF ABERHONDDU.

"This removal of the materials of the city thus destroyed by Bernard to 'Aberhonddi,' is mentioned in an old MS. in the British Museum. 'Inasmuch (continues the MS.)[3] as he liked this place better for fortifications, because of the straits.' In another MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxon.,[4] it is called Caervong *iuxr* Brevi; and in another in the Bodleian Library, it is written Caervong: the *g* thus retained in all these MSS. must be rejected, as we have no such termination in the Welsh as *ong*. Here then we have the Caervon, or rather Caervan vawr, the greater or higher Bannau or Bannio in Brecknockshire, and following the course of the Usk downwards the next station but one, in the line of communication from thence to the head quarters of the second legion at Caerleon, is Gobannio, from the British Go-bannau, the lesser or lower Bannau or Bannio in Monmouthshire.

"Having established as satisfactorily (I trust) as the nature of this subject will admit, that Gaer near Brecknock is the site of the Bannio of the Romans, I proceed to follow their footsteps in that county; but here I have to lament the want of correct information and the nearly total deficiency of authentic documents, to enable me to trace them. To Tacitus, principally, if not solely, we are indebted for the history of the events in Britain in the first century. Tyssilio's chronicle at the same time that it pretends to inform us of the transactions which passed long prior to this period, and to introduce to us such men in buckram, as Eneas Whiteshoulder, Brutus Greenshield, Belinus, Brennus, Androgeus and a cloud of kindred spirits, with their equally visionary queens and daughters, Ignoge, Estrildis, Sabrina and Genuissa, very rarely condescends to give us even the names of the Roman generals: so that the historian of the present day can do little more than arrange the few facts he may be able to collect, and the produce of his labours can at last only be considered as a connected, but meagre table of chronology.

THE BRITONS IN THE TIME OF AULUS DIDIUS.

"Ostorius was succeeded by Aulus Didius, whose utmost exertions were directed not to retain the Silures in subjection,[5] but merely to restrain their incursions into that part of Britain which the Romans called their own provinces, so that South Wales seems at this period to have been almost, if not altogether evacuated by the enemy. Indeed we are told by Tacitus that not long after the partial conquest by Ostorius, the legionary camp master and cohorts who were left there to build forts, were completely surrounded by the Britons, and though the greatest part were rescued upon assistance being sent them, yet the camp master and eighty centurions were slain, the foragers also put to death, and in the continued skirmishes that occurred, the inhabitants from their knowledge of the country were generally successful. These barbarians, we are told, had a remarkable turn of thinking: the emperor

[1] Archæologia, vol. 2. p. 1.

[2] St. Agnes in Cornwall, says Mr. Polwhele, in history of that county, vol. I. p. 207. Though I presume to know something more of Roman ways than what I have acquired from *my* Camden, I am compleatly silenced when this historian places Leucarum, Bomium, Nidus, Isca Legionum, Gobannium, etc., in Cornwall.

[3] Harl. Coll. No. 6870.

[4] Rawlinson, No. 1220.

[5] Tacitus's Annals, Lib. 12.

Claudius[1] had threatened them, that like the Sugambri or Sicambri (who were almost exterminated and the remainder of them carried into Gaul) the name and memory of the Silures should not remain upon the earth. He had called to them, no doubt, by the mouth of his governors, proprætors and prætors, and had commanded them to come peaceably to Rome to be killed. Proclamation after proclamation most likely followed to the same effect: but such was their peculiar obstinacy (says Tacitus) *præcipua Silurum pervicacia*, that they would not submit to have their throats cut quietly. This tenaciousness of life, which is observable in eels and some few animals not endowed with the faculty of reasoning, may perhaps be excused in the *uncivilised* natives of South Wales. There are those, I am satisfied, who will not be surprised at their stubbornness on this occasion, or think them to blame in their determination, and their descendants may be permitted even to applaud their spirit, when they learn that soon after the death of Ostorius they defeated a legion, under the command of Manlius Valens; so that the Romans were obliged to carry on a kind of defensive war with the British inhabitants for nine or ten years, until the arrival of Suetonius Paulinus. During this period the invaders were so uncomfortably situated that their historian Tacitus is compelled thus to acknowledge their fallen condition:—'Our veterans were slaughtered, our settlements burnt, and our armies surrounded; we then contended only for our lives: it was not till some time afterwards that we had any thoughts of making conquests.'

JULIUS FRONTINUS COMES INTO BRITAIN.

"It does not appear that Suetonius Paulinus ever entered South Wales; his arms were directed against the Ordovices and the inhabitants of Anglesea. His victories there however had the effect of frightening the Silures into a temporary inactivity, with which his three successors, Petronius Turpilianus,[2] Trebellius Maximus and Vettius or Vectius Bolanus, seem to have been perfectly satisfied. Petilius Cerealis, who followed their sleeping governours, was a formidable enemy, but the Brigantes (the inhabitants of Yorkshire and some of the adjoining counties) found him ample employ, though he ultimately subdued them. After him came a truly great and able man, to whose talents and superior knowledge in the art of war, more than to his valour, or that of his troops, may be attributed the completion of the conquest, for which Ostorious had only cleared the road.

"In what year of Christ Julius Frontinus came into Britain is not precisely ascertained; his arrival may with tolerable accuracy be dated about the year 70, as he was succeeded by Agricola in 78. He brought with him to Caerleon the second legion of Augustus, called Victrix, and from thence he commenced his expedition into the interior of Wales: as to the particulars of his campaigns and the battles he fought, history is entirely silent; all we learn is that he completely subdued the Silures.

ROMAN ROADS IN THE COUNTY.

"To secure his conquest, and to establish a free intercourse and communication through the country, he repaired and rebuilt the forts erected by Ostorius, then in ruins, and caused the military road to be made, from him called the Julia Strata.[3] This road has been traced with much diligence, and I conceive with great accuracy, by Williams and Coxe, in their histories of Monmouthshire: the latter has given a map or sketch of its course from Bath to the Severn, from thence to the Caerwent, Caerleon, Cardiff, Boverton, Neath, and Loughor, where he unaccountably makes it stop. Whereas I conceive, it proceeded Westward to Caermarthen, from thence it turned to the East up the Vale of Towy to Llys Brychan in Llandoissant, the site of a station as I conjecture (for at present there are no remains of it, though several Roman coins were some years ago found here, which were sold to a watchmaker in Llywel, who melted them down), then to Pal y sarn, the head or highest part of the military way; from thence it came down on the Southern side of the Usk to Rhyd y briw; here it crossed the river, and near this place (as Mr. Strange observes in one of the volumes of the *Archæologia*, not now by me) it was perfectly visible some time back; from hence it continued in the same direction to some ford near the site of the bridge at Aberbrân; here again it recrossed the river Usk for the last time and proceeded to Caer, being intersected at this spot by what is now called Sarn Helen; another Roman road leading from Neath to Chester.

[1] Annal. Lib. 14.

[2] Tacitus, speaking of this man, (Annal. lib. 14.) says "Is non irritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit." (Satisfied at not being attacked by the enemy, he reframed form hostilities on his side, and dignified a life of laziness and indolence with the honourable name of peace.)

[3] It is difficult to conceive why Horsley in his essay on Antonine's Itinerary, should wish to deprive Julius Frontinus of the credit of planning and constructing this road, so absolutely necessary to the preservation of his authority over a country he had acquired by the sword, or why he should be desirous to attribute to a Briton a work evidently Roman. He supposes the Julia Strata to take its name from Saint Julian "a Saint (says he) much known in that country;" he is mistaken; he is not much known in the country through which the greatest part of the Julia Strata runs; and if it had been named from him, it would have been called Strata Juliana, and not Julia. Cressy gives us a Julius who suffered martyrdom in the third century; he was (says he) "a citizen of Caerleon." No person who has read the history either of England or Wales, ever dreamt of attributing this road to Julius Cæsar, as Horsley has intimated.

"From Caer, the Strata Julia continued Eastward to Brecknock, passed across a street, since called from this circumstance *the Strad*, a corruption of street or stratum; from thence it proceeded under and on the South side of an eminence known by the name of Slwch, to another at Llanhamlach, called Ty Illtid, where there is a Cromlech, and formerly was an Exploratorium or Arx speculatoria, as I conceive. From hence it ran in the same direction, above Scethrog House, under the hill called Allt yr yserin, keeping in a higher line than the present turnpike road from Brecon to Abergavenny, and ascending to the pass called Bwlch, which it crossed, and then pursued the course or track of the old Bwlch road, where the remains of it are still visible. From thence down into the vale of Cwmdu, by a house called the Caer, where there was, I am firmly persuaded, a Roman station of vast extent, though not at present known to antiquarians, but of which a plan and description will hereafter be given; from thence it passed to Tretower, to the ruinated church or chapel of Llanfair, near which we again meet with a mound, probably an Exploratorium: from thence to Crickhowel, and so on in nearly a straight line to Abergavenny, from which station it followed the course of the river Usk, keeping the whole of the way on the North side to the towns of Usk and Caerleon. At this latter place, the link united, and proceeded in one line to Caerwent and Bath.

SECTIONAL ROMAN ROADS.

"As soon as the Romans had firmly seated themselves in Britannia Secunda, it is natural to suppose they would wish to establish several vicinal or cross roads between the two chains; accordingly we find one, running nearly North and South, from Caerdiff to Caerbannau. This road proceeds from Caerdiff to Caerphili, though its track thus far is not easily discerned, but from the latter place, leaving Bedwas on the right, it proceeds in the same direction to Pont yr Ystrad, on a high ridge between the rivers Sirhowy and Rhymny and enters Breconshire at Brynoer, fifteen or sixteen miles from Caerphili; it is known to the inhabitants by the name of Sarn-hir, the long causeway. Its track during the whole or the greatest part of this distance is perfectly discernible, kirb stones occasionally appear on the sides; it is about ten feet wide, and whenever it crosses bogs, large flat stones have been laid down as a foundation for the superstrata of smaller gravel and earth. After entering Breconshire, it still retains the same direction along the Trevil ddu, or Tyr foel ddu, to Blâncrawnon, Penrhiw-calch, down Glyncollwm, from thence to Llanfrynach, where from the discovery of some Roman baths, there seems to have been a Roman general's villa, or perhaps a campus æstivus. From thence it followed northward, crossed the Usk somewhere near Brecon and joined the other branch of the Julia Strata leading to Caer. At Brynoer, about half way on this road from Cardiff to Brecon, Roman cinders are now frequently found. Where a blomery seems formerly to have been established, at Llanfrynach, the iron was probably brought down to be manufactured; at this latter place, there is now a field called Closy Gefailion, or the smith's field, or the field of the smiths' forges.

"I am also strongly inclined to believe from the appearance of an antient road on Llwydlo fach, in the parish of Tyr yr abad in Breconshire, discovered a few years back in digging turf, resembling in its materials and formation the works of the Romans, that another of their military ways connected Muridunum with the station of Cwm in Radnorshire. This stratum or sarn began, as I apprehend, at Carmarthen; proceeded from West to East on the north side of the Towy up to a farm now called *Ystrad*, to Llandovery and Llanvair-y-brin church, where some antiquarians are of opinion there was a station; from thence near Glanbran to Llwydlo fach, on which common its track is now visible, crossed the Irvon at Llancamddwr into Llangammarch; passed *Caeran*, the site of an Arx speculatoria, but not of a station as I conceive, though the contrary has been asserted by some authors, and they are in some measure justified in their conjecture by the name which this place still retains; from thence it proceeded through the parishes of Llanafan fawr and Llanvihangel-bryn-pabuan, crossed the Wye somewhere near the New bridge, entered Radnorshire and joined the Sarn Helen or Chester road at Cwm in Llanyre.

"Mr. Harris observes very properly in his letter to the Antiquarian Society, that in order to curb more effectually the Silures, the Romans formed *two chains* of garrisons (though in fact, as has been just mentioned, they are only a link in a line, as will be seen in the annexed map). Both, says he, began at Caerleon; one ran through the south part of the country, which lies near the Severn sea, and the other north, along the river Usk: these last he explains to be Burrium, Gobannium, and as he conjectures, Magnis where he also halts; but without a doubt there must have been a communication between the upper Bannio or Caervan-vawr I am informed that upon the confines of Carmarthenshire, westward of the river Sawdde, in the hamlet of Dyffrin Cydrich, and in the parish of Llangadock, there were formerly remains of another Roman station; and if the road from thence forward, in the same direction, could be traced, perhaps another could be found below Golden Grove. The town of Trecastle has a mound indeed of considerable height, which, if the Roman road ran here, on that side of the river might have been the site of a smaller tower of Arx speculatoria; but there are no remains

of entrenchments or fortifications to induce us to suppose this place ever to have been a respectable military station, and I have reasons for believing this eminence was collected and thrown together after the time of the Romans.

THE SARN LLEON AND JULIA STRATA.

"At Gaer, near Brecon, as I have before observed, the Strata Julia was crossed by the Sarn Lleon or Via Helena, leading from Neath to Chester. This road, the tradition of the inhabitants attributes to Helen, the mother of Constantine; it might with equal truth, be said to be the work of Helen of Troy. Our Helen (the daughter of old king Coel, or Coel Godebog), as the British historians call her, though there are considerable doubts as to her *birth, parentage, and education*, must have been a wonderful roadmaker indeed, if all those in Britain called Viæ Helenæ, are of her construction; she must certainly not only have been the first, but the most active surveyor general ever born in this kingdom. But Sarn Helen here, is only a corruption of Sarn Lleon or Sarn Lleon Gawr. When or where this hero of antiquity lived, I presume not to determine; the chronicles of Tyssilio says he was contemporary with Solomon king of Israel, and speaks thus briefly of him:[1] 'Bryttys Darianlàs a drigiod gyda ei Dat, ac ev a wledychod wedy y Dat deng mlyned, ac ar ei ol y by *Leon Gawr* y vab ynte; a gur da vy hwnnw y rwydhaws llywodraeth y Dyrnas ac adailiwys yn y part draw yr Gogled o ynis Brydain Dinas a elwir Caerlleon ar amser hwnnw ydoed Selyv ap Dafyd yn adailiat *Temyl Iessu Grist* yngharissalym.' (Brutus Greenshield remained with his father, and he governed the country ten years; after him followed his son Leon, the mighty, and he was a good man, and a king who encouraged truth and justice. And this Leon established and reformed the government of the kingdom, and built a city in the northern part of the island of Britain, called Caerleon,[2] by some said to be Carlisle, and at this time Solomon, the son of David, built the *temple of Jesus Christ* at Jerusalem.)

"From a chieftain of the name of Lleon, Chester was called Caer-Lleon; and from its leading to that city from Nidus or Nedd (now spelt Neath), this road was called by the Britons, Sarn Lleon, or the Chester road, which was Latinized into Strata Leona, afterwards corrupted into Strata or Via Helena. though I must take the liberty, with great deference to Owen, to believe that here and there a Via Helena *may* be a corruption of Sarn y Lluon,[3] an anomalous plural of Llu an army or multitude, which may be translated almost literally into English, by the military way or road.

"At Neath, the Sarn Lleon is discernible on the marsh, on the north side of the river Neath, opposite to the castle, to which it evidently led; from thence it proceeded east by north, and is discovered at Lletty'r Afel; it then ascends a hill called Cefn-hîr-fynidd and so to Gelly-ben-uchel, Banwen, and Ton y vildra, where it enters Brecknockshire, and its formation appears as perfect as when first made, excepting its slight coat of turf and grass. A little south eastward of Ton y vildra it crosses a brook called Nant-hîr, pursues the same direction to Blan-nedd by Cefn-uchel-dref, leaving that farm and also the lime kilns at Carnau-gwynion in Ystradfellte to the south, keeps a course parallel with the road from Pontneathvaughan to Brecon for near a mile; passes close by a stone of about nine feet high, called Maen Llia, and instead of proceeding as the present road does to the head of that nearly precipitous dinge, called Cwmdu, it may be traced gradually descending on the south side of the river Senni and vale. From this place it is now no longer visible for a considerable distance, but it probably passed above Blân-senni house, where the inclosures and the plough have completely effaced or concealed it, until we come near Blângwrthid, in the parish of Llanspyddid, where it is again seen. Near Blângwrthid is an artificial mound, on which formerly perhaps was an Exploratorium, though afterwards converted into a small fort or keep (according to the tradition of the country) by Maud de St. Valeri, wife of William de Breos, who lived in the reign of King John. Here we lose it, and we can only conjecture that it descended into the vale of Usk, near Bettws, or Penpont chapel, where it joined the Julia Strata and proceeded with it to Gaer; from thence northward, I have not *hitherto* been able to trace it with accuracy, though I believe I observe here and there some remains of it.

"Having given the general outline of the works and the track of the roads made by the Romans in Brecknockshire, little more can be said of them until I come to the parochial history of the county, when the lesser and more minute features will be described. The inhabitants of this part of the principality

[1] Myf. Arch. vol. 2. p. 124.

[2] Pennant, in his tour in Wales, (vol. 1. p. 111.) supposes Caerlleon or Chester to mean the camp of the Legion, and calls it Cae'r lleon vawr ar Dyfrdwy, the camp of the great and twentieth legion of the Dee. He is not aware that Lleon, if it applies at all to Legion, *must* be plural; but the city is called Caerlleon *gawr*, and not *vawr*, in all old English MSS. He shall, however, have his choice of Caerlleon vawr, or Caerlleon gawr; in the one case it will be Castrum Legionum *magna*, and in the other Castrum Legionum *Principis*.

[3] It would be dangerous to refer the reader to Richard's dictionary, who says the plural of Lleng a Legion, is Lleon. "Poor plodding Richards (says that Cawr Goronwy Owen) his book will be of no service to the next compiler, or indeed to any body else." *Camb. Register, vol. 2. p. 505.* I humbly beg leave to acknowledge *my* obligations to him, and to admit his utility.

either submitted quietly from henceforward to the yoke of their masters, or if any material events occurred during their stay in this country, the memorials of them have perished in the lapse of ages.[1]

"About 150 years after the establishment of the Romans in Britain, the emperor Severus divided his territories there into two provinces, Britannia Prima and Britannia Secunda: the latter comprehended the whole of North and South Wales. Constantine in about half a century afterwards, again divided them into six provinces, distinguished by the names of Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, Valentia and Vespasiana, and a regular itinerary (the first perhaps of Britain) was drawn up by Lollius of the whole.[2]

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN BATH AND COINS.

"From several coins of Alectus, Carausius, Constantius and Constantine, having been found at a place called Carnau bach in Llanfrynach, in Breconshire, where a Roman bath, and other works of that people were discovered some years back, it should seem that the legions remained in that country during the reigns of those emperors, and until Maximus in the year 383 carried them together with the flower of the British youth, into Gaul, never to return, leaving behind him a feeble and enervated race, accustomed to a life of inactivity and indolence, fondly attached to the luxuries introduced by their conquerors; corrupted by their vices, but possessing neither their virtues nor their valour, and totally incapable of protecting themselves against the attacks of an enemy: until from the repeated incursions of the Scots and Picts, and afterwards of their merciless foe the Saxons, they were once more compelled to learn the use of arms, and to habituate themselves to a life of warfare.

REFERENCE TO WELSH AUTHORITIES.

"Thus far, I am indebted to the authors of Rome and the Empire for the information I have been enabled to collect. I am now obliged to have recourse to the MSS. of the Arwydd feirdd, or heralds of our country, and though this source of intelligence may be scanty, perhaps incorrect, and consequently not to be as implicitly relied upon as the authors I have hitherto quoted, they are intitled to considerable attention. They are systematically arranged, cautiously selected and carefully preserved, by those parochial or provincial officers whose duty it was to record the exploits and pedigrees of our ancestors. Should it be necessary to add another argument, there is one still behind, which will justify my reference to them—*they are the only documents to be found* that treat of that part of the principality now called Brecknockshire.[3] In one of these MSS. we are informed, that about the latter end of the first century, and before the conclusion of those calamitous wars which terminated, as has been seen, so fatally to Silurean liberty, there lived a king, or rather regulus of Brecknockshire (then called Garthmadryn), whose name was Gwraldeg,[4] and according to this account, Meurig or Marius, now governed Britain, as Brenhin Prydain oll, or monarch of the whole island. In his reign the territories of Albania or Scotland were invaded by a captain or leader who came from Egypt, though by birth a Grecian, of the name of Gedalus. This adventurer, with a chosen band of friends and accompanied by his wife Scota, possessed himself of that part of the country, from him since called Gadelway or Galloway. Among his attendants in this expedition, was a young man, named Teithall or Tathall, son of Annwn Ddu or Antoninus Niger. This Teithall was remarkable for his amiable disposition and the suavity of his manners, and being introduced into the British Court, he had the good fortune to attract the notice of King Meurig, by whose interest he obtained in marriage Morvytha (Morfydd), only daughter and heiress of Gwraldeg, king or rather regulus of Garthmadryn. Unfortunately for the credit of this legend, there is a trifling anachronism in the tale, which will send *captain* Gadelus, his lady and their followers, into the company of Æneas Whiteshoulder, Brutus Greenshield and the other doubtful heroes of antiquity; for whose acquaintance, we are indebted to Tyssilio or Geoffrey of Monmouth. Gadelus, as some old Scottish authors tell us, married Scota, a daughter of Pharaoh Cenchres, king of Egypt, and made himself master of that part of Great Britain, in honour of his consort called Scotland.[5] Now this conquest of Scotland by Gathelus or Gadelus (which by the by has long since been exploded by the more learned and respectable historians of that nation) is supposed to have taken place at a period very little subsequent to the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt; whereas Meurig, king of Britain, in whose time Gwraldeg is said to have lived, did not begin his reign till the year 72 of the Christian era.

[1] The loss of a volume by Ammianus Marcellinus, which it is said, contained a history of the occurences in Britain during part of the time the Romans remained there, is particularly to be regretted.

[2] Whit. hist. of Manchester, vol. I.

[3] MS. Rawl. 1220, Bodl. Lib. MS. Harl. Coll. 6870, Brit. Mus. MS. 6108, ditto. MS. 2289, ditto.

[4] For his descendants continued by a female who married Brychan Brycheiniog hereafter mentioned, see Appendix No. V.

[5] Fordun's history of Scotland, lib. I. cap. 8. Major de Gest. Scot. lib. I. folio 17. Girald. Camb.

Be this as it may, and whether Teithall was of Greek, Roman or British origin, the MSS. inform us that by this marriage he had issue Teithin or Tydheirn, who succeeded his father in the government of Garthmadryn, and left issue, as some say, Irith y blawd, who was followed by his son, Teidfallt or Teithphaltim, though others omit this Irith the *mealman*.

"Teidfallt or Teithphaltim is reported to have encroached upon his neighbours, and to have been the first who assumed the title of king of Garthmadryn. Hugh Thomas[1] supposes this to have been effected by his joining forces with the Irish, Picts and Scots, in their invasions of South Wales. If so, this places him, and consequently his ancestor, Gwraldeg, much later than he is stated to be in this MS., as the incursions of the barbarians did not take place until nearly the period when the Romans were about to quit Britain; probably therefore, this prince lived in the time of the commotions mentioned by Julius Firmicus, which brought the emperor Constans into Britain[2] in the middle of a tempestuous winter; the particulars of which (says Echard)[3] are recorded in that volume of Ammianus Marcellinus which is now unfortunately missing. Indeed it is highly probably that Hugh Thomas and those MSS. which place Gwraldeg in the year 230, are correct, as the seven persons here named, can hardly be supposed to have lived so long as from the middle of the first to the beginning of the fifth century.

"Teidfallt[4] was succeded by his son Tewdrig,[5] Tydyr or Tudor. According to the computation of Hugh Thomas, he was contemporary with the emperor Valentinian, and acted in conjunction with the Picts, Saxons, Scots and Attacotti. The continual squabbles for empire, the licentiousness and turbulence of the Roman soldiers and the wars with the Germans, the Alemanni and other inhabitants of the Continent, fully employed the attention of the Roman emperors and generals at this time, and though we do not know that any resolution had yet been formed of quitting Britain, their possessions here were now only considered as a secondary object. The consternation, however, which these barbarians had spread throughout the provinces by their savage and ferocious acts of cruelty, not only along the coasts, but in the interior of the island, at last compelled the emperor to send his general Theodosius to expel the enemy, and to reduce the rebellious natives to obedience. It is supposed, says Thomas, that upon the restoration of peace by that officer, the votive Altar found at Gaer or Caerfan, and removed to the priory of Brecon some years back, was erected.

"Tewdrig had issue only one daughter, whose name was Marchell or Marcella,[6] who married Aulach, Anllech, Afalach or Olave, said to have been a son of Corineog, king of the Brigantes or Britains of Dublin, though he was most probably of that part of Ireland now called Wexford. This Corineog, in a MS. in the library of Jesus College, Oxford, written about 500 years ago and quoted by Hugh Thomas, is called Cormac mac Eurbre Gwyddel; of his son's marriage with the heiress of Garthmadryn, we have a strange tale or legend in Latin in the Cottonian library, entitled "Cognacio Brychan inde Brechenawc dicta est, pars Demetiæ in S. Wallia." It is as follows:[7]

THE BIRTH OF BRYCHAN.

"Tewdrig, king of Garthmadryn, with his captains and elders, and all his family, removed to Bryncoyn[8] near Lanmaes. This Tewdrig had an only daughter, whose name was Marchell, whom he thus addressed, 'I am very uneasy least your health should suffer from the pestilential disorder which at present ravages our country' (now Marchell had a girdle made of a certain skin, to which popular opinion attributed such a virtue, that whoever girded their loins with it, would be safe from any pestilential infection). Go therefore, my daughter (says he) to Ireland and God grant you may arrive there in safety. Her father then appointed her 300 men and twelve honourable maids, to wait upon her and conduct her thither. On the first night they reached Llansemin,[9] where one hundred of her attendants died (whether from cold or pestilence is not asserted, though the English

[1] Hugh Thomas was deputy herald to Sir Henry St. George, Garter, principal king at arms in the year 1703; he was son to a Mr. William Thomas, a salesman and a citizen of London, of the family of Thomas of Llanvrynach, in Breconshire; he was by profession an arms painter; fond of antiquities, he made collections for a history of Brecknockshire, of which a quarto MS. intitled "An essay towards the history and antiquities of Brecknock," is preserved in the Bodleian library; he left his MSS. number 2288 and 2289, to the Earl of Oxford, but his lordship very liberally paid for them to his brother, who was very poor; they are now in the Harleian collection, bound up in volumes, but not arranged; he died without issue, in 1714.

[2] A. D. 543.

[3] Echard's Roman hist. vol. 3. p. 9.

[4] A. D. 364.

[5] A MS. in the British Museum, No. 6870, informs us that Tydor ap Neubedd, lord of Brecknock, lived at Crwceas, near Brecon, and that he was a benefactor to the church of Llandaff; but I am inclined to think that the Tydor or Tydyr, who gave Merthyr Tewdrig, now called Mathern, to the see or rather the church of Llandaff, was this Tydyr ap Teithwalch, although Llewellyn Offeiriad's MS. makes him live too early for the episcopacy of Ondoceus. Williams in his history of Monmouthshire, calls him Tewderic ap Teithwalch, and says he was a prince of Gwent, and the first who built a church at Llandaff, page 75.

[6] MS. 2289, Harl. Col.

[7] Appendix, No. VI.

[8] There is a field near Llanfaes being part of Newton farm, which is called Bryn Gwin, on this field were formerly heaps of stone and vestiges of buildings.

[9] Perhaps Llansevin in Llangadock, Caermarthenshire.

legend asserts it was from extreme cold). On the morrow, anxious and alarmed at this melancholy event, she arose and proceeded on her journey, and arrived the same night at Madrum,[1] where as at the former place, she lost one hundred men. On the following morning she rose very early, and the third night brought them to Porthmawr[2]; from whence, with her surviving hundred men and maidens, she passed over to Ireland. Upon the news of her arrival, Aulach, the son of Gormac, the king of the country, met her with a most princely train, and the cause of her coming being explained to him he was so smitten with her beauty and pleased with her high rank (for she was the daughter of a king), that he fell in love with and married her; making at the same time a solemn vow, that if she produced him a son, he would return with her to Britain. Aulach then made honourable provision for her twelve maidens, giving each of them away in marriage. In process of time, Marchell conceived and brought forth a son, whom his father named Brychan: and when Brychan had completed his second year, his parents took him to Britain, and they resided at Benni. The English legend relates the same story, with some little difference and additions: for after informing us of the journey of Marchell into Ireland and her marriage there, it proceeds, 'and Marchell brought forth a son and called him Brychan, and Aulach with his queen and son, and the captains following, viz., Karmol, Fernagh,[3] Ensermach, Lithlimich, &c., came to Britain. Brychan was born at *Benni* and was placed under the care of Drychan, whom some call Brichan and others Brynach, and this Drychan brought up Brychan; thence Brychan was brought to Brecheiniog, when he was *four* years old. And in the seventh year, Drychan said to Brychan, bring my cane to me; and Drychan was dim in his latter years, and while he lay waking, a boar came out of the woods and stood on the banks of the river Yschir,[4] and there was a stag behind him in the river, and there was a fish that bellied the stag (i.e. was under the belly of the stag), which portended that Brychan should be happy in plenty of wealth. Likewise, there was a beech which stood on the banks of the said river, wherein the bees made honey, and Drychan said to his foster son Brychan, 'Behold this tree of bees and honey I will give thee also full of gold and silver, and may the grace of God remain with thee here and hereafter.' And afterwards Aulac gave his son Brychan as an hostage to the king of Powis; and in progress of time, Brychan lay with the daughter of Benadell, and she brought him a son named Cynog, who being carried to the tents was baptised; when Brychan taking the bracelet from his arm, gave it to his son Cynog. This Cynog is famous in his country, and the bracelet is still preserved as a curious relick.'

THE ARMS OF MARCHELL AND BRYCHAN.

"The plain English of these tales, as far as it can be made out, seems to be, that this princess and her countrymen to avoid a famine or some contagious disorder, were driven into Ireland, where she married and afterwards returned with her husband to her native land, when the scarcity was over or the disorder had ceased. The arms given by the British heralds to Marchell were, *Or*, three bats, or (as they call them, rere-mice) azure, beaked and clawed gules: perhaps these ill boding harbingers of darkness were adopted in commemoration of the gloomy pestilence which then raged in the country, and their beaks and claws were represented red, to denote the bloody characters which marked its track. These arms, quarterly, second and third, with those of Brychan, viz., sable, a fess, *Or*, between two swords in pale, points up and down, argent, pommeled and hilted of the second, are now those of the county of Brecon: they are borne by the Gwynnes of Glanbrân in Caermarthenshire, and Garth and Buckland in Breconshire, as well as by several other descendants of this Aulach and Marchell.

"In this succession of reguli, I have hitherto followed the MS. of Hugh Thomas, which is confirmed by several others; but George Owen Harry[5] in his book of pedigrees, intitled, 'The well-spring of true nobilitie,' differs in toto from the line chalked out by them; he takes no notice whatever of Gwraldeg and his race, nor does he even mention the territory of Garthmadryn. But after a long catalogue of the princes of Glamorgan, he comes at length to Ninian, who had issue Teithwaleh, who had issue Tewdrig, the father of Meurig prince of Glamorgan, and Marchell, the mother of Brychan, sirnamed Brecheiniog: this, if true, would lead us to conclude, that Garthmadryn, instead of being an independent state, as elsewhere represented, was nothing more than a cantred of Morganwg or Glamorgan, and now first separated as a marriage portion with Marchell, whose son exercised a regal power of changing the name to Brecheiniog; but this account is intitled to little credit or

[1] Meidrim in Caermarthenshire.
[2] Porthmawr, a Haven near St. David's.
[3] Three Miles Westward of Brecknock is a hill called Mynidd Ffernach.
[4] Escir or Yscyr.
[5] George Owen Harry was rector of Whitchurch in Kemeys, in the county of Pembroke, and lived in the reign of James the first. The Truman MS. hereafter often referred to, agrees with George Owen Harry in deriving Tewdrig, then called Tewdrig Vendiged, or the blessed king of Glamorgan, Gwent and Garthmadryn, from Teithall ap Teithrin ap Ninaw, etc.

attention, opposed as it is by six or seven pedigrees of different ages and by different writers. Especially when the manners, as well as the language of the two provinces (as has before been observed) have always varied, and marked them as distinct tribes.

"This disagreement between the genealogists may perhaps be accounted for, when we recollect that Teidfallt, Teithphaltim or Teithwalch, is said to have been a troublesome restless chieftain, and to have encroached upon his neighbour's territories; he may therefore have dispossessed the regulus of Glamorganshire, and George Owen Harry, or rather the herald whom he follows, finding him in the list of princes of that country, may have considered him as the son of Niniaw, his predecessor in the MS. But the majority of writers is so evidently and indisputably in favour of the descent from Gwraldeg, that I cannot consent to give him up, even though the Glamorganshire family would connect prince Brychan with the hero of Troy and the long race of British kings supposed to spring from him."

To the foregoing observations of Theophilus Jones we make the following additions.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE DINAS.

Little is known of Britain before the days of the Roman invasion. Traders had sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar, through the Pillars of Hercules, and in the ocean that flows round the earth had discovered two Bretannic islands, Albion and Ierne. The greater portion of Albion level and woody; the produce corn and cattle, gold, silver, iron, and tin; skins, too, and slaves; also dogs sagacious in hunting; the men taller than the Celtic, and their hair less yellow; their manners simple; though possessing plenty of milk they made no cheese, nor were they acquainted with husbandry. Forests were their cities: having enclosed a space with felled trees they made themselves huts and there lodged their cattle, but not for any long continuance.

Had the author's informant penetrated so far as the tribes of the Silures, inhabitants of what is now Brecknock and the surrounding counties, he would have found a different class of city. The Dinas, or primeval fortress of the Silures, is in every case within the county of Brecknock, a walled inclosure on the top of a hill, its size limited only by the extent of the summit, surrounded by a dry wall for the purpose of defence, a diagonal wall sometimes leading down the hill perhaps to provide a covered way to obtain water; indications of a gate with exterior defences; the exterior often pitted with shallow excavations some three feet deep, probably roofed once with branches of trees and forming the dwelling place of our rude ancestors—a place of protection for the aged, the women, and the children, a haven for cattle against the marauder, and a rallying point for the warrior,

The County of Brecon is studded with many such dinasoedd, no longer clearly distinguishable, one of the many mysteries of the prehistoric past—each Dinas, doubtless, crowded with wonder-stricken warriors and terrified women, when the civilised legions of Rome marched into the woodland valleys of Siluria.

THE ROMAN PERIOD: B.C. 55—A.D. 441.

The Roman Empire had spread itself over the known world: its armies, under their victorious General Julius Cæsar, had subdued the natives of Gaul, and had advanced to the southern shores of the British Channel. The Britains, having sent supplies to the Gauls, Cæsar resolved upon the conquest of the British Isles. Accordingly he landed in Britain on the 26th August in the 55th year before Christ: a month later, having lost many ships in the storm, he returned to Gaul. In May of the following year he made a second expedition. The people of the country now called Essex, Middlesex, and Kent, yielded to the Roman invasion. Cæsar, however, shortly returned to Gaul, and never again visited Britain.

Nearly a century passed before any further attempt was made at conquest. Christ was born, and had suffered, and a new era had arisen. The Emperors Augustus and Tiberius had reigned at Rome. The conquest of Britain, ever and anon, floated before the eyes of the Romans as a brilliant legacy bequeathed by their greatest citizen, but it was not till the 43rd year of the Christian era that the Emperor Claudius despatched Aulus Plautius in command of the third expedition. The occupation of the Island was unattended with difficulty. The natives, though possessed of bodily strength and bravery, were no match for the disciplined troops of the invader, and when the General left, after a few years' sojourn, the level country of England had been subdued by the victorious Romans.

The Welsh still gave trouble. In Cornwall the old nationality maintained itself, while the Silures, inhabiting South Wales, and their northern neighbours, continued to defy the invaders. As, during the Gallic wars, the Island of Britain had, while unoccupied, been a thorn in the side of the Roman Generals, an unapproachable base, from which war could be waged, and stores obtained, and in which the discontented and the deserter could find a refuge, so now a similar position was held by the mountains of Wales and the distant island of Anglesey,

To protect the country already conquered, Ostorius Scapula, who succeeded Plautius, marched immediately on his arrival against the people of South Wales, defeating them and their King Caractacus, whose wife and daughter were taken prisoners; while he, having fled northward to the Brigantes, was by them surrendered to the enemy and sent as a captive to Rome.

A series of fortified stations were now established between England and Wales. A camp for the Fourth Legion at Wroxeter in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury; one further north at Chester for the Twentieth Legion, and a third for the Second Legion at Venta Silurum, afterwards called Caer-lleon (the camp of the legion). On the camp at Caerlleon the wild Silures poured; and but for speedy reinforcements would have cut the garrison to pieces; as it was the Prefect and eight Centurions were slain, though ultimately victory declared itself for the Romans. Henceforward there were frequent encounters and skirmishes, with plundering parties, in the woods and marshes. Of all the native tribes the Silures were the most determined; they cut off auxiliary cohorts as they were ravaging the country without due circumspection, and by distributing the spoil amongst the neighbouring nations drew them also into revolt.

At this period died the Roman General Ostorius, wearied by the obstinacy of the contest. The Roman Emperor, apprised of the death of his lieutenant, replaced him with Aulus Didius. In the meantime the legion commanded by Manlius Valens had sustained a defeat at the hands of the Silures, who were making incursions on the occupied country. Didius at once set upon them and repulsed them. A stone at Tretower, built into the north gateway of Tretower House, and inscribed with the name Valens, seems to indicate that Brecknock was within the limits of the theatre of war, and possibly that the Roman camp at Gaer, Cwmdu, was then in existence. Didius was a man advanced in years; he contented himself with allowing his lieutenants to keep the Britons in check, and did no more than retain former conquests.

His successor Veranius ravaged the country of the Silures, but shortly died. The time of the next Governor, Suetonius Paulinus, was occupied in an attack on Anglesey, and afterwards repelling a revolt of the Iceni, whose vigorous onslaught, under the Queen Boadicea, imperilled the very existence of the Romans. There is no record that Suetonius, or his successor, Petonius Turphilianus, ever entered Wales, though it has been suggested that the monumental stone at Crickhowell, to "the two sons of Turpil," might refer to the General. In the opinion of Professor Westwood it is of later date.

In the year A.D. 70, or a little later, Julius Frontinus became Propraetor in Britain. To him are ascribed the military roads of South Wales. The effect of a better organisation was at once apparent. The Silures yielded to Roman arms, the tide of warfare receded from South Wales, and from that time forward Scotland and the North seem to have exclusively occupied the forces of the invaders.

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON ROMAN ROADS.

For the military occupation of a country, roads have been in all ages a first necessity. The English in the 19th century have advanced the railway to the north-west frontier of India, are pushing an iron road northward from South Africa through the land of the Zulu, while from the north the railhead on the bank of the Nile is carried forward immediately in the rear of victorious forces in the Soudan. So the Romans, more than 18 centuries ago, joined their posts of Dover and Richborough in Kent, with London, then, as now, the most important city of Britain. Out of the 15 roads mentioned by Antonine, London is the starting place of seven: of these only three are of importance to our present purpose.

The route (numbered two) started from the Great Wall reaching from Tynemouth to Solway Firth across the island, separated the limit of the Roman Empire from the northern barbarian, whence the road led southward and eastward to London and Richborough on the coast of Kent. The road was the direct route from Londinium (London) to Uriconium (Wroxeter) and thence northward to Deva (Chester), marked in the Itinerary as the headquarters of the 20th Legion. It was thus the highway to

North Wales, and as the invading army passed freely from North to South Wales, this road became an important item in the fortunes of our county—Uriconium (Wroxeter) being the point at which the various roads joined.

Another road (numbered seven) led from Regnum (Chichester) past the haven of Portsmouth and Southampton to Calleva (Reading) and London. The last two stages on the route, from Llandinium (London) to Pontibus (supposed to be Windsor, 22 miles, and thence the same distance on to Calleva of the Attrebates, a tribe then inhabiting Berkshire. Calleva is believed to be Reading. The miles given in Antonine's Itinerary have been useful in enabling critics to fix the places to which ancient names refer. They are generally correct, but at times vary, sometimes giving too great a length, apparently by the clerical omission of a figure, CIX written for CXIX, and perhaps sometimes on account of wood and river making a necessity for detour.

From Reading (Calleva) South Wales was approached by two routes, one through Durocornovium (Cirencester) and Glevum (Gloucester), Arieonium (Ross), Blestium (Monmouth), to Burrio (Usk). This being the nearest point to Brecknock, let us leave the route—though it proceeds to Isca Caerlleon where it joins the next route. We now trace the second road from London by Reading to South Wales.

Following the last mentioned road for 17 miles from Reading to Speen, the road now passes to Aquæ Solis (Bath). The name "Waters of the Sun" indicating that the medicinal property of the waters was known to the Romans. From Aquæ Solis to Trajectus (Bristol), thence to Abone, a place conjectured to have been on the Severn, somewhere, perhaps, where the New Passage or the Severn Tunnel are now. Thence crossing the river Severn the road approached Venta Silurum (Caer-went), Gwent being the ancient name of Monmouthshire; Caer-gwent, the camp of Gwent, may have been in days long past, a place of import. The road ends at Isca (Caerleon) Caerleon, or in Latin *Castra legionis*, being the headquarters of the Second Legion.

The road from London to the nearest points to Brecknock end here; the route along the south coast of Wales was continued to Muridunum (Car-marthen). For our purpose it will be convenient to proceed at once to Carmarthen, tracing the road towards the county of Brecknock. Leaving Muridunum, in which word we vaguely see the name Marthen, helping historians, mayhap, to the antiquity of the name, the road ran eastward through Llucarnum (Lwghor) to Nidum (Neath), thence through Bovium to Isca (Caerleon) at which point the road joins those from London by Gloucester and Bristol, already traced. Over these roads the traveller now passes to Barrium (Usk), where he turns, passing northward to Gobannium (Aber-gavenny) and thence to Magni (Kenchester), Bravinium (perhaps Brandon, Brampton, or Leintwardine), and so to Uriconium (Wroxeter in Salop). Wroxeter is said to have been Wrekeneester (the camp of the Wrekin). This road must have been of great importance in Roman-British history, connecting the road from London to South Wales with that which united the Metropolis (Iter. II.) with Chester and the North to the Principality. Note particularly on it the following places: Muridunum (Carmarthen), Nidum (Neath), a point not mentioned now, Cardiff (Caer Taff, the camp of the Taff), and Gobannium (Abergavenny). From these points start the local roads connecting with the great thoroughfares the military stations in the county of Brecknock.

The Roman roads are supposed to have followed ancient British trackways. To the moderns it may be interesting to note how nearly they have in turn been followed by the railways of the 19th century.

The 13th road of the Romans is represented by the route of the Great Western Railway from London to Gloucester and South Wales; the 12th road is its continuation along the coast of South Wales to Carnarvon. The 14th route, which in the original is called *alium iter*, an alternative road, passes through Bath and Bristol to the south shore of the Bristol Channel, whence the Roman sought the coast of Wales by labour of the oar, and we of modern times rush under the waves of the Severn through the tunnel framed by engineering skill.

In tracing the main roads there has been followed Antonine's Itinerary. The work of an unknown Roman, and written at a date also unknown, it was either originally written in the fourth century, or brought down to that date in a subsequent edition. The local roads, now to be shortly described, can still be here and there recognised, have been marked where visible on the Ordnance maps, and have been mentioned more or less correctly in the works of several recent historians.

Amongst the most important of vicinal roads is one starting presumably from Carmarthen (Muridunum) following the Teivy river to Llandilo, whence it is shown in the Ordnance maps following the

present road from Swansea to Llandovery to the Roman town of Loventium, now Pontllaino, north of Llandovery, from which place it runs still northward through North Wales. At or near Llandovery it was joined by a second road, the most important from our point of view of all the Roman roads, via Julia Montana, running East and West through the whole length of the Vale of Usk from its source past Brecon to Abergavenny. Passing a camp at a height of over 1,400 feet above the sea the road can be traced across the Trecastle mountain. Passing the castle it keeps north of the Usk, crossing the river at Senny Bridge; the south bank is then followed, though the river must have been crossed once more to reach the Gaer camp at Venny fach, the most important station in Brecknock, commanding the road east and west, and another to be hereafter described from Cardiff to the north. From Gaer the road can be traced to Brecon, where a street still called Struet (Stratum), preserves the memory of the ancient Roman stratum.

From Brecon the road continues Eastward South of the Slwch camp, passing the hill known as the Allt at a higher level than the present road. It follows the top of the ridge to Bwlch and down the hill to the Roman camp at Gaer in Cwmdu; beyond this point no traces have been identified, but there can be but little doubt that it passed by the village of Tretower, and so by Crickhowell to Abergavenny. At Abergavenny (Gobannium) it joined the road (Iter. XII) already described, connecting that place with Uriconium (Wroxeter) on the north and southward with the coast of the Bristol Channel and the roads leading thence to London. Road XII bears the name Walting Street.

A road appears amongst the mountains of the Beacon range. This ran from Cardiff over the Gelligaer Common and past the modern town of Merthyr, following the course of the river Taff until the road bifurcates on the Taff Fechan at a point immediately south of Point Twyn reservior called Dol-y-gaer (the meadow of the camp). The western road can still be traced following the Taff Fechan in a north-westerly direction; it may possibly have passed to the west of the Beacon down the Tarrell brook to Caer Bannau, though I know not whether its course has there been traced. Crossing Glyn Collwyn above and to the east of the Brecon and Merthyr Railway it keeps the top of the hill, finally descending to Talybont. It probably joined the road through the centre of the Vale of Usk, though at what point remains a matter of uncertainty.

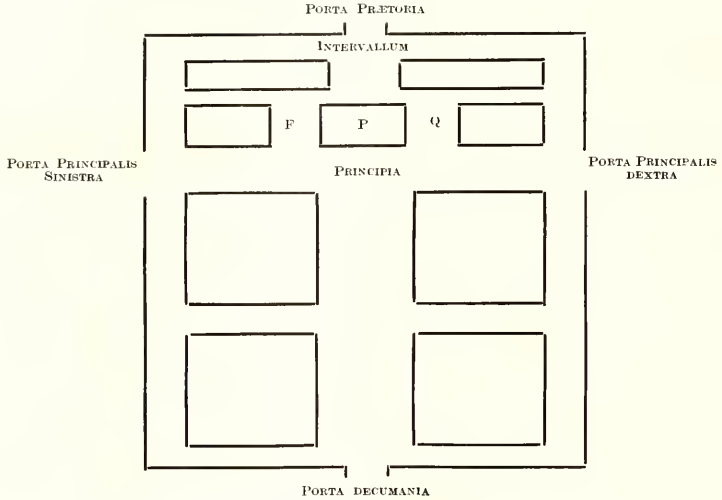
The last road to be described is the Sarn Helen, corrupted from Sarn Lleon, the road of the Legion, possibly so named because Chester, Caer Lleon—*Castra legionis*, the camp of the Legion—was one of its termini. From Neath the road leads along the ridge of Hir Fynydd, "the long mountain," a mile or more to the east of the Brecon and Neath Railway. Passing a camp marked on the Ordnance Map it enters Brecknock at Ton y tildre, crosses the valley of the Nedd, and crosses into that of the Llia; by its side is a stone, Maen Madoc, 1,373 feet above the sea. The road still ascends, more than fourteen hundred feet above the sea; and then descends the northern slope of the mountain. It is lost after passing Blaen Senny, to reappear for a short distance at Blaengurthyd, somewhat over a mile south of Penpont. After passing the Gaer the route leads to Brecon, and can thence be traced northward up the Vale of Honddu. A mile above Lower Chapel it leaves the modern road to Builth, and ascends the mountain to the east of Merthyr Cynog, taking the ridge between that parish and Gwenddwr. It rejoins the present road to Builth at the top of the hill before the wayside public house at Cwm awen is reached; it then follows the west bank of the Dihonw to Maesmynis, from which point it probably proceeded to Builth, where the Wye would be crossed. A Roman road and station have been found a few miles North at Llanyre in Radnorshire, whence the route passes in all probability still to the north.

The Roman roads which concern Brecknock have now been traced with such accuracy as is in our power. Two routes from London via Gloucester and Bristol to South Wales; one from Carmarthen through the Vale of Usk to Abergavenny; one from Neath via Brecon to Chester; a road connecting Chester and Wroxeter with London (the highway to North Wales); and a shorter route from Cardiff to the Carmarthen and Abergavenny route between Brecon and Bwlch. From some remains of an old road discovered in the 18th century on the mountain at Llandulas, Theophilus Jones considers that there may have been another Roman road down the Vale of Irfon; more careful mapping since that day has led to no further discovery in this direction, though it has enabled us in the above sketch to trace the Sarn Lleon much further than he did.

ROMAN CAMPS.

Roman military camps were arranged according to a definite plan, modified only by the numbers for whom accommodation had to be provided. A camp intended to accommodate a consular army

of two legions, each consisting of 4,200 infantry and 300 cavalry, with its contingent of camp followers, amounting in all to 18,600 men, formed a square each side of which extended in length 2,017 Roman feet. It may be roughly outlined thus :—



P.—Prætorium (General's tent).
F.—Forum (Market place).
Principia.—(Principal street).
Intervallum (Between rampart and camp).
Gates.—Porta Prætoria (General's gate).
Porta Principales dextra (the right principal street).
,, ,, sinistra (the left).
Q.—Quæstorium (or paymaster's tent).

This square was divided into two unequal portions by a straight road called the Principia, or principal street, one hundred feet in breadth, having at its two extremities camp gates called the right and left gates of the principia. On one side of the principia, half way between the gates, stood the pretorium or general's tent, so situated as to have a commanding view in every direction. To the right and left were the forum (F) or market place, and the Quætorium (Q) or paymaster's tent. Further to the right and the left were the guards of the general and paymaster. Along the upper side of the principia street stood the tents of the twelve tribunes of the legions opposite the troops under their command. On the other side of the principal street was encamped the main body of the army. This part of the camp was intersected by a street fifty feet in breadth. Ten thousand square feet contained a squadron of thirty men and horses; the same area accommodated a company of infantry, sixty men.

Between the tent and the outer wall was an intervallum, let us say an "interval," or space two hundred feet broad, by which ample room was given for the passage of the legions in and out. The camp was provided with four gates. The fortifications consisted of a ditch nine feet deep and twelve feet wide, the earth from which, thrown to the inside, formed a rampart, on the summit of which were fixed stout wooden stakes.

In countries, such as Wales, wild and barbarous, where the native tribes were hostile, armies of occupation were forced to remain constantly in camps. They usually occupied different grounds in summer and winter. The camp at Caerbannau, near Brecon, forms a rectangular space, the sides measuring respectively 624 and 426 feet, is about one-twelfth the size of the camp above described, and indicates a garrison of perhaps 1,500 men. Bricks have been discovered here, stamped with the names of the Second Legion.

The "Justum Iter," or fair day's match of a Roman soldier, was twenty Roman, equivalent to nearly 18¼ English miles. Roman armies never halted for a single night without forming a regular entrenchment, capable of receiving within its limits the whole body of fighting men, their beasts of burden, and baggage. So completely was this recognised as part of the ordinary duties of each march, that *prorenire ad locum tertus . . . . . quartis castris*" (Livy XXVII, 32)—to come to the place for the third or fourth camp is the established phrase for the number of days occupying in passing from ont point to another. The camping ground was carefully chosen, a spot giving sufficient space to lay the camp out in the prescribed form, convenient for procuring water, wood, and forage, and a place to which the natives, if friendly, could readily bring this produce for barter.

We should expect, then, to find on each approach to the camp at Caerbannau, an entrenchment at a distance regulated by the necessity of mountain travel, but approximately 18 miles English, a subsidiary entrenchment, good enough perhaps for summer residence, but at least sufficient for a night's rest when the army was on its march. From Brecon to Abergavenny is twenty miles, a long day's march. It is accordingly divided into two, and the camp at Gaer Cumdu is pleasantly situated in the valley, just below the "Half-way House" of modern times. The carved stones found in the neighbourhood of this camp indicate that it was permanently occupied; it may have been used as a place of summer residence. In the opposite direction towards Carmarthen a camp is found on the edge of the county on the Trecastle Hill, about fifteen miles from the camp at Brecon.

On the Sarn Helen the journey from Neath to Brecon was broken at a camp also on the boundary of the modern county. The stage from Neath being perhaps twelve miles and that to Brecon about sixteen, an arduous mountain march over the Beacon range. From Brecon, the Sarn Helen took the route to Builth over the Eppynt range, roughly speaking the line of what is now the sixteen mile road. No station has been found between Brecon and Builth which would seem an appropriate resting place; the castle field with its various ditches may have been the site of a camp, though it has never been recognised. At Llanyre in Radnorshire, a few miles further, a Roman station is marked on the Ordnanee map. This would have been too distant from Brecon to have covered in one day. The last road from Brecon to Cardiff has its station (as is said) on the Aberdare Hill. This would give a distance of about 15 miles from Brecon, the distance at which such a station would reasonably have been looked for.

ROMAN STONE AT BATTLE.

One of the finest Roman stones found in this country was ploughed up in a field at Battle in 1877. It is two feet high; broken length 22 inches. Letter D, 2¾ inches; N, 2½ inches. Professor Hübner and the Rev. J. Wordsworth suggest the following reading: DIS[manibus C Juli] CARN[didi] (Tanci) NI FILI eq (quitis) (alæ) HISP(anorum) VETTON(um) (civium Romanorum Julius) CLEM (ens) DOM(itius valens heredes fecerunt) ANN(orum) XX STIP(endiorum) III. H(ic situs est). The date is suggested as the end of the first or beginning of the 2nd century. The place where the stone was found was about a mile from the Roman camp at Bannium. It was in 1902 preserved at Pennoyre mansion. The engraving here produced was made from a photograph taken by Mrs. Cleasby of Pennoyre.

ROMAN POTTERY, COINS, AND GLASS.

In 1851, a Roman tile was found at the important Roman station, the Gaer, bearing the inscription LEG. II AVG. It was preserved by Mrs Price, the landlady of the Gaer Farm at that period, —(one of the ancestors of the Prices of 17, Bridge Street, Brecon, a family for several generations resident in this district, and to whose memory there are many old monumental stones in the Priory and Aberyscir—as well as another tile previously discovered. Drawings of them were made for exhibition at the Tenby meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, held about that time.

Mr David Evans, J.P., of Ffrwdgrech, the present owner of the property at the Gaer, has also at Ffrwdgrech a collection of the above which have been recovered from the Gaer Camp (Bannium). Amongst this collection are Roman bricks inscribed LEG. II. AVG. (the Second Legion of Augustus—half the Legion was stationed here); two glass beads or rings, one grey the other blue or purple; coins, seven apparently gold, of which two are the size of a florin, the others smaller, about 12 bronze and copper. These seem to have been injured by fire and cannot be identified. There are also many fragments of Samian ware: on the handles of some amphoræ are the potterer's initials ISLP. This lustrus red ware is conjectured to be that spoken of by Pliny and other authors, as used by the Romans for their meals and other domestic purposes. It is not suggested that ware found in England was actually made at Samos. The term Samian was used as in the present day china is a term for all sorts of earthenware, European or Oriental.

CHAPTER III.

History continued—From Brychan Brecheiniog,[1] sometimes called Brychan Yrth, to the Reign and Succession in the Line of Cradoc Fraich-fras.

"BRACHANUS," says Dr. Powel[2] speaking of Brychan, "*natus erat patre Hanlapho Hybernorum Regeet Matre Britannica, nimirum, Marcella, filia Theodorici filii Teithphalti Reguli de Garthmadryn, illius nempe Regionis quæ ab hoc Brachano nomen accipit et hodie Brechonia vel Brechinia dicitur Britannice Brecheinoc*"; so that it seems clear, whether the mother of Brychan went into Ireland, attended in the manner just mentioned, or not; or whether she was or was not possessed of that girdle, whose virtue we should suppose would have made such a journey unnecessary, she married an Irishman, who it is said, died in Breconshire and was buried in Llanspyddid in that county, where a stone now to be seen, though there is no inscription upon it, is supposed to have been placed to his memory. The time of his death is unknown, but he was succeeded in the government of Breconshire by his son Brychan, in the beginning of the fifth century. The MS. in Jesus College, before mentioned, says he begun his reign in the year 400, and that he died in 450: he however did not establish himself without considerable difficulty, as the native princes, jealous perhaps of his Irish origin, made great opposition to his claims; particularly as his countrymen and the Picts and Saxons, had a few years previous to, and indeed during his time, renewed their incursions into Britain, for, in 420, we are informed that a horde of these plunderers were defeated at Maesgarmon in Flintshire,[3] by the Britons, with the bishops Germanus and Lupus at their head. The monkish historians attribute this victory to the suggestion of the former prelate, who instructed his army to attend to the word he gave and to repeat it: accordingly he pronounced that of Hallelujah! His soldiers caught the sacred sound, proclaimed it aloud three times with such extatic force, that the hills resounded with the cry; the enemy were panic struck and fled on all sides, laying down their arms and their booty, whilst the pious Britons pocketed the plunder and thanked God for his assistance: however improbable this tale may appear, it may perhaps be reconciled to truth, without having recourse to a miracle.

WIVES AND CHILDREN OF BRYCHAN.

"Brychan, we are told, had three wives, of names most unintelligible and uncouth even to a Welshman; whose powers of swallowing consonants are supposed to be equal to those of an ostrich in devouring and digesting iron. The Jesus College MS. does not give them to us, but George Owen Harry calls them Eurbrost, Ambrost and Pharwystry, and the *Bonedd y Saint*, Eurbrawst, Rhybrawst, and Pheresgri: the reader is of course at liberty to adopt whichever set he prefers. By these wives he had a numerous progeny; most of whom embraced a religious life, and became the nursing fathers and nursing mothers of the church: '*Quibus passim per Cambro-Britanniam*,' says Giraldus, '*Templa et Divorum et Divarum nomina inscribuntur*'; yet there are hardly two genealogists who perfectly agree as to their names. They are said to be more than forty in number. The names of thirty-four, copied from a Welsh MS. of Llewelyn Offeiriad, by Mr Edward Llwyd, were sent by him to Hugh Thomas, and will be here introduced. Thomas informed Mr Llwyd (as appears by a letter[4] of his, still preserved among his papers in the British Museum) that he had also a list copied from a MS. of a Mr. John Jones, of Devynock. George Owen Harry gives another, Leland another, from the life of St Nectanus, and the *Myfyrian Archæology* another; all differing as to some of the names. Leland[5] makes them all reside in Devon and Cornwall. Mr. Carte[6] says, the sons of Brychan were sent to Ireland to be instructed in religion and learning; but Hugh Thomas[7] thinks it probable that some of them at least received their education from Saint Dyfrig or Dubricius (afterwards consecrated a bishop by Saint Germain), who then kept his famous school, spoken of by

[1] In his corrections in Vol. 2 Theo. Jones has this note:—"In deference to my predecessors I have translated and described Bernard Newmarch, the Conqueror of Brecknock, by *de novo mercatu*, or of Newmarket, but it has lately occurred to me that as he neither came from a Newmarket in France or in England, or ever had any possessions in either, he should be more properly called *Bernard le neuf marcher*, or *de le neuf marches*, the new lord marcher, or of the new marches; a description peculiarly appropriate in his time to the Bordors of Wales; yet after all *de novo mercatu* may with full as great propriety be translated when it occurs in ancient documents, *of the new march*, as *of the new market*."—EDWIN DAVIES.

[2] Note on the 2nd Chap. Gir. Camb. Itin.

[3] Pennant's tour in Wales, vol. 1. p. 437.

[4] Harl. Coll. No. 6381.

[5] Collectanea, vol. 4. p. 153. 8vo.

[6] Hist of England, vol. 1. p. 186.

[7] Harl. Coll. No. 2289.

the centuriators of Magdeburgh, upon the banks of the Wye, probably at a place now called Gwenddwr or Gwaynddwr; from whence he obtained the name of Gainius or Gwaynius[1] *Vagensis.*

"The sons of Brychan, according to the Jesus College MS., were Cynawg, Drem Drem-rudd, or the ruddy countenanced, Clydwyn (the first legitimate son according to others), Hien, Papai (whom the Irish, says the MS., call Pianno, Pivannus and Piapponus), Cynodi, Rhwfan, Marchai, Dingat, Berwyn and Rheidoc; the daughters, Gwladis, Wrgren, Marchell, Gwtlith, Drynwin, Cyngar, Rhynhyder, Eleri, Gwawr, Gwtvil, ——rugon, Eitech, Tangwystl Tydvil, Goleurddydd, ——van, Gwen, Felii, Tybieu, Emmreith, Rhyneiden, Cledy, another Gwen, and Ahd, to which some MSS. add Conau and Dwynwen, and others, Ceinwen.

ST. CYNOG'S BRACELET.

"Cynawg or Cynog, as has been before noticed, was a natural son of Brychan, by a daughter of Banadyl prince of Powis, whose name was Banadlvodd. Soon after his birth[2] he was put under the care of a holy man named Gastayn, to whom the church near Llangorse pool, called Llangasty talyllyn, was dedicated, and by whom he was baptized. Cynog is recorded in the Romish calendar as a Saint of great celebrity. Cressy[3] says the fame of his sanctity was most eminent among the Silures; his name is consigned among our English martyrology on the eleventh of February, where he flourished in all virtues about the year of Christ 492. To him refers that which Giraldus reporteth of the wreath of St. Canawe (for so he calls him) which the inhabitants of the county esteem to be a precious relick and of wonderful virtue; insomuch that if anyone is to give testimony, if that wreath be placed in sight, he dare not commit perjury. This wreath is spoken of in the legend of Brychan, as a bracelet given by Brychan to his son on the day of his baptism, and which, the reporter says, 'is *still* preserved.' When he wrote we do not know, but unfortunately we do know that it has been long irrecoverably lost; as without asserting that mankind are become more wicked than they were in the year 492, though it is much the fashion to think so, we may venture to affirm that in proportion, as population has increased, and oaths have been multiplied, it would be ten thousand times more useful in 1805 than it was in the days of St. Cynog.

"This holy man is said to have been murdered by the Pagon Saxons,[4] upon a mountain called the Van, in the parish of Merthyr Cynog in Breconshire. The following churches in this county are dedicated to his memory: Merthyr Cynog or St. Cynog the Martyr, Devynog,[5] Penderin and Llangynog; as are also Boughrood in Radnorshire, and Llangynog in Montgomeryshire.

THE SAINTS OF BRYCHAN'S FAMILY.

"Before we proceed to the lines of Drem Drem-rudd (by some called Rhain) and Clydwyn, between whom the greatest part of the territories of Brychan were divided, we shall take the liberty of disposing of the Saints and *Saintesses* of the family, who seem to have inherited little, if any, of their father's possessions, and to have placed their expectations much higher; as their whole endeavours were to seek a kingdom not of this world. Of Hien, Papai and Cynodi, the third, fourth, and fifth sons, we know nothing. Rhwvan settled at Anglesea; Marchai, in Cyveiliog in Powis, and Berwin, in Cornwall. Dingat resided near the place where the town of Llandovery in Carmarthenshire is now situate; where a church is dedicated to his memory, as well as at Dingatstow in Monmouthshire; though Brown Willis incorrectly says these churches were dedicated to Saint Mary. Dingat had two sons, Pascen and Cyflydr. Hugh Thomas says that in Tywyn church in Merioneddshire is an antient tomb-stone, thus inscribed, PASCENT. This, if not the grave of Pascentius the son of Vortigern, who had territories, as it is said, in the neighbourhood of Builth, was, in all probability, a monument to the memory of Pascen ap Dingat. Rheidoc, the youngest son of Brychan, according to Llewelyn Offeiriad's MS. in Jesus College, which we have hitherto followed, is supposed to have passed the greatest part of his life in France; and there is a question whether he was not the Sanctus Briocus or Brioc, Bishop of Brieux in Normandy, noticed by Cressy, as the pupil of St. Germain or Germanus; but Mr. Carte thinks not. In the life of St. Brioc, published by Andrew Saussage, in Martyrol. Gallic, he is said to have been a Briton of noble birth, in *Provincia Corticana*, which Camden and Archbishop Usher have mistaken for the county of Cork in Ireland. Carte believes him to have been a native of Caerdiganshire, called Regio Ceretica, from Ceretus or Cereticus, an antient regulus of that country.

"Gwladis, the eldest daughter of Brychan, married Gwnlliw ap Glewissus, regulus of that part of antient Gwent, which lies between the rivers Usk and Rhymny, then called Glewissig. Capgrave tells

[1] He was (it is said) of Abergwayn or Fishguard and from the place of his nativity, called Gainius, but Leland says, he was born on the banks of the Wye.

[2] Cotton MSS.

[3] Church history.

[4] From the MS. of Thomas Truman of Pant Llwyd, in Llansanor, Glamorganshire.

[5] Sed. q. v. Postea.

us that Gunleus growing weary of the world, abdicated his government, and retired to a cell, where, living with singular austerity, he supported the remainder of his life by the labour of his hands; but John of Tinmouth (who calls him a king of the Southern Britons) says, that after the death of his father, he being the eldest son, divided his kingdom into seven parts; six of which he gave his brethren, reserving to himself the other part, as well as the seigniory over the whole. Ystradgynlais, or the vale of Gunleus, is in Breconshire, on the borders of Glamorganshire, and was perhaps so named from him. He was attended in his last moments by Dubricius bishop of Landaff, and died in the arms of his son Cadoc or Cattwg, on the twenty-ninth of March, A.D. 500. The churches of Llangunllo in Radnorshire, Nantgunllo in Caerdiganshire, and St. Woolos near Newport, in Monmouthshire, are consecrated to his memory. He left issue by his wife Gwladis, St. Cattwg, St. Cynidr, and other children.

"St. Cattwg the *wise* (as Owen in his *Cambrian Biography* calls him) was the first who made a collection of the proverbs and maxims of the Britons: according to his author, he had a brother named Cammarch, to whom the church of Llangammarch in Buallt was dedicated. He was educated under an Irish Saint called Tathai, who had opened a celebrated school in Gwent or Caerwent, the Venta Silurum of the Romans. Having agreeably to the law of Gavelkind, inherited part of his father's lands, he founded on his own portion, the Abbey of Llancarvan in Glamorganshire, which he governed, and in which he exercised an unreserved system of hospitality, for Capgrave tells us he daily sustained one hundred ecclesiastical persons, *as many widows*, and as many other poor people, besides those who visited him: for though he was an abbot and had many monks under his government, he very properly and very prudently reserved a part of his father's principality, to be charitably distributed to such as were in need. He is said to have died in North Wales; authors differ as to the precise period. Harpsfield makes him alive in the year 570, but Cressy says this is erroneous, as St. Dubricius is recorded to have been present at his, as well as his father's death. The inquiry at this time would hardly be worth pursuing, excepting that in a chronological point of view, it may be useful to establish the origin and foundation of those churches that have been dedicated to his memory. Gibbon, however, observes that the ancient legendaries deserve some regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real history of their own times; and another author remarks that in the grand collection of French historians, executed with a care and magnificence worthy of a great nation, the ancient lives of Saints are inserted under each century or division, as equal vouchers with the ancient historians.

"St. Cynidr, the *brother* of Cattwg, according to Hugh Thomas (though George Owen Harry makes him a son of Caengar, and another MS. of Rhiengar, a daughter of Brychan), lived, as Cressy reports, a solitary life in the province of Glamorgan, in the same place where yet remains a chapel called St. Kenneth, and which country from him afterwards took the appellation of Sanghenith, or the lordship of St. Kenneth; although Camden, in his description of Glamorganshire, mentions West Gower as the place of his residence. For the history of his miracles, the pious legends of Capgrave must be consulted: he is said to have been buried at Glazbury in Radnorshire. The parish churches of Llangynidr and Aberescir[1] in Breconshire are dedicated to him; though Eeton calls St. Mary the patron saint of the latter.

"Wrgren, the second daughter of Brychan, married Iorwerth Hirflawdd, or Edward the tall and active, son of Tegonwy, son of Teon, son of Gwinau Daufrieddawd, or the *brown double dreamer*, son of Hwydeg, son of Rhûn, son of Rhuddbaladr or red spear, son of Lary, son of Caswar Wledig, son of Beli mawr, or Beli the great, king of Britain. This Beli mawr was also the ancestor of Elistan Glodrydd, prince of Fferregs, and Justin ap Gwrgan, prince of Glamorgan.

"Marchell or Marcella, the third daughter, married Gwrhîr or Garhîr, or according to George Owen Harry, Wyn Hirfardrwch, or Wyn of the long and bushy beard. Gwtlith (the fourth) is said to have lived at Llys-ronwy in Glamorganshire. Drynwin (the fifth) was the wife of Cynfach oer, or the cold, son of Meirchion cûl-galed, or Meirchion the slender and hardy, a chieftain in the North of England; she bore in her womb, according to the Trioedd or Triads, 'the blessed burden of Urien Reged,' king of Reged or Cumberland, and Eirddil his twin sister. This Urien was of high celebrity in the court of Arthur and a most valiant knight: he was afterwards elected to the sovereignty of Cumbria, and lived about the year 560. Many notices may be found of him in Evans's specimens of Welsh poetry, as well as in the British Triads: he was the most famous of all the kings of Cumbria, being the Urbgen of the additions to Nennius, and in his court flourished the three great poets, Aneurin Gwawdrydd, Taliesin, and Llywarch hên. The first, in poems that are still extant, enumerates

[1] In 1490, Dewros ap Jedkin was collated by the bishop of St. David's (patron pro hac vice) to the living of Aberescir, by the description of "Ecclesia Sancti Kenedri de Aberescir."—*Bishop's Register at Abergwili.*

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twelve pitch battles fought by Urien; that of Argoed Llwyfain or Elm-wood, is particularly described: it was fought with Flamddwyn or the Flame-bearer, as the Britons called Ida, the first Saxon king of Northumberland; Owen, the son of Urien, then commanded his father's forces, as we find from the following lines:

Attorelwis Flamddwyn fawr drybestawd,
A ddodynt gyngwystlon? a ydynt parawd?
Yr attebwys Owain ddwyrain ffossawd,
Ni ddodynt iddynt, nid ynt parawd;
A Chenau mab Coel byddai gymmwawg llew,
Cyn y talai o wystl nebawd.

Literally translated thus (or at least as nearly as the two languages will permit):

Says Flamddwyn the great, rejoicing in victory,
Will they give hostages? are they ready—
Owen of the uplifted stroke, answered,
They'll not give hostages; they are not ready;
And Cenau the son of Coel will resemble an enraged lion,
Before he gives hostages to any one.

Flush'd with conquest Flamddwyn said,
Boastful at his army's head,
Strive not to oppose the stream;
Redeem your lives, your lands redeem,
Give me pledges, Flamddwyn cried;
"Never;" Urien's son replied:
Owen of the mighty stroke,
Kindling as the hero spoke:
Cenau, Coel's blooming heir,
Caught the flame and grasp'd the spear:
Shall Coel's issue, pledges give
To the insulting foe and live?
Never such be Britons shame:
Never till this mangled frame,
Vanquish'd like a lion lie,
Drench'd in blood and bleeding die.

"It appears by another poem of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, entitled Marwnad Owain ap Urien Reged, or an elegy upon the death of Owen the son of Urien Reged, that the boastful Flamddwyn fell by the hand of Owen in this very battle.

"Of Cyngar and Rhynhyder, the sixth and seventh daughters of Brychan, we have no account. Eleri or Melari, the eighth, was the mother of Saint David the archbishop, according to Cressy: he says Melari was another name for Nonnita. But our pedigrees make Eleri or rather Melari, wife to Caredig prince or regulus of Cardigan and mother to Xanthus, Sandde or Sant, father of Saint David. The English writers have confounded these persons by supposing Melari to be Nôn or Nonnita, the mother of Saint David; whereas Nôn was the daughter of one Gynyr, who lived at a place called Caerganch in Minvia, as old writings inform us. Melari is said to have had ten grandchildren, who were all Saints. George Owen Harry makes Helen the daughter of Brychan, to be the wife of Caredig son of Cynedda Wledig and mother of *Sant* the father of Saint David, whom Giraldus Cambrensis calls *Sanctus*.

THE DIVISIONS AMONG THE BRITONS.

"Gwaler, or rather as George Owen Harry and the Jesus College MS. call her, Gwawr (the dawn or Aurora), ninth daughter of Brychan, was the wife of Elydr Llydanwyn, the younger brother of Cynfarch oer and mother to Llywarch hên. This prince (for such he was) had a considerable territory in the North of England: he not only cultivated an acquaintance with the muses, but shone in arms, and was one of those who signalised themselves in an age remarkable in the history of Britain for terrible wars and devastations. Llywarch hên, however, took no part in the civil war, which brought on the catastrophe at Camlan so fatal to the Britons, in which Arthur fell in 542: foreseeing the impending storm, he entered into a confederacy with his relation, Urien king of Cumberland and his valiant son Owen, to repel the incursions of the Saxons, who menaced the very existence of the British government in the North; these persevering invaders having already possessed themselves of all that country to the East, called Deifr a Brynich or Deira and Bernicia. The latter was erected into a kingdom by Ida in the year 547, as the Saxon Chronicle and all our historians affirm, except Matthew of Westminster, who places that event in the following year. Upon the death of Ida (A.D. 560), Ella the son of Iffi assumed the title of king of Deira. Richard of Hexham, a Northumbrian writer in 1180, says that Deira extended from the Humber to the Tees, and Bernicia from the Tees to the Tweed: they were both afterwards united by Ethelfred, who formed from them the kingdom of Northumberland.

"Nothing contributed more towards the conquests of the Saxons than the divisions that reigned among the Britons. It appears from the antient writers of that country that they were much more ready to draw their swords upon one another than to employ them against the common enemy; they broke out into wars among themselves and rebellion against their kings, upon the slightest pretences and upon quarrels, the subjects of which appear at present to be trifling and almost ridiculous. Thus it was that the base intriguing Modred destroyed the noble Arthur; the jealousy of Morgant was the cause of the death of Urien; and a foolish squabble *about a lark's nest and a couple of dogs* occasioned the fatal battle of Arderydd in 577, between Æddan ap Gafran Fradog, or the treacherous, and Gwenddolau the son of Ceidiaw the son of Arthur, a descendant of Coel, on the one side and Rhydderch ap Tydwal on the other. Llywarch hên lost twenty-four of his sons in these continued battles, and lived, as it is said, to the age of one hundred and fifty. His poems are plaintive and elegiac: several of them, particularly that in which he laments the death of these sons, have great merit. The English translation, however, of the latter by Mr Elliot, published in Jones's *Reliques of the Bards* in my opinion, far surpasses the original in poetic beauty.

See the warlike train advance,
Skill'd to poise the pond'rous lance:
Golden chains their breasts adorn;
Sure for conquest were they born.
Four and twice ten sons were mine.
Used in battles front to shine:
But low in dust my sons were laid,
Not one remains his sire to aid.

Hold! Oh Hold my brain thy seat!
How doth my bosom's monarch beat;
Cease thy throbs perturbed heart,
Whether would thy stretch'd strings start?
From frenzy dire and wild affright
Keep my senses thro' this night!

[ANCIENT MONUMENT TO LLYWARCH'S MEMORY.]

"Llywarch hên died upon the banks of the Dee near Bala, in Merioneddshire, where is still a secluded spot called Pabell Llywarch hên, or Llywarch the old's tent or cot. Dr. Davies says that in his time there was an inscription to his memory, to be seen on the wall of the church, wherein it was said the venerable bard was interred; but the *beautifications* (we use a *Gothic* term to describe a *Gothic* act) of succeeding churchwardens have long obliterated all traces of it.

"Gwtfil, the tenth daughter of Brychan, was the wife of Cyngar (the son of Cynwawr, or rather of Cadell Deyrnllyg) and mother of Brochwel Yscythrog or Scethrog. George Owen Harry calls her in one place Tanglwst, and in another Tywyl, the daughter of Cadell Deyrnllyg and mother of Brochwel Yscythrog. Dr. Powel, in a note on Giraldus Cambrensis, calls her Tydvael the wife of Congen, the son of Cadell prince of Powis and mother of Brochwel, sirnamed 'Scythroc, who slew Ethelfred king of the Northumbrians upon the river Dee, about the year 603. Hugh Thomas here charges Dr. Powel with gross errors, both in facts and chronology. In the first place, he says, it is evident Dr. Powel has mistaken one daughter of Brychan for another; in the next, Hugh Thomas affirms that Ethelfred king of Northumberland, so far from having been slain by Brochwel in the battle of the Dee, was victorious there and alive in 617, when he was slain by Redwald king of the East Angles[1]; and lastly, he tells us that it was extremely improbable that Brochwel Yscythrog, who was only the grandson of Brychan, should be living at the commencement of the seventh century. According to the old British Chronicle, the battle of Chester above alluded to, between Brochwel and Æthelfred, was fought in the year 593; some, with Dr. Powel, place it in 603, not considering that Bede expressly says that in this very year Æthelfred was engaged in another part of his dominions, repelling the incursions of the Dalreudini. The Saxon Chronicle carries it down to 607, and the Ulster Annals to 613, but at whichever of these periods it happened, Powel, it should seem, is incorrect; for it is universally agreed that the father of Brochwel, whether called Cyngar or Congen, married one of the daughters of Brychan Brecheiniog, whose death is generally placed in 450, though perhaps it was some few years subsequent to that time. His paternal grandfather Cadell, sirnamed Deyrnllyg, as Nennius records, was converted and baptised by St. Germanus; at which time he had nine sons, of whom Congen Cyngen, as his successor in the principality, was probably the eldest; all this must have happened before the year 448, for in that year St. Germanus died at Ravenna. Cyngen then, at the very latest, must have been born in the year 438, probably much earlier: this however forms a period of one hundred and sixty-five years between his birth and the year 603, when his son Brochwel fought with Æthelfred on the river Dee. But the Doctor (in his edition of his Welsh history, page

[1] In this account of the death of Æthelfred, Hugh Thomas is confirmed by the English historians.

23) extends his life fourteen years longer, and places him at the head of an army as late as the year 617; this (supposing his father to be thirty years of age when his son was born) would make Brochwel no less than one hundred and nineteen years of age, a circumstance we must allow extremely improbable. Hugh Thomas says there were three Brochwels: he says one Brochwel lived in the reign of Aurelius Ambrosius, to whom heralds after he had defeated Hengist (whose arms were a horse saliant) gave three horses' heads coup'd at the neck, and another Brochwel lived about the year 617, one hundred and fifty-six years after Brochwel Yscythrog.

OTHER DAUGHTERS OF BRYCHAN.

"The name of the eleventh daughter in this MS. has been imperfectly transmitted to us: George Owen Harry calls her Gwenfrewi, and says she married Cadrod Calchfynidd, lord of Dunstable, Coleshill and Northampton, and proprietor of an extensive tract of chalk hills, from whence he took the name of Calchfynidd, or Cadrod of the chalk mountain. His grandson Tegvan was a Saint in the Romish calendar, and gave name to Llandegfan in Anglesea, where Rowland informs us he had once a cell. St. Tydecho had also his cloisters there, and is by some reckoned to be the patron saint of the place: St. Ælian, from whom Llanælian in Anglesea, was nephew of St. Tydecho.

"Of Eitech, the twelfth daughter, we know nothing further than that she resided at Towyn in Merioneddshire. George Owen Harry takes no notice of her.

"Tangwystl Tydvil lived in Glamorganshire. Llwyd says her name should be written Tangvistil, and thinks a word has been omitted in the copy from which he transcribed, or probably that Tydvil was only an Agnoman: she suffered martydom, and from her we have Merthyr Tydvil, a parish in Glamorganshire adjoining Breconshire on the South West. According to Owen's *Camb. Biog.* (1803), upon the authoriy of the Pantllwyd or Llansanor MS., she met her father, when he was an old man, attended by some of her brothers; whereupon they were beset by a party of Pagan Saxons, and Gwyddelian Ffichti, and she and her father and brother *Rhun Dremrudd* were murdered: but Nefydd the son of Rhûn, then a youth, exerted himself in raising the force of the country and afterwards put the enemy to flight.

"Goleuddydd (the light or dawning of day), Brychan's fourteenth daughter, married Tutwawl Bybyr, or Tutwawl the valiant, a prince of some territory in Scotland, according to Mr. Llwyd.

"The name of the fifteenth daughter is lost. This daughter was the mother of Aeddan, son of Gwawrean Fredawc. George Owen Harry informs us that Llian the daughter of Brychan was married to Gaffran the father of Aeddan Fradfawr, or Aiddan the traitor. Moses Williams, in a note upon the *Æræ Cambro-Brittanicæ*, published in his edition of Humphrey Llwyd's *Commentariolum*, says that Gafran ap Aeddan Fradog, ap Gafran, ap Dyfnawl hên, was married to Llian the daughter of Brychan. This is the same Aeddan who was engaged with Gwenddolau in the battle of Arderydd, in which he was defeated and compelled to fly for safety to the Isle of Man.

"Gwen or Gwenllian was married to Llyr Merini lord of Gloucester, son to Meirchion cul-gadarn or cul-galed, and elder brother to Cynfarch-oer and Elydr Llydanwyn: she was mother to Cradoc Fraichfras, whom we shall soon see possessing Breconshire, and probably claiming under her. Llewelyn Offeriad says she was buried in Talgarth.

"Of Felii, Tybie, Emmrhaith and Rhyneiden, we have no account or tradition, save that Tybie was buried in Caermarthenshire, in a place called from her, Llanybie or Lladebie, and Rhyneiden at Cydweli in the same county.

"Cledy, the twenty-first daughter, lived in Emlyn in Caermarthenshire, where the genealogists of South Wales say a church was dedicated to her, called Clydeu or Clyday: but Brown Willis affirms Saint Christiolus to be the patron saint of that parish, who Rowland tells us was the son of Owen ap Ynyr, a nobleman of Armorica, and to whom Llangristiolus in Anglesea was dedicated. Owen makes Christiolius to be theon of Hywel Vychan, the son of Hywel, the son of Emyr or Ynyr of Amorica. Of the second Gwen, no further account is given in the MS. than that she died in the Isle of Anglesea.

ST. ELUD'S CHAPEL AT SLWCH.

"Brychan's twenty-third daughter is called in different MSS. by the names of Elud, Alud, Elyned, and Aluned; which latter appellation the monkish writers, by a mistake easily accounted for, Latinised into Almeda or Almedha. She lived, as we are informed, at Ruthin in Glamorganshire (perhaps Roath or Ruderi) and suffered martyrdom, according to Cressy's *Church History*, upon a hill near Brecknock, called Penginger. This hill is now generally known by the name of Slweh, though part of it still retains its old appellation. Penginger is a corruption of Pen cefn y gaer, the summit of the ridge of the fortification; from an old British camp, the remains of which are still visible. Not far

from the camp, on the north side, formerly stood this chapel, or as Giraldus Cambrensis calls it stately edifice; it is now completely ruinated and can only be traced by tradition to a spot where a heap of stones and an aged yew tree,[1] with a well at its root, mark its site: it is about one mile, eastward of Brecon on the left hand side of the road leading from that place to a farmhouse called Slwch. In a parchment roll in the Augmentation Office containing a list of the possessions of the religious houses in the time of Henry the Eighth this structure is called the Chapel of *St. Alice* in the parish of Brecknock. It fell down in the latter end of the 17th century. According to Owen, another church was consecrated to her memory at Mold in Flintshire. She was undoubtedly the Almedha of Giraldus Cambrensis, who particularly notices the 'Basilica' upon Penginger. 'This devout virgin,' says he, 'rejecting the proposals of an earthly prince, who sought her in marriage, and espousing herself to the eternal king, consummated her life by a triumphant martyrdom. The day of her solemnity is celebrated every year on the first day of August.' He then proceeds to record the miracles of the Saint and the faith and religious frenzy of her votaries; upon which his annotator is a little waggish and hints that they might now and then have taken a cup too much.

ST. KEYNA PATRONESS OF LLANGENEY.

"Cenai, Cenen, or Keyna is the patroness of Llangeney in Brecknockshire; of this sainted lady Cressy treats at large, and as her church, as well as the place of her habitation during the latter part of her life, are so well known and ascertained, she has some claim upon our attention as an old acquaintance and domiciliated countrywoman. I shall therefore make a short extract from the ponderous folio of this writer: 'She (St. Keyna, so he calls her) was of royal blood, being the daughter of Braganus prince of Brecknockshire. When she came to ripe years many nobles sought her in marriage, but she utterly refused that state; having consecrated her virginity to our Lord by a perpetual vow; for which cause she was afterwards by the Britons called *Keyn wiri*, that is, Keyna the virgin. At length she determined to forsake her country and find out some desert place, where she might attend to contemplation. Therefore, directing her journey beyond Severn, and there meeting a woody place, she made her request to the prince of that country that she might be permitted to serve God in that solitude. His answer was that he was very willing to grant her request, but that the place did so swarm with serpents that neither man or beast could inhabit it; but she constantly replied that her firm trust was in the name and assistance of Almighty God to drive all that poisonous brood out of that region. Hereupon the place was granted to the holy virgin, who presently prostrating herself to God, obtained of Him to change the serpents and vipers into stones, and to this day the stones in that region doe resemble the windings of serpents through all the fields and villages, as if they had been framed so by the hand of the engraver.' Camden, who notices this story in his account of Somersetshire, says that the place is now called Keynsham, between Bath and Bristol, where abundance of that fossil, termed by the naturalists Cornu Ammonis, is frequently dug up: he is not quite an infidel, though not perfectly convinced of the truth of the origin and cause of these petrifactions of serpents, but calls them miracles of sporting nature, and seems to express some degree of surprise at one which he saw dug up from a quarry near the place he has been describing, 'which (says he) represented a serpent rolled up into a *spire*; the head of it stuck out into the outward surface, and the end of the tayle terminated in the centre.' A similar miracle is related of St. Hilda, at Whitby in Yorkshire.

"But to return to our holy virgin: Cressy proceeds to tell us, upon the authority of Capgrave, that 'after many years spent in this solitary place, and the fame of her sanctity everywhere divulged, and many Oratories built by her, her nephew Saint Cadoc, performing a pilgrimage to the mount of St. Michael, met there with his blessed aunt St. Keyna; at whose sight, he being replenished with joy, and being desirous to bring her back to her own country, the inhabitants of that region would not permit him; but afterwards by the admonition of an angel, the holy maid returned to the place of her nativity, where, on the top of a hillock, seated at the foot of a high mountain, she made a little habitation for herself, and by her prayers to God obtained a spring there to flow out of the earth, which, by the merits of the holy virgin, affordeth health to divers infirmities.' She is said to have departed this life on the eighth day of the Ides of October, A.D. 490, and to have been buried in her own Oratory by her nephew St. Cadoc. Some time previous to her death, we are told, she had a prospect of her eternal happiness in a future world in a vision; being ministered to and comforted by angels. To her nephew St. Cadoc she thus prophesied: 'This is the place above all others beloved by me; here my memory shall be perpetuated; this place I will often visit in spirit, if it may be permitted me, and I am assured it shall be permitted me, because our Lord hath granted me this place as a certain inheritance. The time will come when this place shall be inhabited by a sinful

[1] The yew tree disappeared in the year 1906, and only the well, or spring, now remains to mark the spot.

people, which, notwithstanding, I will violently root out of this seat. *My tombe shall lye a long time unknown untill the coming of other people*, whom by my prayers I shall bring hither; them will I protect and defend, and in this place shall the name of the Lord be blessed for ever.' These good strangers are not yet arrived, as her tomb has not hitherto been discovered; though the well of St. Ceneu is known and the situation of her Oratory may be traced, but a description of them is reserved to that part of this work which relates to the parochial history of the county.

BRYCHAN'S YOUNGEST DAUGHTER.

"Dwynwen, the youngest daughter of Brychan, according to the MS. in the British Museum, though omitted by Llewelyn Offeiriad, was a Saint of such celebrity that the shade of David ap Gwylym imperiously requires us to notice her, as some atonement for the silence of Llewelyn the priest, who for this instance of his inattention will be consigned to eternal infamy, unless he avails himself of the benefit of clergy. A church, from her called Llanddwyn, was built and dedicated to the Saint in the Isle of Anglesea in the year of Christ 590; she is the Welsh Venus or Goddess of Love. 'Dwynwen Santes, Duwies y cariad, merch Brychan!' (holy Dwynwen, Goddess of Love, daughter of Brychan), says David ap Gwylym. Her shrine was much resorted to by desponding swains and love-sick maidens who, with many a suppliant offering, entreated her propitious smiles and solicited her intercessions and good offices with the objects of their affections.

These garlands ever green and ever fair,
With vows were off'rd and with solemn pray'r.
A thousand altars in her temple smok'd;
A thousand bleeding hearts her pow'r invok'd.

"The bard of Glamorganshire, David ap Gwylym, has a poem or invocation to Dwynwen, which has been translated by Owen and is inserted in Jones's second volume of the *Reliques of the Welsh Bards*.

ANOTHER LIST OF BRYCHAN'S CHILDREN.

"Before we return to the heroes of the race of Brychan, it may perhaps be proper that we should briefly notice the list of his children given in the *Myfyrian Archæology*. This catalogue differs considerably, both in the names and number, from those we have followed, and is entitled "Bonedd y Saint, neu achau Saint ynis Prydain," i.e., the Genealogy of the Saints, or the Pedigree of the Saints of the Island of Britain. It is said to be a collection or selection from many old MSS. by Lewis Morris, in the year 1760. The names of the sons of Brychan given in this publication, from the authorities there shortly recapitulated, were: 1, Cynawc; 2, Cledwyn; 3, Dingad; 4, Arthen; 5, Cyflefyr; 6, Rhain; 7, Dyfnan; 8, Gerwyn; 9, Cadawc; 10, Mathaiarn; 11, Pascen; 12, Neffei; 13, Pabiali; 14, Llecheu; 15, Cynbryd; 16, Cynfran; 17, Hychan; 18, Dyfric; 19, Cynin; 20, Docfan; 21, Rhawin; 22, Rhûn; 23, Cledawc; and 24, Cayan.—The daughters: 1, Gwladis; 2, Arianwen; 3, Tanglwst; 4, Mechell; 5, Nevin; 6, Gwawr; 7, Gwrgon; 8, Eleri; 9, Llian; 10, Nefydd; 11, Rhiengar; 12, Goleuddydd; 13, Gwenddydd; 14, Tydieu; 15, Elined; 16, Ceindrych; 17, Gwen; 18, Cenedlon; 19, Cymorth; 20, Cledia; 21, Dwynwen; 22, Ceinwen; 23, Tydfil; 24, Enfail; 25, Hawystl; and 26, Tybie; *in all, fifty children*.

THE KINGDOM OF BRECKNOCK IN BRYCHAN'S TIME.

"From the funerals of these Saints, we return to the company of the two eldest legitimate sons of Brychan, between whom the little kingdom of Brecknock was again divided into two districts, called Brecheiniog and Cwmwd, afterwards Cwmwd Cantreff-Selyff; the rulers over both of which provinces styled themselves brenhinoedd or reguli. Genealogists differ as to the seniority of these two sons. The pedigrees in the British Museum make Clydwyn the eldest, while that of Llewelyn Offeiriad, as well as the MS. legend in the Cottonian library, calls Drem, Drem-rudd or Rhain, the eldest, and Clydwyn the next; the latter of whom had two sons, Clydawc and Pedita. Both became Saints, and with them his line ends according to this MS. It is probable that the Oxford document is correct, notwithstanding the majority are in favour of Clydwyn; for we hear nothing of his descendants, while we find those of Drem possessing the largest, richest, and most fertile part of the country, for centuries after him, and even to the time when they were ousted by the Norman conquerors, or until they came by intermarriage to the posterity of Cradoc Fraich-fras.

"The line of boundary, which I conceive divided the Cwmwd or Cwmwd-Cantref-Selyff, from what would now be called the remainder of Brecknockshire, commenced on the river Wye on the North; thence along the Western confines or boundary of Crickadarn; afterwards to Gwenddwr; then in a direction from North East to South West, to the head of the river Brân, leaving Merthyr Cynog, Aberescir[1], and of course Brecknock to the East, in the kingdom or district of the Cwmwd; from

[1] Aberescir was considered as a mesne lordship under that of Cantref Selyff so late as the year 1608.

whence it turned Southward, leaving Llanfrynach (which we find as far down as the beginning of the eighteenth century in the possession of the descendants of Drem) and afterwards Cantreff, in the same division as Brecknock. From the head of the Brân, after crossing the Usk, this line ran in the same direction, and traced the present boundary between the hundreds of Devynnock and Penkelley, and ended on the confines of Glamorganshire. If this was the case, it is not improbable that the chief town or residence of the reguli of Brecknock, prior to Brychan, was at Trecastle and Llywel; the latter of which places signifies the resort or resting place of the army. This is the only reason we can assign for their being ever since united and appurtenant to the town of Brecknock; to which Bernard Newmarch at the time of its erection attached all the privileges, and annexed the possessions of the old town of Caerfan. Indeed, the legend of Brychan seems to confirm this opinion, for though it by no means proves that there was no such town as Benni, in the days of Tewdrig (in fact we know there was one at that place long prior to his time), yet it mentions the residence of Brychan at Benni upon his arrival from Ireland as an historical fact deserving of notice: from which it may be inferred, without any great stretch of conjecture, that he was the first who made that place the metropolis of his kingdom. We are likewise told in the same MS. that Tewdrig and his court, to avoid a pestilence, removed to Bryn-gwin, near Llanfaes, which if he lived at Benni would not have answered his purpose; the distance from thence to Llanfaes not being much above two miles, whereas Trecastle is near ten miles off, and the difference of climate between the two places is very material and may be easily perceived.

RHAIN, OR DREM, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

"We must not expect to hear much, if anything, of the actions and exploits of Rhain or Drem at this distance of time; but I conceive, as the MS. legend above referred to asserts, that he was buried at Llandevailog near Brecon, and that the stone mentioned in Gough's Camden and supposed to cover the remains of Brochwel Yscythrog, was meant to commemorate the interment of Rhain.

"Of his descendants we have barely the names, until we come to Einon the son of Selyff; from whom the Cwmwd was called Cantreff-Selyff, and of him all we know is, that he had one only child, a daughter named Elinor, who inter-marrying with Maenarch ap Driffin, united the lines of Brychan and Cradoc, and the two districts into which Brecknock had been divided since his death, into one kingdom and government. The lives and exploits of these little chieftains or *kinglings* are now hid in impenetrable darkness; a darkness which there is not the smallest prospect or hope of dispelling, further than that from the information of the *Concilia* by Sir Henry Spelman, we learn, that at a Synod held at Llandaff by Gwrvan, the tenth bishop of that diocese (A.D. 897, or as Llewelyn Offeiriad, 895), Tydyr the son of Rhain or Rain, *king of Brecknock*, was excommunicated for homicide and perjury, in having slain Elgistl the son of Awst or Augustus, *king of Brecknock*, his first cousin, contrary to his oath, and that he was compelled to make his peace with the church by a considerable donation to the see of Llandaff. Here we see that both these chieftains are called kings of Brecknock, although their territory was certainly the Cwmwd only. Brecheinog (the other division) was then under the government of a descendant of Cradoc Fraich-fras. We also hear, that at an early period, this Awst and his sons Eluid and Rhiwallon, probably as a compensation for a similar offence, and from motives *equally pious*, gave to the same bishoprick in the time of Eudaf or Oudoceus, the whole territory of Llancors or Llangorse, (called by bishop Godwin, incorrectly, Llancorran), and by another grant Llangurvael; another document, preserved in the Monasticon, states, that Tudor and his son Elyssed, Elissai or Elijah, king of Brecknock, were forced into a composition for an affront offered to Lybiau, bishop of Llandaff, by a grant of the extensive vill of Llanvihangel-trefcerrian to the same church. The nature of this affront was somewhat singular. It seems that the prince was accused of leaving the prelate alone, in his monastery af Llangorse; having first deprived him of his dinner by force of arms. The angry bishop and his family next day left the place, having first hurled a curse and perpetual anathema at the head of the royal freebooter, for his impious robbery and the rudeness of his conduct, and afterwards he excommunicated him in a full synod of his clergy. For some time the bishop was inexorable; but at length, through the mediation of Lunverth or Lunverd, bishop of Saint David's, he was restored into the pale of the church and his atonement accepted. This vill is now not known, but it must have been part of Llanvihangel-Cwmdu in Breconshire, or Llanvihangel-Crucorney in Monmouthshire; it is thus described in the 'grant, 'the bounder of the said land is from the highway on the South by the thorn bush; from thence to the river Tanguel, which is from the North, and from thence through a river to the East, as far as the well of Chenea; afterwards from the well of Chenea, through the dry valley which leads upwards, as far as the highway which is on the South, where it began.' The name of Llanvihangel Tricornel, Crucornel, or Crucorney, induces one to suppose this parish to have been the tract granted by Tudor; on the other hand, if by the river Tanguel, the Rhaingoll and the well of Chenea, St. Ceneu's well, are meant, the boundary

here described seems to fix the granted tract to be Llanvihangel-Cwmdu, formerly perhaps called Llanvihangel-tref-y-caeran, from the number of fortifications included in it; and if so, all the country from thence to the Grwyney was conveyed by this document.

"Asserius Menevensis informs us that Elised the son of Tewdwr, who joined in and consented to this gift of his father, being attacked by the sons of Rodri mawr, or Roderick the great, willingly submitted to the government of Alfred. The authority of such an author, living at the time, though *principally in the court of Alfred*, cannot be denied; but the supremacy of the Saxon monarchs must have continued for a very short period; probably no longer than during some squabble between the little king of Brecknock and his natural lord paramount, Cadell prince of South Wales.

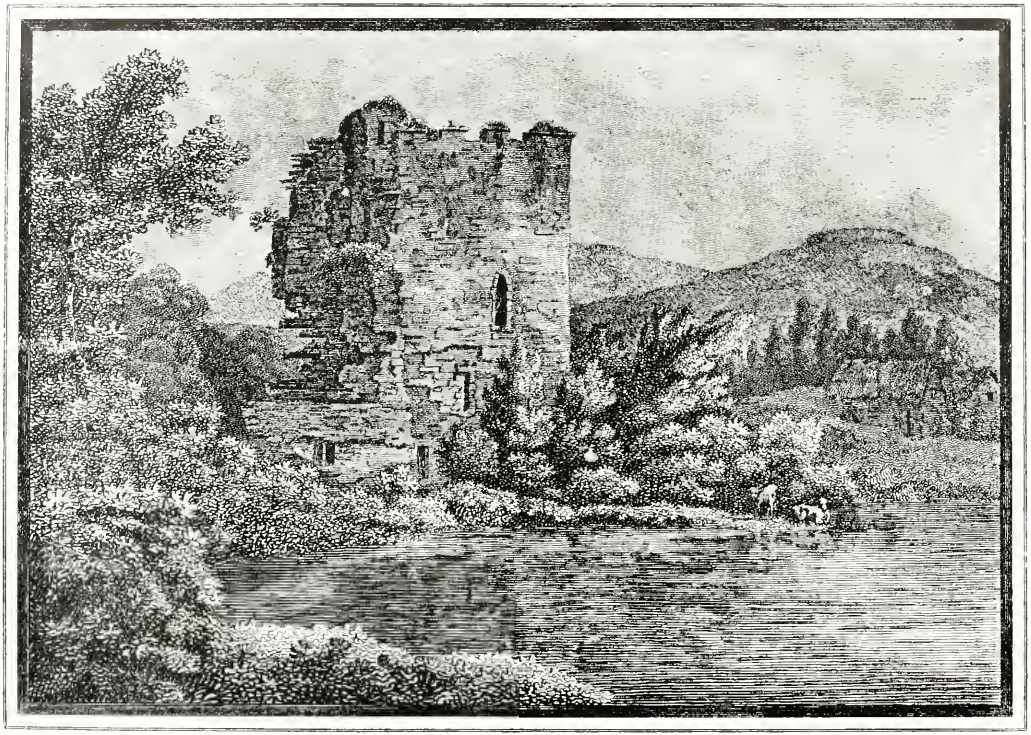
CLYDAWN AND HIS SON CLYDAWC.

"Clydawn succeeded his father in the government of the Western and most mountainous part of Breconshire; his name is written variously in different MSS Clytgwyn, Clewin, and Kli ewn, and he is, as before observed, said to be the eldest legitimate son of Brychan. It appears by the books of Bodeulwyn in Anglesea, in the possession of Evan John Wyn and of Dr. Thomas Williams (both written about the year 1578, and referred to in the *Bonedd y Saint*) that Clydwyn was a warlike prince and conquered all South Wales. With this concise history of his life and exploits we must now be satisfied, and proceed to his son Clydawc, Clitane, Cledawc, who not having his father's talents or fondness for fighting, but being (as Cressy says) a man af peaceful and religious character, was for his piety inrolled among the list of British Saints, According to *Bonedd y Saint* he was buried at "Caer Gledawc yn Lloegr," or Clodoek Camp in England; though, why this place should be thus deseribed, it is difficult to say, inasmuch as the parish of Clodoek is upon the borders of Wales and was formerly part of the principality. 'Our martyrology (says Cressy) among other saints of his time, commemorates the death and martyrdom of a king of Brecknock in South Wales, of the name of Clitane or Clintane, on the nineteenth day of August, in the year of Grace 492; concerning whom we hear that he was a prince very observant of peace and justice among his subjects, and that in the end he became a martyr (the natural eonsequenee of such conduct in those days) and was adorned with a eelestial erown for his virtues and merits, and particularly his chastity and purity from earnal delectations; he was murdered by treason of a certain impious wretch whose name is perished with him.'

"From this brief display of the virtues and merits of Clydawc, it is soon seen that he was not likely to strew the land with heroes, or to deck the skies with the same galaxy of Saints as his grandfather; he is therefore followed in the government of his kingdom by his brother, whom the MSS. in the Museum have named Neubedd, who is (as we apprehend) tho same person as Llewelin Offeiriad ealls Pedita Sant, and who died without issue, according to that pedigree. His almost heremitical attention to the duties of religion, makes it likely that he seldom interfered with the affairs of this world; eonsequently his little kingdom or province was open to the incursions of any rapacious freebooter or impious chieftain who chose to attack it. Dyfnwal, who is placed as the successor of Tydyr ap Neubedd, seems to have been a person of this description, but there appears to be some confusion here, as has been before observed; the MSS. having mistaken Tydyr ap Neubedd, who is said to have lived at Crwecas near Breeknock, for Tydyr ap Teithwaleh the benefactor to the church at Llandaff, who lived many ages prior to this time. Some call Dyfnwal a Pictish or Caledonian prince, who wholly exterminated the race of Clydwyn and assumed the sovereignty: if this account is eorrect, one or both of the holy cousins of Cradoc Fraich-fras, seeing their subjects plundered and harrassed by a motley horde of barbarians, making continual irruptions from England, may, in conjunction with the descendants of Drem-Dremrudd, have requested his assistance to drive the successful invader from their territories and promised him a division of Breeknockshire as his reward.

"There are various reasons for supposing this to have been the case. We have seen that according to Llewelyn Offeiriad, upon the death of the two brothers just named, the descent of Brychan in their line ended. Cradoc, though not what would now be called *the heir at law* to his cousin's property, was maternally as nearly related in blood as any other person, and he from his valour, was most likely in those boisterous times to defend and protect his subjects, when possession was acquired. According to the Harleian papers, there were five reguli from Brychan to Dyfnwal, all of whom must have died in the life time of Cradoc, and before the time assigned for his conquest of Breeknockshire, or rather the Western or mountainous part of that country; for we see the race of

Drem or Rhain retaining their possessions, at a time when it has been erroneously supposed an enemy was at their doors, and when he must even have marched through the heart of their territories to attack a neighbour, with whom they were connected and endeared by an identity of language, of interest, of habits, and of disposition. Many arguments might be adduced to prove that Cradoc Fraich-fras was brought into Breconshire by the general consent, if not by the invitation of the inhabitants, at that time suffering under the oppression of an usurper, whose defeat about the latter end of the sixth century, conferred upon his competitor the government of that part of the country over which he ruled; but as the elucidation of this question is not now absolutely required, and as the interests of his descendants is not likely to be injured or benefited by its discussion at this present moment, it may as well be permitted to sleep, and therefore without further examination of his right we shall proceed to introduce him for a few minutes to the reader's acquaintance."



CRICKHOWELL CASTLE IN 1805

(From a Drawing by Sir R. Colt Hoare).

CHAPTER IV.

From Cradoc Fraich-fras, to the Conquest of Brecknockshire by Bernard Newmarch in 1092.

"CRADOC Fraich-fras, or Cradoc of the mighty arm, was, as we have just seen, a grandson of Brychan, and in right of his father, lord of Gloucester, a contemporary with king Arthur, one of the knights of his round table and lord keeper of y Castell dolurus, or *the dolorous tower*. To relieve the reader from any impression which this romantic description may produce, and to chase away the imaginary giants and dragons which perchance may present themselves to his mind's eye it is necessary to be observed here, that in plain English this dolorous tower was nothing more than a dungeon, where prisoners of war or traitors to the state were confined, and our great hero was neither greater or less than the chief gaoler or head turnkey. This officer has been since denominated constable of the keep. In antient MSS. we hear of another Cradoc Fraich-fras, who was styled earl of Hereford, and lived in the reign of Hywel Dda; he was a son of Ceiliog Mwyngrydd and ancestor of Tydyr Trevor: of this earl, though considerably later in point of time, we know nothing but his name. Upon the history of the herd of Brecknock, the romantic age in which he lived, and the wonderful stories recorded of him by romancers of more modern date, have certainly stamped so strongly the appearance of fable, that serious persons are apt to be incredulous, and some indeed among writers of repute, have more than doubted his existence in the present character. Camden, for instance, as well as Evans in his *Drych prif oesoedd* seem to think that Caradaue Vrichvras (as the former calls him) was the celebrated Caractacus who so gallantly opposed Ostorius; and Lewis in his *Antient History of Britain*, supporting this opinion, asserts, that the books of pedigrees have erroneously brought him down six descents too low, affirming him to have been a knight of king Arthur's court.

WIFE AND FAMILY OF CRADOC FRAICH-FRAS.

"The wife of Cradoc Fraich-fras was Tegau Eurfron, a name the definition of which we are at a loss to account for. If all the pedigrees were not against us, we should have conceived it ought to be written, Teg ei Fron or Fairbosom; she is said to be the daughter of king Pelynor (perhaps Pyll mawr) and was celebrated by the bards as one of the *three* chaste women of Britain, who possessed three valuable ornaments, of which she alone was reputed worthy: her knife, her golden goblet, and her mantle; the last was certainly with great propriety esteemed as one of the thirteen curiosities of the island of Britain. It would not fit, nor could it be worn by any but a chaste woman!!! Percy, in his *Reliques of Antient Poetry*, has a long ballad or tale in rhyme upon this subject, which has little to recommend it besides its antiquity. Cradoc had by this wife six sons, Cawrdaf, Hyfaidd, Cleddfrudd or rather Cledden-rudd (red sword), St. Cadfarch or Cadferth, St. Tangwn, and St. Maethlu or St. Amaethlu. Hyfaidd is said to have been lord of Radnor, from him called Maes Hyfaidd, now written and pronounced Maesyfed or Maesyved, according to the English way of spelling. Lewis, in his *Antient History of Britain*, informs us, that 'Radnor is called Maes Hyvaidd from a worthy lord thereof, called by Taliesin. Hyvaidd hwyr ac Hwyst, that is, Hyvaidd the bold and active, who lived in the time of Ida or Flamddwyn, which Hyvaidd, with Urien Reged and Ceneu the son of Coel Godebog, had bloody wars with the said Ida.' In a marginal note it is said 'some called him Hyvaidd henllyn[1], i.e., of the old pool'; and it is further added, 'Camden is mistaken in calling Old Radnor, Maesyved, which for a thousand years past had no other name than Penyceraig, or the head of the rock.' A warrior of the name of Hyfaidd hir, or the tall, is celebrated by Aneurin in his Gododin: Hyfaidd hir ermygir tra fo Cerddawr—(The praises of Hyfaidd the tall shall be sung while a bard exists).

"Owen says he was the son of Bleiddig or Lupus, who accompanied Germanus into Britain. Hyfaidd was certainly no uncommon name among the antient Britons: but the hero of Aneurin and Taliesin was most probably the son of Cradoc Fraich fras, who as regulus of Fferregs and part of Brecknockshire, was enabled to make a suitable provision for his offspring.

[1] Henllyn, a pool in the Wye at Glanwye is now called Llynhen, and may be this place.

"Gwgan and Cledden-rudd sleep with the Capulets; St. Cadfarch, or Cadverth, at Abereirch; St. Tangwn, at Llangoed, which is dedicated to him; and St. Amaethlu at Carnedd fawr or the great Barrow: both the two last places are in the isle of Anglesea.

"Cawrda, Cowrda, or Cawrdaf,[1] the eldest son of Cradoc, succeeded his father in the kingdoms or lordships of Fferregs and Brecknock; in the British Triads he is styled one of the three prime youths of Britain, and in an antient MS. *penes* Mr. John Lewis[2] of Lanwenny, quoted by Hugh Thomas,[3] he is called '*one of the seven blessed first cousins of Britain*!!!' He left issue Caw Cadarch, Cathen, Clydawc, and Medrod; Clydawc was the father of *Gwynarc*, the father of Collen, to whom Llangollen in Denbighshire (where he was buried) is dedicated. In the church was formerly a recumbent figure in alabaster of a churchman, which was vulgarly called St. Collen. 'He has left behind him (says Mr Pennant) a legend worthy of the Alcoran itself.' What the particulars of the marvel are, we have not been able to learn: his name is not in Cressy's book, nor is that of his Welsh uncle St. Dyfnog, the son of Medrod, noticed in that publication. It is by no means improbable that the church of Devynnock, in Brecknockshire, is consecrated to the memory of the latter Saint notwithstanding the parish wake was held in honour of St. Cynog; a parallel case will be found in Llangeney, where the feast is upon Gwyl Gyrig, though the old church was without doubt St. Cenen's. Pennant speaks of Ffynnon Dyfnog in the neighbourhood of Denbigh: 'it is a fine spring, dedicated to St. Dyfnog, one of our long pedigreed Saints;' it was formerly resorted to by many votaries. The fountain, he says, is inclosed in an angular wall, decorated with small human figures, and just before them is the well for the use of the pious bathers.

"To Cawrdaf succeeded his son, who was followed by a long line of descendants, whose exploits have neither been preserved by tradition or celebrated by history. The eldest son of Caw was Gloyw, whose son was Hoyw, who governed Fferregs about the year of Christ 640. After Hoyw came his son Cynfarch, who lived about 680; to him again succeeded Cyndeg ap Cynfarch, who was contemporary with Cadwaladr Fendiged or the blessed, with whom closed the imperial dignity of Britain, in the year 703, that prince having in the weakness of superstition and fanaticism abdicated his throne, and taken shelter at Rome.

GREAT BATTLE AT LLANGATTOCK, CRICKHOWELL.

"Teithwalch the son of Cyndeg, upon the death of his father, assumed the government of Fferregs and Brycheiniog, which however he was not long able to preserve entire, or at least he was not completely successful in driving an invading enemy out of his territories. Rodri Molwynog was at this time prince of North Wales, during whose reign the Mercian prince Ethelbald, king of Mercia, tempted by the appearance of the fertile plains of Fferregs, invaded that country and proceeded with devastation in his train, through Brecheiniog and the Cwmwd, even to the very borders of upper Gwent; where being opposed by the Welsh, a bloody battle ensued, at a place called Carno,[4] in the parish of Llangattock, near Crickhowell, in Breconshire: but though the Saxons received a check here, and much blood was shed on both sides, the victory was doubtful. It seems however to have prevented the enemy from penetrating further into the country at this time, and to have compelled him to retrace his route, to retire into Herefordshire, and afterwards to return to his own dominions. Several battles followed between the Britons and Saxons in the country then called Fferregs, in one of which the former, it is said, lost a distinguished chieftain, named Dyfnwal ap Tydyr.

"Teithwalch was succeeded by his son Tegyd, who lived during the reign of Cynan Tyndaethwy, prince of North Wales. The ambitious designs of Mercia, which indeed apparently slumbered but

[1] Quære, if Llanwrda in Carmarthenshire is not derived from him, and whether it is not a corruption of Llangawrdaf.

[2] An ancestor of the late Mr. Lewis of Harpton in Radnorshire. The parish of Llanvihangel nant melan in that county, was formerly called Llanwenny. Lewis, who wrote the antient history of Britain was of this family: he was a barrister, and practiced in the court of the president and council of the marches of Wales.

[3] Harl. Coll. No. 6832.

[4] Tradition has established this hill as the place where the battle was fought, otherwise Carno is by no means sufficient to ascertain its locality: for we find several mountains of this name, both in North and South Wales, in Cradoc of Llancarvan's History of Wales. By Carn or Carnedd, Carno, Carnau or Carneddau, is meant a heap or heaps of stones. The Carneddau (says Owen in his dictionary) and the tumuli of earth (or stones) whitere the common monuments hat the antient Britons erected in honour of their great men; which of the two kind was probably determined by the soil or stratum of the country in which they are found, being stony or otherwise: these modes of interment continued in use many ages after the introduction of Christianity, but when the custom of buryin in churches and church-yards became general, they were not only disused but condemned, as fit only for great criminals. When the Carnedd was considered as the honourable tomb of a warrior, every passenger threw his additional stone out of reverence to his memory. When this heap came to be disgraced, by being the mark where the guilty was laid, the same custom still continued, but now in token of detestation. These early heaps then, having been generally raised to the memory of those warriors who fell in battle, frequently gave names to spots, which before were not distinguished by any particular appellation; as, Mynydd y Carno or rather Carnau, the hill or mountain of barrows or tumuli.

never slept, were now renewed with increased violence under Offa, who entered heartily into the depredating schemes of his predecessor Ethelbald. Scarcely a day passed without some attempts to harass the unfortunate *Ferlisians*. The Welsh finding that forbearance on their part only served to increase the confidence and invite the attacks of the enemy, resolved at length upon a bloody retaliation. Hitherto their system had been merely defensive, but now rising *en masse*, they suddenly entered Mercia, and having laid waste all before them, obliged the enemy, after a dreadful carnage, to retreat beyond the Severn, and returned home laden with plunder and spoils. 'Fierce Offa and the Saxons fled before them.'

"Encouraged by this success, and animated with the hopes of further booty, they repeated their incursions and compelled their cruel and inveterate enemy to tremble in his turn. Offa, being thus not only baffled in his designs against Fferregs, but alarmed for the safety of his kingdom, called in the assistance of other Saxon princes, and with a strongly confederated army entered Wales. The Britons being far outnumbered by the invader, retired to the mountains upon their approach, driving before them their cattle and carrying with them their effects; so that the Saxons were obliged to retreat into England, probably for want of provisions, though the cause is not expressly assigned by historians.

KING OFFA'S DYKE.

"In order to curb the restless spirit of the Britons, as he was pleased to term it, Offa during this expedition placed a strong colony of Saxons in Fferregs, who in their own defence were compelled to resist and prevent the incursions of the inhabitants of the principality into the English borders; and the better to ascertain the boundary of the two countries, he formed the well known dyke which bears his name, and which, even as late as the reign of Edward the Confessor, was regarded as the discriminating line between England and Wales; for by a law of Earl Harold it was ordained, that if any Welshman coming into England without license, should be taken on that side of Offa's dyke, his right hand should be cut off by the king's officer. It extended from Flintshire in North Wales, to the mouth of the river Wye near Chepstow, or as some say, Tydenham passage in Gloucestershire. The tradition of the inhabitants of Ystradyw and the adjacent part of Monmouthshire, carries it over one side of the Sugar Loaf; if so, Penclawdd, or the head of the ditch, in Monmouthshire was upon Offa's Dyke, but Mr Coxe thinks it to have been the site of an old Roman road. The boundary just mentioned most probably took a more Eastern direction, through Herefordshire and Monmouthshire. Pennant observes, that in all parts, the ditch is on the Welsh side, and that there are a great number of artificial mounds, the sites of small forts, in many places along its course: these were garrisoned and intended for the same purpose as the tower in the famous Chinese wall, to watch the motions of the neighbours and to repel hostile incursions. The remains of this useless work of labour and expence are very visible in several places in North Wales, and on a hill three miles West of Knighton in Radnorshire, through which town, called Tref y clawdd commonly Treclodd, or the town of the ditch, it evidently passed; but from thence Southward it can only be traced by conjecture. This encroachment upon their limits considerably distressed the Welsh upon the borders, and compelled the princes of Powis to remove the seat of government fo Marthrafael. Hereford, then called Fferregs, and the town. Caerffawydd, or Beech-chester, was no longer subject to the regulh of Fferregs, and Hugh Thomas[1] says, that 'from hence forwards their capitol was transferred to Brecknock,' meaning, we presume, some place in the county of Brecknock; as it does not appear that the town was built until more than three centuries after this time.

GREAT DEFEAT OF THE SAXONS.

"Tangwydd ap Tegyd succeeded only to the possession of that part of Fferregs which is now called Radnorshire, to a small part of Montgomeryshire, and to that portion of Brecknockshire which was under his father's government. The names of the cantrefydd or hundreds, of which this territory was composed, in the map now remaining of it, are so disfigured by mistakes in spelling, as to become unintelligible even to a Welsh reader, and would appear particularly uncouth to an English eye. The Britons thus circumscribed by boundaries, erected by the power and protected by the forces of their adversary, and driven to their mountains, where they were compelled to conceal themselves, smothered for some time their vexation and apparently forgot their injuries. Offa vainly flattered himself that everything was secure, but the feelings of a brave people, determined to live free or die courageously, are not easily suppressed; they only wore the mask of indifference, while in reality they plotted the destruction of the obnoxious boundary and the avengement of their undeserved oppressions: for when Offa was lulled into a fancied safety and negligent inactivity, unsuspicious of impending danger, and

[1] MS. Rawl 1220. Bodl. Lib. 7.

perhaps despising the efforts of a vanquished and, as he supposed, desponding foe, they suddenly arose and having levelled the rampart and filled the ditch, attacked the unprepared Heptarch in his very entrenchments, whence he escaped not without some difficulty. Offa was at this time encamped at a place in Herefordshire, now called Sutton Walls, or Sutton Wallia, about three miles North of Hereford; it was then the royal residence of the Saxon, and was situate on the top of a hill, the summit of which is level, and estimated to contain about thirty acres of land, fenced round with a continued rampart of earth, except on the North and South sides, where there seems to have been roads into it. In the middle of this area is a hollow or a low place, which the people in the neighbourhood now call the cellar, and sometimes Offa's cellar: a few years ago, in digging here a silver ring was found of antique form. Here the dark and villainous murder of Ethelbert king of the East Angles was contrived and executed by Offa and his infamous queen, Quendreda or Quendrida;

Sutton acres drench'd with royal blood
Of Ethelbert, when to th' unhallowed feast
Of Mercian Offa he invited came,
To treat of spousals; long connubial joys
He promised to himself, allured by fair
Elfrida's beauty, but deluded died
In height of hopes: Oh hardest fate to fall
By shew of friendship and pretended love.

THE CHARACTER OF KING OFFA.

Offa, indeed, was a strange mixture of great talents and valour with most infamous vices and unrelenting ferocity. William of Malmsbury thus describes him: 'King Offa was a man of mighty courage and magnanimity, who resolutely undertook whatever he once conceived in his mind; he reigned thirty-nine years. When I consider his exploits, which were various in their nature and of different kinds, I am in doubt whether I should reckon him among the good or evil kings, as there was such an interchangeable vicissitude in him of virtues and vices: he was like Proteus, his form and features ever changing.' Cressy calls him, a noble and illustrious king, and because he made a pilgrimage to Rome and founded the monastery of St. Alban's, he conceals most, and forgives him the remainder of his crimes.

"Mortified beyond measure at his late discomfiture at Sutton, as well as by previous disappointments, the bloody Mercian despot wreaked his vengeance upon some unfortunate hostages whom the chance of war had thrown into his power; these he sacrificed to his fury without mercy, and the conflict between him and the Britons was again renewed with increasing rancour. But though many engagements ensued between the contending parties, no material advantage was gained on either side till the fatal battle of (A.D. 796) Morfa Rhuddlan or Rhuddlan marsh, in the vale of Clwyd in Flintshire, where the confederated Welsh were totally defeated and their leader slain. Bishop Gibson, upon the authority of a MS. in the Hengwrt collection, asserts, that Meredydd king of Dyfed, and Offa himself, fell in this engagement, but other authors speak differently. Stowe says he died, after a reign of thirty-nine years, at Offley, and was buried in a chapel on the banks of the river Ouse. Camden likewise quotes Florilegus, who asserts that Offa made choice of Bedford for the place of his interment, but that the river Ouse being once more rapid, and rising higher than ordinary, swept away his monument. This is confirmed by Matthew Paris, who, speaking of the battle of Rhuddlan, stamps the character of this prince with eternal infamy; for he informs us, that in cold blood, he gave orders that every man and child who had been taken prisoners should be indiscriminately massacred, and scarcely did even the weaker sex escape his fury[1]. The memory of this tragic event has been transmitted to posterity by an antient Welsh tune called Morfa Rhuddlan. There is something so peculiarly plaintive and elegiac in the notes of this composition, that we cannot resist the temptation of inserting it, and to prove how well the sound conveys the language and sentiments of the bard upon this disastrous event, we need only mention, that when it was first played upon the harp to the late Colonel Chabbert (a Swiss gentleman, who came to reside in Breconshire) it brought tears into his eyes while he observed that he was sure it commemorated the defeat of a great army[2].

ANHARAWD, LORD OF FFERREGS AND BRECON.

"Anharawd followed his father Tangwydd as regulus of Radnor and the lower part of Builth only, though Hugh Thomas calls him lord of Fferregs and Brecon. At this time (A.D. 819) Merfyn-frych and Essyllt governed North Wales: they were succeeded in the year 843 by Roderick the great, eldest

[1] Offchurch in Warwickshire, Offington in Sussex, and Offley in Staffordshire, preserve the memory of this royal Saint.

[2] The original words are lost: those now adapted to the tune are versified from a fragment published in the letters from Snowdon. This key seems to be much better suited to the subject than that in which it is given by Jones. It is set by the late celebrated blind Parry Vide, the music after the next page.

son of Mervyn, who marrying Angharad the heiress of South Wales, brought the whole of the principality under his dominion. During this period, Wales suffered greatly by the incursions of Egbert king of the West Saxons, who having conquered Mercia and finally united the Saxon heptarchy into one kingdom, soon reduced the little princes of South Wales, then the confederates of the Danes, to the condition of tributaries. However, those troublesome foreign hornets found him and his successors such full employ for some years, that the Welsh were relieved from their visits and permitted to return to the old practice of cutting each other's throats; to which for centuries they never failed to resort in times of peace with England. In pursuance of this inveterate habit we find that about the year 846, according to the *Brut y Tywysogion*, a quarrel arose between Ithel king of Gwent, and the regulus or reguli of Brecknockshire. The cause of the dispute is not known; probably it was about the bounds between Brecknockshire and Monmouthshire, but thus much we know, that Ithel having attacked the men of Brecknock was defeated and slain, and *the mighty horribly perjured long haired Gwentians*[1] were compelled to take to their heels.

GWYNDYDD, REGULUS OF BRECKNOCK.

"Gwngy, Gwngydd, Gwendid or Gwendydd ap Anharawd (for we find him by these four different names in pedigrees) appears as the next regulus of Brecheiniog and what remained of Fferregs. In some MSS. he is called the son of Nêss, the son of Hoyw, but Llewelyn Offeiriad says, he was the son of Anharawd; he was contemporary with Anharawd, Cadell and Mervyn, the sons of Rodri mawr or the great, who by his will divided the principality among them and built a palace for each. Cadell, the son to whose lot South Wales fell, lived at Dinevor or Dinasfawr in Carmarthenshire; he had also a palace at Llyswen in Brecknockshire, and perhaps at Caerau, in the upper part of the hundred of Builth in the same county. The princes of South Wales were tributaries to the princes of North Wales, and paid them the annual sum of £63 which was called Maelged. The royal tribute due from the principality at large to the imperial crown of London, as ordained by the constitutions of Dyfnwal Moel-mûd, was called Teyrnged; by the first is meant a military, and by the latter a political contribution or tax, the one for the defence, and the other for the support and maintenance of the government of the whole kingdom.

"The territories of Fferregs had by this time suffered a material diminution, and the greatest part of them were then in subjection to the Saxon power. Even Brecknockshire, from the destructive operation of the law of gavelkind, that universal leveller of British property, was frequently divided and subdivided into numerous portions and lordships, the little chieftain or head of each of which exercised an almost despotic power over his clan or family, at the same time that they professed to pay a kind of anomalous obedience to the prince of South Wales.

THE DANES IN BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

"About the year 896, the Danes, according to Powel, being defeated by Alfred, left their wives, their children and effects in Essex, and so passed overland to Enadbryge upon the Severn, and then passing the river spoiled the county of Brecknock, Gwentland and Gwentllwg. Smollet says they were pursued by Alfred as far as Quatbridge; and Hume, that they fled to Quatford, where they were finally broken and subdued: the chronicle of Cradoc of Lancarvan, which Powel professes to follow, takes notice of their route, but makes these invaders to be *Normans*: 'Deng mlynedd a phedwar ugain mlynedd ac wyth cant oedd oed Crist, pan fu farw Swbin y doethat o'r Scottiaid, etc., ac yno y diffeithiawd y *Normaniaid* Lloegr a Brecheiniog, a Morganwg a Gwent a Buallt Gwnllwc,' i.e., in the year of Christ 890 died Swbin the wisest of the Scotch nation. —and then were England, and Brecknock, and Glamorgan, and Builth, *and*[2] Gwentllwg ravaged by the Normans.[3] From whence Smollet or Hume derive their information, as to the retreat of the Danes, is not stated by either of these authors.[4] Quatford or Quatbridge is a small village in Shropshire,[5] upon the banks of the Severn, about two miles below Bridgenorth: it seems to be highly probable that this was the line of their march, or rather of their flight, for as their attack is said to have been first on Brecknock

[1] Taliesin in his poem upon the battle of Garant under Ynyr, prince of Gwentland, describes the inhabitants of that district as being remarkable for their long hair and perfidious conduct; "mawr erch *anudon*, Gwenywys gwallt hirion." Perhaps it would be more in the spirit of the original, to translate anudon here by faithless, or regardless of treaties; literally it means perjured.

[2] The word "and" so necessary to complete the sentence (in Welsh "a") is here accidently omitted in the original

[3] In another part of this passage, which we did not think necessary to follow, they are called y Normaniaid duon, the black Normans. The Welsh always called the *Danes* the black army either from their standard, the raven, or the colour of their armour.

[4] Mr Turner, in his *History of the Anglo Saxons*, quotes Florentius of Worcester and the Saxon chronicle for this irruption, and says, they settled at Bridgenorth, where he informs us they were permitted (after having raised intrenchments in *their right*, which resisted the power of Alfred) to pass the winter unmolested. The British account of their ravaging Wales, and their dispersion or perhaps embarkation on the Western coasts of the principality, appears to us to be more likely to be correct.

[5] Stowe calls this place Quatbridge, and Speed Catbridge upon Severn; both these historians make the Danes return from thence into England, instead of crossing the Severn into Wales.

and then on Glamorganshire and Gwent or Monmouthshire, it is clear they could not have crossed the Severn much lower down than the confines of Shropshire, or their irruption would have been first into Herefordshire or Monmouthshire. From Quatford they must have proceeded to Ludlow and from thence along the borders of Radnorshire and Herefordshire, towards Hay in Brecknockshire, where, or soon afterwards, separating, one division of these depredators proceeded up the vale of Wye, through Builth, into the vale of Ystradtowy in Caermarthenshire, and from thence into Caerdiganshire, while the other party laid waste the vale of Usk, and entered Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, destroying the habitation and carrying away with them the effects of the inhabitants. In 911 the Danes again made an unsuccessful attack on South Wales, when they were compelled, as Powell says, to make the best of their way into Ireland.

HUGANUS, PRINCE OR LORD OF BRECKNOCK.

"The successor of Gwngy is called by John de Castores, Huganus, who describes him as a prince of West Wales, but all our pedigrees make him prince or lord of Brecknock, though they differ as to his name; some write it Kydd, others Ky and Gy, and others Guy and Hudd. His reign commenced about the latter end of the ninth, or very early in the tenth century; soon after which, finding Edward the elder fully employed in expelling the incursions of the Danes, he seized, as he thought, the favourable opportunity of revenging the many insults that had been offered to his country, and recovering by well timed exertions, the possessions which had been wrested from his ancestors. With the strongest levy he could muster he passed the Saxon boundary and commenced hostilities, but here he met with an unexpected check from the Mercian Elfleda or Ethelfleda. This heroine was the wife, and afterwards the widow of Ethelfred, earl of Mercia, daughter to Alfred the great and sister to the Saxon monarch Edward: from her masculine talents and military exploits, she was generally called *King*. In the year 914, according to Powel, (although Cradoc says Edelfled died in 910,[1] and makes no mention of her expedition and victories in Wales), she entered into that country at the head of a powerful army and meeting with Huganus upon the borders, a severe engagement ensued, in which he was not only defeated by this Amazon, but followed up so closely, that his castle of *Brecenanmere* was taken by storm, and his princess or queen, as she is sometimes called, with thirty-four of her attendants, sent prisoners into Mercia. This battle in Welsh is called Gwaith y Ddinas newydd, or the battle of the new city. It is difficult to ascertain the site of this ancient fortress, whether it be denominated Brecenanmere or Dinas newydd. Camden doubts whether it was Brecknock or Castell y Dinas *on a steep tapering rock above the lake:* a note in Rapin, quoting the Saxon annals, and H. Huntingdon says, she took Brecenanmere, *supposed* to be Brecknock: against this, however there is an insurmountable objection, which is, that Brecknock castle *certainly*, and probably the town, was not built until near two hundred years after this period. The conjecture of Camden is equally unfortunate as to Castell y Dinas, which is not situate, as he describes it, upon a high hill near the lake, but at a considerable distance from it, and separated from Llangorse lake by an intervening range of mountains; besides, that portion of Brecknockshire in which Castell y Dinas is situate, was then in the possession of the descendants of Drem Drem-rudd or Rhain and not of Huganus. The castle of Blânllyfni, therefore, seems to have the best claim to be considered as the residence of the lady and her attendants; for this is placed at the head of the lake of Llynsavaddan or Brecknock mere. This castle being most probably described by the earliest historians as built near a lake, was stated by the first transcriber or perhaps translator who recorded this event in the English language, as 'the castle of or near to Brecknock or *Brecon mere*, afterwards corrupted into Breecenanmere.'[2]

DEFEATED BY ETHELFLEDA.

"Hwgan being thus disconcerted in his projects, and disgraced in his arms, fled to Derby, where he joined the Danes, who cordially received and tendered him their assistance: supported by his new friends, he prepared for a recommencement of hostilities, but all his attempts to elude the vigilance or resist the good fortune of Elfleda were vain. With incredible activity she hastened with her victorious army and pursued her defeated foe to his rallying place; here, before he was enabled to complete his schemes, she laid close siege to the town, and though Hwgan on the other side was not idle, and though he encouraged the garrison both by exhortation and example to make a spirited defence, yet after a trifling advantage, the gates of the city were set on fire by *Gwaine lord of Ely*, steward to Elffleda, and after a vigorous attack, possession was taken of the citadel by the assailants. Hwgan, perceiving that every thing was irrecoverably lost, determined to die bravely, rather than surrender himself dishonourably to a woman; he therefore rushed furiously into the heat of the battle, and fell covered with immmerable wounds.

[1] Stowe places her death in 919, and Speed in 912.

[2] An objection, similar to the last mentioned, lies to Blanllyfni, which was likewise in the Cwmwd; but we know not where else to find a home for Hwgan's queen.

"His son Dryffin, sometimes called Sir Dryffin and Dyfnwal, succeeded to his father's government and soon experienced nearly similar misfortunes: 'of manners gentle and affections mild,' the emollient arts of peace were more congenial with his mind, than the din of arms or the bustle of a camp. Imperious necessity, however, often compelled him to take the field, though his whole life was a continued series of mortification and losses. In his time, Athelstan king of England, having triumphed over the Danes and Scots, whom he repeatedly defeated in several pitched battles, marched with an army into Wales: this, according to Powel, was in the year 933, but Cradoc's Chronicle says, Athelstan died in 930, and no notice is there taken of this irruption. Powel however proceeds to inform us, that he forced the princes of the adjoining and neighbouring countries to pay him a tribute of twenty pounds in gold, three hundred in silver, and two hundred head of cattle; this tribute is mentioned in the Brompton Chronicle, but there the number of cattle is doubled.

HYWEL DDA RESTORES THE UNITY OF WALES.

"The celebrated Welsh legislator, [1]Hywel Dda, or the good, had now, upon the death of his cousin Edwal Foel or the bald, the son of Anharawd, once more united the principality of Wales under one leader. Whether he obtained this dignity solely by the efforts of ambition, or was called to it by the voice of the people, or whether great talents for government occasionally interrupted the succession in these disorderly days, is not clear: certain it is, that the sons of the late prince of North Wales were superseded without any opposition. Whatever the means were by which Hywel obtained the sovereignty, his early and vigilant attention to the common weal and the mild tenor of his government, must, in some measure, palliate, though it may not altogether vindicate an act of injustice, if such it was. His code of laws, however whimsical and unaccountable some of them now appear, collected from the most antient records[2] and grounded upon the well known and best received customs of his nation, must ever remain a stupendous monument of his wisdom and discrimination, at the same time that his upright and impartial administration of those laws justly intitle him to the appellation of *the good*.

THE FOUR CANTREDS OF BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

"About the year 944, he made a general survey of the principality,[3] dividing the whole into grand and petty districts: in this division, Brecknock formed four cantreds or hundreds, Cantreff-mawr, Cantreff-Tewdos, Cantreff-Eudaf and Cantreff-Selyff; these were again divided into Cwmwds, Cymydau or smaller jurisdictions: Cantreff-mawr contained Cwmwd Llywel and Cwmwd Dyffryn Honddu, Cantreff-Tewdos, Cwmwd y Gelly and Cwmwd Glynbwch, Cantreff-Selyff, Cwmwd Brwynllys and Cwmwd Talgarth, and Cantreff-Eudaf, Cwmwd Tyr Ralph, Cwmwd Ystradyw, Cwmwd Crughywel and Cwmwd Ewyas. Sir John Pryce in his description of Wales, divides Brecknockshire into Cantreff-Selyff, Cantreff-canol and Cantreff-mawr; his subdivisions are evidently erroneous and almost unintelligible. Hay, Talgarth, Builth and Llangorse are placed within the Cwmwds of Tyr Ralph Llywel and Cerrig Howell, but in which of them is not stated; it is however perfectly immaterial; as the town of Hay or Gelli (as it is there called) was certainly not in either of them and Builth was at that time part of another province.

From this survey of Hywel, we see clearly that Crickhowel or Ystradyw and the county adjacent was at that time considered as part of Brecknockshire, though he does not hesitate to acknowledge

[1] Howel the Good is said to have lived in Brecon (*Liber Llandavensis*, page 477), and with him resided Pater or Padarn, who became Bishop of Llandaff in 943 and died 961. Crickhowell was sometimes esteemed part of Glamorgan (*Liber Llandavensis*, page 512) and in the Diocese of Llandaff: "Know all Christians that there are seven Cantrefs in the Lordship of Glamorgan . . . of which the seventh is Cantref Gwent uchcoed (upper Gwent), Ystradyw (Crickhowell), and Ewyas (in Herefordshire), which both are called the sleeves of Gwent uchcoed. Be it likewise known to you that Edgar and Hywel dda and Morgan Hen (the old) were Kings of all Britain, and those two were subject to King Edgar. Morgan the Old enjoyed the whole of Glamorgan in peace, but Hywel dda would take from him Ystradyw (Crickhowell) and Ewyas if he could, which being made known King Edgar called Hywel dda and Morgan Hen and his son Owain and examined between the two, and it was found that Hywel dda had acted wrongfully against Morgan Hen and his son Owain, and Hywel dda was deprived of those two districts Ewyas and *Ystradyw* (Crickhowell) for ever. Afterwards King Edgar gave to Owain the son of Morgan Hen the two districts of Ystradyw and Ewyas declared by name to be in the diocese of Llandaff, as his own proper inheritance." Hywel, however, died before Edgar came to the throne; it was his son and successor Owain who intruded into the dominion of Morgan the aged. The incident is said to have taken place A.D. 958

[2] Lord Lyttleton (who thought contemptuously of these laws) intimated, that from the entire agreement of several of them with those of the Saxons, they were occasionally borrowed from the latter. Life of H. 2, v. 2, p. 333. But without any fear of being charged with prejudice or national vanity, we have no hesitation in asserting that in Hywel's time, the Welsh were a far more learned and civilised people than the Saxons; this makes it more probable that the German pirate borrowed occasionally from the pupils of the Romans, than the latter from the former; besides, whoever peruses the Leges Saxonicæ of Wilkins, will see to whom these invaders were indebted for their ordinances. From Ina to Edward the Confessor, "pay your tythes" is one of the principal injunctions, and Alfred's laws begin with the decalogue of Moses oddly transposed: the Monks therefore were undoubtedly the authors and dictators of the Saxon laws, while those of Hywel (though he undoubtedly availed himself of the assistance of the learned of his day) preserved in many instances the manners, maxims, and character of early times, and of the artless children of nature.

[3] Harl. MSS. No. 6108, p. 55. Ibid. No. 7017.

the spiritual jurisdiction of the see of Llandaff over it, for he calls it Cantreff-Eudaff or Oudoceus's hundred: it is also equally evident that Hywel and his tributary princes or lords governed this tract at the time of the survey: and history as well as tradition has confirmed their right, which has been incontrovertibly established by their possession of it, for ages long prior and subsequent to this period.

"The small remains of Fferregs, which has long been gradually decreasing as well from violence as by partition, were at length torn from the unfortunate Dyrffin by the arms of Elystan sirnamed Glodrydd, or Athelstan the famous or praiseworthy. The memory of this hero, as well as his conquests of this country, is preserved only in antient British MSS.; but both are so familiar to a Welshman, that to doubt of the existence of the man, or to cavil at the relation of his exploits, would be downright infidelity. This adventurer then (for such he is generally supposed to be, though some make him the legitimate lord of the greatest part of Fferregs) was the son of Cynhyllyn lord of Melenydd and Builth, who was the son of Ivor or Môr, the son of *Severus*, the son of Cador Wenwyn, the son of Cadvan, the son of Owain, the son of Idnerth, the son of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, the son of Treganwy, the son of Teon, the son of Gwineudau-freiddawd king of Alban or Scotland, by Arianwen or silvery-white, the daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog. Elystan was born at Hereford, then called Caer-ffawydd or Beech-chester, in the second year of the reign of Athelstan king of England, who it is said was his godfather and from whom he received his name; though the Saxon monarch proved a merciless sponser, invading his godson's dominions, laying his country waste with fire and sword, and imposing, as has been seen, a tribute upon him and his subjects. Elystan Glodrydd was slain in a civil broil at Cefn-di-goll in Montgomeryshire, the precise time of his death cannot be ascertained. He is said in some pedigrees to be alive in the time of Aeddan ap Blegored in the year 1010, at which period, if he was born in 927, (the second year of his godfather's reign) he must have been eighty-three years of age. He had issue Cadwgan,[1] to whom he gave Radnorshire and the greatest part of the hundred of Builth, and from him the male line continues to the present day, as will be seen when we come to the family of the Lloyds of Rhosferig or Rhos-Fferregs; to his second son Morgeneu he gave his possessions in North Wales bordering on Radnorshire and to his other sons, different parcels of his territories, thus laying a certain foundation for domestic disputes and family squabbles, and of course, furnishing an irresistible temptation to the neighbouring plunderers, to dismember his ill-gotten kingdom in the same manner as he had wrested it from the unfortunate Dryffin.

MERCIAN INVASION OF THE COUNTY.

"During the government of this regulus, Brecknockshire was invaded by Alfred earl of Mercia: this event happened, according to Powel and Warrington, in the year 982, and both of them inform us, that the Saxon general destroyed the *town* of Brecknock; but the *Brut y Tywysogion* or Cradoc of Lancarvan's chronicle, places this expedition two years sooner, and with more correctness, states that the *country*[2] of Brecknock, for it is doubtful whether the town was even then built, was laid waste by the Saxons. They were soon afterwards defeated by the united forces of Hywel prince of North Wales and Einion the son of Owen prince of South Wales; the latter, a promising young man, met with a very ungrateful return from his countrymen; he was treacherously slain by the nobles or great men of Gwent, while endeavouring to suppress a commotion, though he seems for that purpose to have made use of no other means than argument or intreaties.

Upon the death of Dryffin, he was succeeded by his son Maenarch or Maenyrch in the government of Brecknockshire. The misfortune of his ancestors, or his own inability to contend with his more powerful neighbours, taught him to seek his security in peace: he lived quietly and inoffensively within his little territory and instead of embroiling himself in the discord or civil war which agitated the minds and desolated the property of his countrymen of that day, he strove only to improve and repair the possessions left him, which he considerably enlarged by his marriage with Elinor daughter of Einion ap Selyff. lord of Cantreff-Selyff. She was the sixteenth from Brychan and sole heiress to her father, who was the fifteenth from Cradoc Fraich-fras: in the issue therefore of this marriage flowed the blood of both these princes, and under Maenarch the whole of the present county of Brecknock, after an interval of near six hundred years, became at length united and subject to the control of one man. But this the absurd policy of the times would not long permit to continue; accordingly we find Drymbennog, second son of Dryffin, in possession, not many years after the death of his father, of the sovereignty or lordship of Cantreff-Selyff, and we should in all pro-

[1] From him are lineally descended the present noble *English* family of Cadogan.

[2] Whatever merit Powel may generally be entitled to as a translator, the Welsh reader cannot avoid reprobating the inattention and inaccuracies observable in his book; thus Cradoc's expression here describes *the desolation of a country* and not the destruction of a town: his words are "diffeithiawd *Brecheiniawc*:" diffeithiaw is to convert a cultivated or inclosed country into a desert or waste, and the termination "awc" (as before observed) generally implies a region.

bability have seen the natural ill consequences of such a partition, if the arms and good fortune of the Norman invader had not soon afterwards prevailed; when both these *monarchs in miniature* were reduced to the condition of subjects, if not of slaves, to the conquerors.

GREAT BATTLE AT LLECHRYD.

"We now proceed to the last of the British race who wore the trappings of royalty, or exercised anything like *sovereign power* over the land of Brecknock. Bleddin ap Maenarch, soon after the death of his father, married Elinor, daughter of Tewdwr mawr and sister to Rhys ap Tewdwr prince of South Wales. This connection, though dictated by prudence and apparently recommended by sound policy, so far from procrastinating his doom, or averting the blow which was meditated against him, contributed to accelerate his ruin. His brother in law was an able, a brave, and an active prince, but he was the child of misfortune.

"The history of this illustrious family is too intimately blended with the fate of Bleddin to be passed over unnoticed.

"The princes of South Wales descended from Hywel dda, having been long excluded from their rights by the capricious succession of the times, Rhys ap Tewdwr (A.D. 1076) put in his claim and was elected prince of South Wales by the unanimous voice of his people. According to Vaughan of Hengwrt, the immediate territories of this prince were only the present counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen; as Pembroke, Brecknock, Gwent and Glewissig, then called Herefordshire were governed by their different reguli, though there is no doubt that they all acknowledged the paramount authority of the prince of South Wales. It might reasonably be expected that a title thus founded upon the fairest and most honourable basis, the approbation and free choice of his subjects, would have been happy and permanent, but the ill-fated Rhys was destined soon to feel "the unstable slightness" of popular favour, and to furnish posterity with one more example of the vicissitudes which generally attend the fate of princes in a barbarous and half civilized state of society. For a while, he enjoyed his sovereignty without disturbance; at length, however, the sons of Bleddyn[1] ap Cynfin, desirous of recovering those rights, of which they were deprived by the murder of their father and the usurpation of Caeradog, suddenly raised an insurrection in South Wales against Rhys, who being unprepared to resist such a formidable and unexpected attack, was compelled to retire to Ireland for safety. Here he met with a hospitable reception from Sittric[2] king of Dublin, who had married Nest, one of his sisters, by whose friendship, as well as by promises of liberal rewards, if he should succeed, he soon raised a strong army of Irishmen and Scots, and was enabled once more to set up his standard in Wales, where he instantly prepared to assert his rights and recover his dominions. Upon his landing, the capricious multitude, who had a little while before deserted him without a cause, now eagerly flocked to him, and pressed forward with ardour in his support. From the scene of the battle which afterwards ensued, it should seem as if he began his march at Aberystwith in Cardiganshire, and that Cadwgan, Riryd, and Madoc, his adversaries, were then ravaging, or at least tyrannizing, over the territories of his brother in law, Bleddyn ap Maenarch in Brecknockshire, who, upon the news of his arrival in the principality, joined him with all the force he could raise. The two opposing armies met at a place called by Powel corruptly, Llech y creu, but more correctly, Llechyryd or *Llechriryd*,[3] near the river Wye, in the parish of Disserth in Radnorshire: here a bloody conflict followed, which ended in the defeat of the sons of Bleddyn, two of whom were slain in the field of battle, from thence forward called Llechryd, from a Carn or Llech thrown up to

[1] Bleddyn ap Cynfin, prince of North Wales and Powis was assassinated by Rhys the son of Owain ap Edwin, and the nobility of Ystradyw. His affability of manners and mild government had endeared him to his countrymen, but he betrayed their liberties and debased the dignity of his crown by condescending to receive it from the hereditary enemy, the English; he was the compiler of a code of laws, and established some regulations respecting the bards. After his death, his kinsman Trahaern ap Caeradog being supported by the voice of the people, assumed the government to the prejudice of his children.

[2] Sutric, Sittric, or Sittricus, son of Awlaf or Olave king of Dublin, assisted Donagh, first bishop of Dublin, to build the cathedral of Christchurch in that city, instituted for regular canons in the year 1038. The record of the foundation of the church gives the following account, "Sittricus, king of Dublin, son of Ablab or Amlave, earl of Dublin, gave to the Holy Trinity and to Donagh, first bishop of Dublin, a place where the arches or vaults are founded, to build the church of the Holy Trinity, together with the lands of Beal, Duleh, Rechere, Port Rahern, with their villains, cattle, and corn, and gave also silver and gold sufficient to build the church and the whole court." Holinshed says, Sitric was governor or King of the Danes in Northumberland, as well as king of Ireland, about the year 926. He relates a story of his being poisoned by his wife Beatrice, daughter of Athel-stan, king of England, for which crime she was punished by Aulafa and Godfrey, his sons, in a very singular manner, "she was set naked," says he, "upon a smythe's *cold* anville, or stythie, and there with hard rosted eggs being taken fourth of the hot ymbers, were putte under her arm pittes, and her armes fast bound to her bodie with a corde, and so in that state she remayned till her life passed from her bodi." The Welsh pedigrees called Sittric the brother in law of Rhys ap Tewdwr, (q. if the same as Holinshed's Sittric, Sutric, Kendric, or Wygan) he died in the year 1042 or 1043.

[3] In Powel's Edition of Cradoc of Llancarvan, printed in 1584, this battle is said to have been fought at *Llechryd*; Llech y Crue is, a corruption of a later edition, copied over and over again, by subsequent authors, commentators, annotators, etc.

the memory of Riryd,[1] who fell there. Cadwgan, who escaped with his life, survived to experience the vicissitudes of fortune, and to become alternately a prince and an outlaw, the general of an army, and the chief of a troop of Banditti.

"Rhys, thus fully reinstated in his principality, dismissed his Irish and Scotch friends, satisfied with the result of the expedition and the recompense made them for their assistance; to some he gave lands in Wales, where they became settlers. In this number was Idio Wyllt, or the wild, earl of Desmond, on whom, with the consent of Bleddin, it must be presumed, he bestowed the lordship of Llywel in Brecknockshire. The son of this Idio was named Moreiddig, Warwyn or Whitenape, who marrying Catherine the widow of Thomas, lord Lacy of the Golden Vale in Herefordshire, became the ancestors of the Parrys of Poston in that county and Llandevailog tre'r graig in Brecknockshire.

GRIFFITH AP MEREDITH BEHEADED.

"The sunshine of peace, which had faintly begun to gleam on the reign of Rhys, was of short continuance. Factions raised among his own rebellious and restless nobles, encouraged and supported by the court of London, which had long, though hitherto unsuccessfully, plotted the reduction of Wales, continually disturbed his mind, and finally ended in his destruction. Llewelyn and Einion, sons of Cadifor ap Collwyn lord of Dyved, having, it seems, conceived some disgust against their sovereign, entered into a confederacy against him with Griffith ap Meredith, a nobleman of weight in his country, whom they prevailed upon to engage in their designs and to assist them in their insurrection: thus supported, they marched suddenly to Llandidoch, or according to Warrington, Llandudoch or St. Dogmael's in Pembrokeshire, where Rhys then resided, and commenced hostilities against him unprepared, as they supposed, for their reception. But experience had now taught him to guard against the open attacks, as well as the secret machinations of his enemies, he therefore bravely met them in the field, and, after a smart action, entirely defeated these rebels with very considerable loss on their side. Griffith was taken prisoner and immediately executed, or as one copy of Cradoc of Llancarvan has it, *he was made shorter*[2] *by the head*. Einion, afterwards notorious by the name of Einion Fradwr, or the traitor, fled to Jestin ap Gwrgan lord or prince of Glamorgan, who was then at enmity with Rhys ap Tewdwr: this regulus was descended from the antient princes of Gwent and Morganwg, and it is said, resided principally at Cardiff. The cause of the quarrel is differently related by the chronicles of the times, and must at last remain uncertain; some attribute it to a jealousy entertained by Jestin, who accused Rhys of too great intimacy with his wife. This however is improbable, if not absurd; we do not hear that there was ever any intercourse between them or their families, and Rhys at this very time was upwards of eighty years of age: it seems therefore most likely, that a question about a boundary or a *sheep-walk* produced the squabble between these great and mighty potentates. Be this as it may, it is clear that Jestyn was a most abandoned character, dissolute in his morals and oppressive in his government, debauching, either by open violence or secret intrigue, the wives and daughters of his neighbours; yet has this reprobate, for some unaccountable reason or other, been considered as one of the progenitors of the five royal tribes of Wales, and several of his posterity remain in Glamorganshire to this day, who trace with much vanity their descent from him, and boast, as an honour, that the blood of such a scoundrel continues to flow in their veins. The court of such a prince was a proper receptacle for traitors; accordingly we find that Einion was kindly received and hospitably entertained there by the unprincipled tyrant of Gwent, who readily entered into all his designs against Rhys and promised him his assistance. Too weak, or too timid to meet the veteran warrior in the field with their own forces, Einion, whose only passion was revenge and who had abjured his country, suggested an expedient which, at the same time that it gratified his ruling passions, and for a short time indulged the pride of his protector, ended in the subjugation of his country, and left both dependent upon

[1] At Abernant y beddau, or the conflux of the brook of the graves, in Cwmytoiddwr in Radnorshire, about six miles from Llechryd are three stones, each about one foot high, placed triangularly, concerning which there is the following traditionary distich.

Mae tri bedd tribedog.
Ar Lunerch drion feillionog
Lle claddwyd y tri Chawr mawr o Frechiniog.
Owen, Milfydd, a Madog.

There are three graves placed triangularly
Upon a pleasant green, where the trefoil grows,
Where the three mighty chiefs of (or from) Brecknockshire were buried.
Owen, Milfydd, and Madoc.

If Cadwgan had been slain in this engagement, we should have conceived that Cadwgan, *Riryd*, and Madoc, were buried where these stones were placed, and we are still inclined to think they commemorate the defeat and flight of those three princes, who marched *from* Breconshire to meet Rees ap Tewdwr, and that the lines have been corrupted in the course of time.

[2] From this as well as several other phrases, which occur in the copy of the chronicle of Aberpergwm or Llangrallo, (see Myf. Arch. Vol. 2.) we suspect that this MS. is of later date than that which precedes it, which was extracted from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, or at least, that considerable alterations have been made to it in a modern hand.

the mercy and liberality of foreigners, whose language, customs and manners, were widely different from those to which the Britons had been long habituated, and to which they were warmly attached.

EINION THE ENGLISHMAN DEFEATS RHYS AP TEWDWR.

"Einion had been an officer in the English army, had served under the king of England in France and other countries, and was a favourite in the court of London; it was therefore agreed that he should use his interest with some of the Norman nobles to invite them to join with him against the prince of South Wales. To reward him for this *inestimable* kindness, and to stimulate these patriotic efforts, Jestyn promised Einion his daughter Nest in marriage, together with the lordship of Miscin in Glamorganshire as a portion. The task he undertook was not difficult; an adventurer of the name of Robert Fitzhammon[1] readily engaged in the enterprize, and prevailed upon several of the Norman chieftains and their followers to accompany him. Aided by the number as well as the discipline of these soldiers of fortune, the confederates marched into the territories of Rhys and laid waste all before them with fire and sword, who, upon his part, being soon roused by the intelligence he received, and indignant at the injuries his country sustained, once more prepared to meet the invaders. The two armies encountered each other at a place called Hirwain-Wrgan, a large plain on the confines of Glamorganshire and Breconshire, on the south western boundary of the latter county; here, the good genius of Rhys finally deserted him, and from this time little more than a titular sovereignty remained with a few of his descendants. After a bloody battle (A.D. 1091) his troops were completely routed, and according to the chronicle last quoted he himself was compelled to fly to Glyn Rhodneu[2] in Glamorganshire, where he was overtaken and beheaded at a place, from thence called Pen Rhys or Rhys's head.

"This account, however, of his flight and death will appear extremely improbable, if not incredible, to those who are acquainted with the topography of the country: independent of the contradictory statement given by historians of the time and manner of his death. Hirwain-Wrgan,[3] as has been before observed, is on the south western confines of Breconshire; part of this field is situate in that county. Glyn-Rhondda is ten or twelve miles eastward of this plain and nearer Cardiff; consequently every step which Rhys must have taken in the flight, as here set down, brought him nearer to the lion's den. The chronicle of Jeuan of Brechfa says, he was slain in the field of battle. George Owen Harry, in his *Well Springe of True Nobilitie*, says 'he was put to flight by Robert Fitzhammon and twelve knights, who came to the aid of Justin ap Gwrgan lord of Glamorgan, but after goeinge to aide Bleddin ap Maenarch, his brother-in-law, he was slaine.' The tradition of Brecknockshire to which Hugh Thomas gives credit, informs us that the engagement between Bleddin ap Maenarch and Rhys on the one side, and the Normans under Bernard Newmarch on the other, took place within two or three miles of the present town of Brecknock, where, Thomas says, the village and range of hills adjoining the action are still, in remembrance of this said event, called *Battle*, a well within the hamlet, Pen Sir Rhys, or the well of Sir Rhys's head, and the lane from Brecon to Battle, Heol y Cymry, or the Welshmen's lane. All this is perfectly correct, as far as it relates to the well and the lane; yet the chapel there, was not so called from this or any other battle, but being dependent upon, and a hamlet of the parish of Saint John the Evangelist in Brecon, which church and monastery was a cell to Battle in Surrey, this chapel received that name in compliment to the religious house to which the mother church appertained.

BERNARD NEWMARCH ENTERS BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

"The fact then probably was, that Rhys after his defeat fled to Caerbannau, or as it was soon afterwards corruptly called, Caerwong, at that time his brother in law's residence and strong hold, and shut himself up with him. In the following year (1092), allured by the success of Robert Fitzhammon and his accomplices, and perhaps invited by them to complete the conquest of the principality, another swarm of freebooters entered into Brecknockshire, commanded by Bernard Newmarch or Bernardus de novo Mercatu, and played the same game with equal success, though perhaps with less colour of right, as Fitzhammon did in Glamorganshire. All historians are agreed as to the consequences of this irruption, but none of them have transmitted to us the occurrences which preceded the conquest, or attempted minutely to describe the field of battle where the fate of Bleddin was decided: on conjecture therefore in a great measure, assisted here and there by a glimmering of information from the broken and unconnected records of our meagre chronicles and

[1] The *Brut y Tywysogion* calls him Cefnderw y Brenhin Coch, cousin to the red haired king, Wm Rufus. Myf. Arch. Vol. 2, p. 324.

[2] Glyn Rhondda

[3] Hirwaun-Wigan (the long Meadow of Gurgan). Gurgan ab Ithel gave the plain called the Long Meadow of Gwrgan to his poor subjects and to all other Welshmen for raising corn and breeding sheep and cattle. (Genealogy of Kings of Glamorgan—Idlo MS. page 377).

MSS., must depend whatever knowledge can now be derived as to the incidents that happened at this period. In the copy of Cradoc taken from the Llyfr coch o Hergest, and which as before observed, seems to be of higher antiquity and more correct than the Aberpergwm MS., it is said, 'Deng mlynedd a phedwar ugain a mil oedd oed Crist pan lâs Rhys ap Tewdwr Brenhin Deheubarth gan y *Ffrancod* a oedd yn preswylio Brecheiniog' (in the year of Christ 1090, Rhys ap Tewdwr prince of South Wales was slain by the *Frenchmen* who inhabited Brecknockshire).[1]

HIS FIGHT WITH BLEDDIN AP MAENARCH.

"If this account then is to be depended upon, it may be true that the battle in which Rhys was slain was fought near the village of that name, yet it was not between him on the one side, and Fitzhammon and Einion on the other, but between Bleddin ap Maenarch and Bernard Newmarch: after a survey of the ground where this battle is supposed to have taken place, we may perhaps be allowed to indulge in an imaginary, though probable description of the encounter. It has been just hinted that this expedition of Bernard was concerted between him and Fitzhammon, or at least that the success of the latter led to the invasion of Brecknockshire; in his route therefore from England, the conqueror of this county very naturally called upon his countrymen in Glamorganshire, who, if they did not join, at least so far assisted him as to point out the road taken by Rhys in his flight from Hirwain-Wrgan. Pursuing his steps, the invader came to Caerbannau, which being too strongly fortified by nature as well as art to promise success in an attack on the western side, it should seem that the Normans made a feint of filing off northward, along a ridge parallel with the river Escir, as if they intended proceeding towards the Eppynt hills and the hundred of Builth. On the other or eastern side of the river, where the British troops were posted, the lane called Heol y Cymri, as far as it bears that name, runs parallel with this supposed march of the Normans. Along this lane the Britons proceeded, watching the motions of the enemy, but concealed from them by higher ground on the left hand, so that apprehending no opposition, Bernard and his forces attempted to cross the Escir through a wood, from this event called Cwmgwern y gâd, now corruptly Cwmgwingad, or the wood of the vale of the battle, opposite the mansion house of the late Colonel, and subsequently, Mrs. Chabbert. Here however they were observed by some of the British scouts upon the opposite eminence, when the Welsh army pouring down the common between Battle village and Mrs. Chabbert's, must certainly have attacked the enemy to great advantage; but the discipline of the Normans prevailed, the assailants were driven back and in this retreat or flight, tradition informs us Rhys lost his head near a well on the common just mentioned, called Ffynnon Pen Rhys, or Ffynnon *Sir* Rhys. The fury of the battle ceased not till the residence of Bleddin was attacked on the eastern side, where it was most assailable and where he himself, as we learn from Hugh Thomas as well as some other MSS., was slain while gallantly defending his life, his liberty, and his country against a horde of robbers, who had no pretence or motive for hostilities, except a savage and unjustifiable love of plunder, or any argument to support them but the sword.[2]

Thus fell Bleddin ap Maenarch,[3] and with him perished the independence of Brecheiniog as a British state or province: from henceforward we shall see it subject to foreign masters and governed by strange laws.

[1] The same thing is asserted in the anonymous chronicle in Leland "Res filius Tewder a Francis qui in Brechinauc habitabant occiditur." See also the *Brut y Saeson* in the *Myfyrian Archæology*, v. 2, p. 527, which informs us, that Rhys was killed by the Frenchmen (meaning certainly Normans), who lived in Brecknockshire.

[2] A house in the neighbourhood of Battle, called Glywdy is generally supposed to have been the station of a British sentinel, and the word to be derived from the watch word, a glywi di? —dost thou hear? But however firmly established this definition may appear to be, it does not seem well founded; this station must have been in the rear of the British army; there is no eminence or disgwylfa near it, on the contrary, it is situated at the foot of a hill. Glywdy therefore, in all probability, is only a corruption of Glawdy or Glawty, an outhouse or place to shelter cattle, or preserve implements of husbandry from the rain.

[3] Bleddin ap Maenarch was buried as Ystradffilur or Strata Florida abbey in Caerdiganshire, which was built by his brother in law Rhys ap Tewdwr, and endowed in 1164 by Rhys ap Griffith, who styles himself the founder, in his charter preserved in the *Monasticon*. Leland, in his *Collectanea*, vol. I. p. 45, more correctly calls "Resus filius Theodori princeps Suth-Wallie primus fundator," of this monastery. Bleddin left two sons, Gwrgan, from whom are descended the Wogans of Pembrokeshire and several families in Brecknockshire, and Cradoc whose issue (if it has not failed) from the continual change of names, cannot now be traced.

CHAPTER V.

From the Conquest by Bernard Newmarch,[1] to the Accession of the Lordship of Brecknock by Humphrey de Bohun (the sixth of that Name), in Right of his Wife Elinor, one of the Daughters of William de Breos.

"SEVERAL of our Welsh pedigrees make Bernard Newmarch to be uterine brother to William the Conqueror, though they are not confirmed in the assertion by any of the English historians. Mr. Collinson, the author of the *History of Somersetshire*, says his name was Pancewolt and that he held the lands of Dunkerton near Bath of one Turstin Fitzrolf, a Norman baron, who obtained that manor of the Conqueror, but that he afterwards took the name of de Novo Mercatu or of the New Market, under which he occurs as a witness to King William's charter to the monks of Battle; he is also called Newmarch and Neemarch in the roll of Battle Abbey, copied by Stowe in his Chronicle. Bernard Pancewolt, besides Dunkerton, held under the same Fitzrolf, as appears by Doomsday Book, Gillingham in Dorsetshire, and Hildersley in Gloucestershire, and of the Crown he also held several manors in Sussex and Froxfield in Wilts, but we have still to learn Mr. Collinson's authority for representing Pancewolt as the same person with the conqueror of Breconshire. The assertion of Sir Robert Atkyns, that his descendants inherited the manor of Dyrham in Gloucestershire, seems to rest upon no surer foundation. In the insurrection excited against William Rufus, by his uncle Odo, in favour of Duke Robert (1088), we find Bernard de Newmarch associating with Ralph de Mortimer, Roger de Laci and other barons, doing considerable mischief in Worcestershire and Herefordshire; but by the exertions of the King, aided by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose influence over the English nation was very considerable, they were beaten and repulsed, and afterwards returned to their allegiance.

BUILDING OF BRECKNOCK CASTLE.

"Upon the defeat and death of Bleddyn, Bernard Newmarch disliking the situation of Caerbannau then or since corruptly called Caervong, caused it to be razed to the ground, and following the course of the river Usk for three miles downwards, he crossed that river, as there are reasons to believe, some few yards below a mill called Usk mill.[2] An old deed in our possession, of the date of 1406, describes some lands which are thereby conveyed to one of the Havards of Cwrt John Young (a mansion formerly erected near the spot) as extending from Benni on the west, to *Bernardys forde* on the east. Here, on the north side of the Usk, the Conquerer built a strong castle on an eminence and fixed his residence, and whatever materials were worth carrying or preserving, he removed from the old town, and employed in the erection of his new fortress, or in building habitations for his followers and dependants.

GIFTS OF MANORS TO NORMANS.

"To the knights and principal gentlemen who accompanied him in his expedition, he proceeded to distribute the domain he had acquired, agreeably to the feodal system then prevailing, reserving to himself the principal parts, with the seigniory of the whole. To Sir Reginald Awbrey, he gave the manors of Slwch and Abercynrig; to Sir Humphrey Bourghill or Burghill, the manor of Crickhowel; to Sir Peter Gunter[3] the manor from him called Tregunter or Gunterstone; to Sir Miles Picard, de Picardé or Pitcher, the manor of Scethrog; to Sir John Walbieffe or Walbeoff[4] the manor of Llanhamlach and Llanvihangel tal y llyn; to Sir Humphrey Sollers, the manor of Tredustan; to Sir Walter Havard, the manor of Pontwylym; to Sir Richard de Bois, the manor called from him Trebois; to Sir Richard Peyton, the manor from him also called Peytin; to Sir John Skull, the manors of Bolgoed and Crai; to Sir Thomas, or as others, Sir Richard Bullen, or de Boulogne, the manor of Wern fawr; to Sir Philip Walwyn, the manor of Hay; to Sir Hugh Surdwal, the manor of Aberescir; to Sir Giles Pierrepoint, otherwise Parkville, the manor of Gileston; and to Walter de Cropus, lands in Llansaintfread.

[1] Notwithstanding all writers have placed the conquest of Breconshire about the year 1092, there are some reasons for believing that that event as well as the reduction of Glamorganshire occurred some few years sooner: for in 1088, Bernard de Newmarch gives Glazbury and the tythes of the lordship of Brecon, to Serlo the abbot and monks of Gloucestershire; and in the same year, we find him ravaging the borders of Wales, in conjunction with the friends of Robert of Normandy.

[2] This mill was standing in ruins some few years ago, on the site where now (1900) is the feeder to the Brecknock Canal, at Newton Pool.

[3] The Gunter family still exist; Col. Gunter, M.P., was a personal friend of the first Baron Glanusk.

[4] The Walbeofs are not yet extinct. A Walbeof was school fellow of the late Captain J. Bailey, R.N., but sank into want. In 1884 a woman named Walby acted relief at Crickhowell. She said the family name was Walbeof, but her husband had altered it because people laughed at it.

The descendants of most of these Normans continued in the country and the neighbourhood in 1805, though several of them had changed their names according to the Welsh custom; but the Peytons and Pierrepoints[1] soon failed or quitted the principality.

BERNARD'S GRANT TO GWRGAN.

"Some MSS. inform us that Gwrgan the eldest son of Bleddin made attempts to recover his father's dominions, yet without success; if this was the case, Bernard behaved to him with a liberality not very common in those days, for though he kept him pretty much under his eye, and he was considered as a kind of state prisoner in his castle and town of Brecon, he gave him the lands and revenues arising from the manors of Blâenllyfni, Aberllyfni, and part of Llanvihangel tal y llyn. Cradoc had lands assigned him in the hilly parts of the country, and his uncle Drymbenog, second brother to his father, was permitted to enjoy as much of the lordship of Cantreff-Selyff as remained after the slices cut out for the Norman knights. Such conduct towards an unfortunate family, whom the chances of war had thus thrown into his power, reflects no inconsiderable degree of credit upon the Conqueror, and in some measure wipes off the stain which his usurpation throws upon him; for though it be admitted that Gwrgan was narrowly watched and not permitted to stir abroad without the company of two Norman knights, yet when we recollect the precarious situation in which Bernard stood, and the difficulties by which he was surrounded on every side in the maintenance of his newly acquired territory, it must be confessed that want of caution would have been a want of sense. For notwithstanding victory had hitherto attended his standard, and we have seen him succeed with a celerity and to an extent beyond his most sanguine expectations, yet the implacable aversion of the natives to a foreign yoke must have rendered his tenure very far from being secure and undisturbed.

INSURRECTION IN 1094.

"As a proof of this, we hear that in the year 1094, the men of Brecknockshire, in concert with those of Gwent and Gower, upon the death of William Fitzbaldwyn (whose name it seems was a terror to the Welsh), attacked their invaders in all directions, defeating them in several engagements and expelled them from the country. Loth, however, to give up those possessions to which they conceived they were entitled, by a right frequently recognised by the soldier though the lawyer sometimes hesitates in admitting it, they returned from England with an immense army of their countrymen and Saxons, threatening to extirpate the Britons for their inveterate "*pervicacity.*" But whether the latter had now acquired a superior knowledge of discipline from their conquerors, or a sense of their wrongs had inspired them with a determination to conquer or die, or both these causes contributed to their success, they met and defeated the assailants at a place called by different authors Celli Iarfawc, Celli Darfawc, and Celli carnawc,[2] and upon their endeavouring to rally, one of the Welsh chronicles tells us, the British army, making a feint of retiring into the mountains of Breconshire, by this stratagem induced the English to follow them, when they were again attacked in a disadvantageous position in Gelli-gaer (a parish in Glamorganshire on the confines of Breconshire), and totally defeated with the loss of many of their leaders, among whom were Roger Montgomery earl of Arundel, William Fitz-Eustace Earl of Gloucester, Arnold de Harcourt and Neal le Viscompte, who were all slain in the battle.

"The scattered remains of their forces attempted to reach England, but were intercepted by Griffith and Ivor, the sons of Idnerth ap Cadwgan, at a place called Aberllech in Monmouthshire, where the Welsh again triumphed and satiated their revenge with the blood of their late masters, so that for some time no safety remained for those Normans who continued in the country, but such as their stone walls and castles afforded them. Within these strongholds they lived, alternately in a state of gloomy grandeur and sulky silence, or brutal inebriety, and from thence they occasionally sallied forth in large bodies to desolate the country and plunder the inhabitants, depending, like other beasts of prey, chiefly upon the success of these kind of expeditions for provisions. It was in one of these sorties, probably from the garrison of the castle of Brecon (1098) that Cadwgan the son of Bleddin was slain by the followers or friends of Bernard Newmarch, though Powel, from what authority we know not, attributes his death to treachery.

BERNARD RELIEVED BY ROGER DE NEWBURGH.

"The Welsh writers are so elated with the temporary blaze of patriotism and valour, which shone among their countrymen at this period, that they forget to give us any account how the Normans

[1] It is remarkable that this name (certainly not a very common one) should be found in Brecon as late as the year 1448, as appears by a charter of that date from the duke of Buckingham to the borough of Brecon, in which, among other English names, are found those of John Pierrepont, senior, and John Pierrepoint, junior. Sir Philip Walwyn or his descendants soon removed from Brecknockshire and settled in Herefordshire, where his posterity now remain; they have not changed their names, but (which is rather extraordinary) they have picked up a Welsh motto, "Trwy rhinwedd gwaed," of noble blood, or of the blood of those who are much above the vulgar: "Fine words, I wonder where they stole 'em."

[2] Recte Gelligarnog or garneddog, the wood of the mounds or heaps of stones or tumuli.

regained their authority, and the English historians are too busily employed with the transactions of their kings upon the Continent, where they were now become of considerable weight and importance, to trouble themselves with recording the incidents occurring in a petty warfare among the mountains of Wales. It is not clear how far Bernard was implicated or what losses he sustained in these attacks of the Welsh. We have seen that his territories were one of the objects against which their forces were directed and through which they must have marched, but it does not appear that he composed part of the army, or was concerned in the affair of Gelli garnog or Aberllech; certain however it is, that soon after this event, he recovered his influence and power over his conquests, which he afterwards confirmed by his marriage. It was perhaps in the latter end of the eleventh, or very soon after the commencement of the twelfth century, that Roger[1] de Newburgh came to the assistance of Bernard de Newmarch, then nearly in a state of siege in his castle, and as the men of Gower had ravaged his possessions and supported his rebellious subjects (as he may have called them) it is not unlikely that after extricating himself out of his troubles in Breconshire, and bringing the natives once more under subjection, he joined his confederate in subduing the inhabitants of Gower in their turn, and that having succeeded in the enterprise, he conferred upon him some territorial possessions and mesne lordships in that country, in the same manner as he had rewarded his knights in Breconshire, reserving to himself the sovereignty or lordship paramount over the whole. This is the only mode of reconciling the inconsistent account given by Dugdale of the possession of Gowerland by the *two* families of Newburgh and the descendants of Bernard Newmarch; for while we are there told that Roger de Newburgh conquered his territory, that he gave it to his son William, upon whose death it came to his brother Henry, and that it was confirmed by the Crown in 1361 to the Beauchamps, the successors by marriage to the Newburghs Earls of Warwick, we have a kind of collateral or parallel history, by which it appears that during the same period the possession of the lordship descended from Milo Fitzwalter, the son in law of Bernard, to Phillip de Breos, in right of his wife Bertha, afterwards to William de Breos, one of their sons, to whom it was confirmed by King John in the year 1194, and that it continued in this family, notwithstanding the occasional claims of the Newburghs, until the abandoned and dissipated spendthrift William de Breos, in 1321, after having defrauded his son in law, John de Mowbray, upon whom he settled it, and cheated his creditors by mortgaging it three times over, at last sold it to three different persons at the same time, neither of whom obtained possession, though they all paid him the purchase money for it.

BERNARD NEWMARCH, FOUNDER OF BRECKNOCK PRIORY.

"To strengthen and add stability to his interest among the Welsh, Bernard married Nest,[2] granddaughter of Griffith ap Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, a lady who does no credit to our country or his choice, further than as it is contributed to give permanency to his title and reconciled his issue to his new subject. Having by these means endeavoured to make his government tolerable to the Britons, who either from necessity and compulsion, as has just been hinted or upon the subsiding of the ferment raised in the country by the sons of Bleddin, soon learned to submit to the yoke of their former masters, he now turned his arms against Elvel in Radnorshire, upon the borders of the Wye. This tract of country he added to his territories without much difficulty; thus forcing from Cadwgan ap Elystan Glodrydd what the father had with equal injustice and in the same violent manner torn from Dryffin ap Hwgan. After this expedition Bernard appears no more as a warrior: from henceforward he applied himself to make atonement, in the usual way in those days, for any vices or irregularities committed in the course of his life. By the advice of Roger, his confessor, monk of Battle, he founded the Benedictine priory of Saint John the Evangelist, without the walls of Brecknock Castle, which he liberally endowed and constituted a cell to Battle Abbey. The churches, lands, and tythes of Bodenham and Brunshope in Herefordshire, Pottingham in Staffordshire, Hardington[3] in Somersetshire, the manor of Berrington in Herefordshire, Llanywern,[4] Talgarth, Llangorse, and a portion of tythes in Llansaintfread in Brecknockshire, the lordship of Caernoys (Caerbannau), which in the charter

[1] Powel says, Henry de Newburgh conquered Gower, but Dugdale in his baronage attributes the subjugation of that country to his son Roger de Newburgh.

[2] This princess was a woman of very loose principles, and notoriously meretricious before her marriage; for by Fleance, the son of Banquo, king of Scotland, who fled to Wales, to avoid punishment for a murder, she had Walter Stuart, or the Steward, ancestor of the Stuarts, kings of Scotland, and afterwards of England. The honour of having killed his man was perhaps a recommendation to the lady at that time, *as it is said* to be since, in nations supposed to be more civilised.

[3] The church of Hardington was afterwards, by consent of the abbots and monks of Battle under their common seal, given up by the monks of Brecknock to those of Quarre in the Isle of Wight, upon payment of fifteen marks of silver by the latter, to whom it was then granted by Geoffrey Mandeville. Maddox's Form. Anglic. p. 255.

[4] Bernard de Newmarch in his charter expressly gives Llanywern in exchange for Llanvihangel tal y llyn, which was part of the lands assigned to Gwrgan the eldest son of Bleddin ap Maenarch.

of Battle Abbey is called *the old town*, and one carucate[1] land adjoining a mill upon the Usk, and two thirds of another upon the river Honddu, the chapel within the walls of the castle, lands called Costnio, supposed to be Llangasty tâl y llyn near Brecknock mere, lands near Llyfni, and the tithes of Hay, besides other lands and domains given by his followers, were now appropriated towards the support of his new foundation, the principal management of which was given to one Walter, an intimate friend of Roger, and a brother monk of the same society, who upon the completion of the work was made prior and charged with the annual payment of twenty shillings as a token of filial obedience to the abbey in Sussex. The convent of Brecknock was privileged to vote at the elections of the abbots of Battle and its priors were eligible to the abbacy. To the monks of Gloucester, Bernard in 1088 gave the manor and advowson of Glazbury, a parish situate in the counties of Brecknock and Radnor, the advowson, glebe and tythes of Cowarne magna in Herefordshire, and one hyde called Bache, and all the tythes of his lordship called Brekenny or Brekenham, namely corn, cattle, cheese, venison and honey: perhaps by this last grant is meant the great forest of Devynnock, called in all royal grants the great forest of Brecknock. This gift was afterwards confirmed by William Rufus. The patronage of Devynnock, with one third of all the tythes of that parish, were in 1805 vested in the diocesan of Gloucester and in the original endowment of that see, given by Sir Robert Atkins, they are stated to be appendant to the dissolved monastery of Saint Peter.

"The manor of Glazbury was exchanged by Gilbert abbot of Gloucester, with Walter de Clifford, lord of Bronllis, for that of Estleche Turville in Gloucestershire; but the politic abbot contrived to keep the advowson of both churches in his own hands: the patronage of Glazbury was in 1805, by endowment, vested in the Bishop of Gloucester, as was the curacy of Estleche in the dean and chapter.

BERNARD'S DEATH AND BURIAL PLACE.

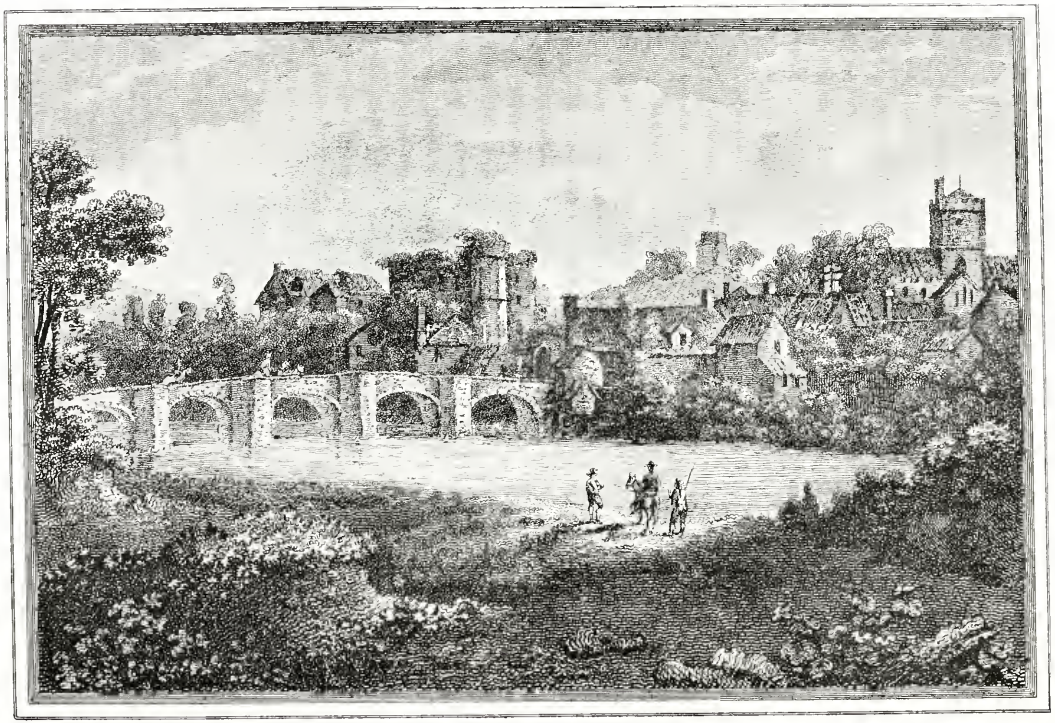
"Bernard Newmarch died in the reign of King Henry the First, and as Leland says, was buried in the cloister of the cathedral church of Gloucester; where upon the wall of the chapter-house was inscribed, *Hic jacet Bernardus de novo mercatu*, though the inhabitants of Brecknock used to show his monument in the Priory Church of that town. What family he left we know not with any certainty. Giraldus Cambrensis notices only two, Mahel and Sibil, yet Bernard in his charter to the monks of Brecknock, speaks of *sons* and *daughters*, and particularly mentions, that he gives Costinio for the welfare of the soul of his son *Phillip*. Giraldus tells us, that according to the just laws of inheritance, Mahel should have succeeded to his father's property, but that the persecution of an infamous woman deprived him of his right. It seems this unfortunate young man, having provoked the vengeance of his wicked and unnatural mother, by the discovery of a shameful intrigue carried on by her with a certain knight, whose name is not now known, was by the machinations and vile arts of the self-convicted adultress (who made oath before Henry the First king of England, that Mahel was not the son of her husband Bernard Newmarch) declared to be illegitimate and deprived of his inheritance, which upon his exclusion, devolved to Miles or Milo of Gloucester, son of Walter constable of England, who, by his interest at court, had obtained the sister of Mahel in marriage. Philip therefore and any other sons Bernard may have had, must have died in the lifetime of their father, unless the will and power of Henry prevailed to set aside the common law of descent.

FAMILIES SPRUNG FROM BLEDDIN AP MAENARCH.

"Before we proceed to follow the descendants of the Normans, it may not be amiss to return for a moment to the issue of Bleddin ap Maenarch, and to show generally the families who are sprung from him.

"Gwrgan, though narrowly watched by the dependants and friends of Bernard Newmarch, as has been seen, was yet permitted to form a connection which produced him a valuable accession of territory and added no inconsiderable weight to his political importance in the principality. He married Gwenllian, daughter and heiress of Philip Gwys, lord of Gwyston, since called Wiston, in Pembrokeshire, a baron of high rank and great power in his day: with her he had this lordship, as a marriage portion, which he gave to his eldest son, called Sir Walter Gwrgan or Wogan. This branch preserved the name with a trifling alteration, and until within a very few years back continued to reside at Wiston, the venerable mansion of the family: the male line is now extinct. Cadifor, another of the sons of Gwrgan, possessed himself of the lordship of Glyntawe in Brecknockshire, and part of Gower

[1] In the original, "carucatam terræ" and sometimes carucæ; a plough-land or as much arable land as could be ploughed with one plough, during the sowing season: the measure of a carucate was different according to time and place; in the reign of Richard the Second, it was computed at sixty acres, yet in another charter of the ninth of the same reign one hundred acres are allotted to a carucate. Fleta who wrote in the reign of Edward the First says, that if lands lay in three common fields, a carucate consisted of one hundred and eighty acres, sixty for winter tillage, sixty for spring tillage, and sixty for fallow, but if the lands lay in two fields, then one hundred and sixty acres to a carucate, one half for tillage and the other for fallow.



USK BRIDGE AT BRECKNOCK IN 1805

(From a Drawing by Sir R. Colt Hoare).

in Glamorganshire, though how he acquired them does not appear; his son Griffith Gwyr, or Griffith of Gower, had a mesne lordship and lands in that tract. He left numerous descendants in Glamorganshire, who assumed numerous surnames; among them is the family of Jones of Fonmon, who still bears the arms of his ancestor Bleddin ap Maenarch, sable a chevron between three spears' heads argent, their points imbrued with blood proper.

"To Trahaern, his second son, Gwrgan left Aberllyfni, near Glazbury, where he resided, and Llanfihangel tal y llyn. He married Ioan, daughter of Sir Einion ap Bledri; his descendants in the fourth generation were David and Einion, the latter was called from his long residence in England Einion Sais, or the Englishman. The families sprung from David, were Lewis of Ffrwdgrech, Llangorse, and Peunant, Talachddu and Manachddu in Radnorshire, Thomas of Slwch, now extinct, Maddocks of Llanfrynach, and Jeffreys of Llywel and Brecknock. From Einion Sais are descended, Williams of Gwernyfed, Cabalfa in Radnorshire, and Gaer in Breconshire; this last branch failed in the male line with David Williams[1] of Gaer, who died in 1783; from Einion likewise sprung Sir David Gam, and of course the families of Games and Morgans of Penderrin, now of Brecknock. From Cadivor, the third son of Gwrgan, are descended the Powels of Cantref, Swansea, and Peterstone in Breconshire, Powel of Maesmawr, and Jones of Trebinshwn, now extinct, and Howel, the fourth son, was the ancestor of the family of Sais of Boverton and Swansea. Having thus briefly given the issue and posterity of Gwrgan, it will be unnecessary to follow those of the second son of Bleddin, further than merely to observe, that the Vaughans of Bredwardine, afterwards of Tretower, Porthaml, Hergest, Trebarried, Merthyr Cynog, and Cathedine, who at one time abundantly supplied the country with inhabitants, and 'scattered their Maker's image through the land,' though they are now nearly extinct, all claim their descent from Drymbenog ap Bleddin ap Maenarch.

MILO LORD OF BRECKNOCK.

"Upon the death of Bernard Newmarch, his son in law Milo or Miles, sirnamed Fitzwalter,[2] generally called Milo of Gloucester (his usual place of residence), succeeded to the lordship of Brecknock, in right of his wife Sybil, without any opposition (as far as we can learn) from his brother in law Mahel, whom the historians of these times, after the information given us of his disinherison, have thrown quietly upon the shelf, without either putting him to death or preserving the memory of any incidents that may have occurred to him in the course of his life. The right of Miles to the property his wife brought him, obtained by her mother in the foul way just related, was certainly more than questionable, and indeed the injustice of English claims in general to lands in Wales cannot be more strongly, though it be rather *marvellously* demonstrated, than by the admission of the King of England himself, as related by Giraldus Cambrensis. Henry the First, being in conversation with this nobleman, Miles was informing his Majesty of a strange circumstance that happened, or which he dreamt had happened, in his presence, while he was passing near the lake of Llynsavaddan or Llangorse pool in Breconshire, in company with Griffith the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the late Prince of Wales. 'Upon the approach of the rightful prince (says Giraldus) the birds upon the lake joined in concert, and by the clapping of their wings seemed to testify an universal joy. By the death of Christ, his usual oath, it is no wonder; there is *nothing strange in this* (says the King of England), for we have violently and injuriously oppressed that nation, as it is well known that they are the natural and original proprietors of the country.'

"In a few years afterwards, we find the grandson of this same monarch had no scrupulous or compunctious visitings of conscience, when he led an army to lay waste the county of Brecon, in his march to Pencadler in Caermarthenshire to attack Rhys the son of the rightful prince Griffith, whose possessions then only consisted of the latter county and Caerdiganshire, on which occasion however he was prevailed upon to withdraw his forces and to return into England, upon receiving the homage of one of whom he was pleased to stigmatize with the epithet of rebel.

MILO THE FRIEND OF THE EMPRESS MAUD.

"To return to Miles. Though the mode by which he obtained his Welsh possessions cannot strictly be justified, supported as it was by the iniquitous testimony of a wretch, who in the same moment avowed her own guilt, and published her shame, yet his character both as a hero and statesman must ever stand high in the opinion of posterity. Upon the accession of Stephen, he appears to have been borne down by the tide of popular opinion and the force of numbers and to have been compelled to swear allegiance to the usurper; immediately however upon the landing of the Empress Maud, he took a decisive part in her favour, and continued her warmest and most zealous partizan

[1] Several of this house went to America in the beginning of the 18th century.

[2] Son of Walter Constable of England, by Emma, daughter of Drogo or Drue de Baladun, lord of Abergavenny.

during the whole of the remainder of his life. An old chronicle by an anonymous author has preserved an exploit by Miles soon after Stephen's assuming the crown, which if it could be depended upon would perpetuate his courage as well as gallantry, and place him almost in the same rank with Amadis de Gaul, Orlando Furioso, or any other visionary hero of romance. Lord Lyttleton, in his *Life of Henry the Second*, has erroneously referred to Giraldus Cambrensis for this anecdote, but the story of the assistance rendered by Milo to the Countess of Clare, widow of Richard Fitzgilbert or Richard de Tonbrugge, or Clare, first earl of Hertford, is quoted by Carte with more accuracy from the chronicle just mentioned, where we learn that this Richard was betrayed and murdered by the Welsh at the very time when he proposed joining them in an insurrection against the King of England, and that his lady, who was sister to the Earl of Chester, being soon after the death of her husband besieged in one of his castles in Caerdiganshire, with scarcely any expectations of relief, was almost miraculously saved from death, or perhaps a more ignominious fate, by the interference and bravery of Milo Fitzwalter, who with a handful of men, at the *command of King Stephen*, marched through an enemy's country, over the tops of mountains and through imperious wilds and brought her and her whole suite safe into England, leaving the besiegers to batter bare walls and to plunder a deserted fortress.

DEATH OF THE EARL OF CLARE.

"The Welsh chronicle gives a very different account of the death of the earl of Clare and the siege of his castle. In the year (1138) there was a dispute between king Stephen and his nobles (says this history) and the king laid siege to Lincoln, where they were assembled. To their assistance came Robert Consul, who brought a great army of Welshmen with him, to support the cause of his sister Maud, who had married the emperor of Germany; with Robert also came Ralph, Earl of Chester, and the men of Rhyfoniog and Tegengyl and *Gilbert*, earl of Clare, with a strong force from Dyfed. And the Norman and Saxon nobility pressed hard upon the king and took him prisoner, and in that battle the valour of the Welsh was particularly conspicuous. In this conflict, Iorwerth, ap Owen ap Caradoc, led the van, leaving the earl of Clare in his rear; this, the earl resented highly, and soon afterwards seeing Iorwerth by the river side fishing, he struck him a violent blow on the ear, at the same time calling him a clownish Welshman, and telling him he was totally ignorant of the manners of a gentleman, or he would not have presumed to take the lead of his superior. The Briton, though he might want politeness, certainly did not want courage, the only answer therefore he returned to this rude address (as far as now appears) was by laying the assailant dead at his feet with one blow of his fist. Upon hearing of this event, the Welsh immediately laid siege to the castle of Uwchtryd in Caerdiganshire, to which place the countess of Clare had retired from Caermarthen for safety, and compelled the garrison to fly for their lives.

"Thus differently related are the transactions of these days by the historians of the two different countries. The reader will determine to which he will give credit. The whole story, as related by the Gesta Regis Stephani, appears to be extremely doubtful as well as improbable and not sufficiently authenticated. Giraldus Cambrensis, though he wrote soon after this supposed event, and though he frequently mentions the name of Milo Fitzwalter, says not a syllable of his having rescued the Countess of Clare from her enemies, and the whole of this tale, unsupported as it is, except by an anonymous writer, savours too much of the marvellous. On the other hand, the Welsh were so far from distinguishing themselves in this fight, though their defeat throws little, if any, disgrace upon their national character, that being thinly clad and poorly armed, they were put to flight on the first onset of the king's troops under William D'Ypres, whose coats of mail and "ribs of steel" were impenetrable to the rude weapons of the mountaineers. The name of Gilbert has likewise been inaccurately introduced by the British historian, instead of Richard Fitzgilbert, and the latter part of the account,—in which the lady and the garrison, who fled into the castle for safety, are made to fly out of it for the same purpose into the very heart of an enemy's country,—is confused if not incredible.

MILO FITZWALTER CREATED EARL OF HEREFORD.

"Milo Fitzwalter was another knight of the *dolorous tower*, or ceidwad y castell dolurus, being in his own right as constable of all England, governor or keeper of the king's castle of Gloucester (for it was then a royal fortress). He had a considerable property in and about this city, and here he generally resided. Stephen, king of England, soon after his accession to the throne, granted by charter to him and his heirs, this his patrimony, as well as the lordship of Brecknock, as fully as he enjoyed them in the time of the late king, and in this fortress Milo received, in his official capacity, his sovereign after the battle of Bedford, or as some say, in his return from his journey to Scotland. From this place and at this time, if the account just mentioned be correct, he must

have been dispatched by Stephen to the relief of the Countess of Clare, as he never afterwards appeared in the character of the king's friend or subject; for upon the arrival of the Empress Maud in this island (as has been just mentioned), being either satisfied of her right to the crown, or persuaded by her half brother, Robert, earl of Gloucester, a natural son of Henry the First, and in right of his wife, the daughter of Robert Fitzhammon, also lord of Glamorgan, he joined her with all his forces, and supported her by every exertion in his power. His influence was at this time very considerable, as he had not only the seigniory of the whole of Brecknockshire, but also ample possessions in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. 'The power of this baron (says the noble author of the *Life of Henry the Second*) was of no less use to Matilda, than his personal talents: very few men in those times were comparable to him, either in counsel or action. By his activity, valour and discretion, and the abilities of the earl of Gloucester, who had all the great qualities that are necessary in the head of a party, and all the virtues that could be consistent with the unhappy necessities of that situation, the cause of the Empress was supported, and with their help, she gained strength, though unassisted by any foreign power, and without any other means than what she drew from the war itself, or from the voluntary aid of her friends, being in such want of money, that even her household and table were kept at Milo's expence in the castle of Gloucester.' In reward for his services, the Empress in 1141 created him Earl of Hereford, and together with the title, she gave him real fiefs, for by the instrument of his creation, the first of its kind in English history, she gave him the moat and castle of Hereford, the third penny of the rent of the borough, and the third penny of the pleas of the whole county, the manors of Mawardine (Marden), Lugwardine, Wilton, Hay Hereford, the forest of *Trincla*, and lastly the services of Robert de Chandos, Hugh Fitzwilliam and Robert de Cormeill. This document, dated at Hereford, is attested, among many others, by David king of Scotland, Bernard bishop of Saint David's, Robert earl of Gloucester, and Humphrey de Bohun the first.

MILO'S SEAL FOUND AT ANDOVER.

"To follow Miles through the different struggles and vicissitudes of fortune, which occurred in his short career, would be foreign to our purpose; suffice it to say, that he served his mistress ably and faithfully, as well in adversity as prosperity. Unluckily for her, perhaps happily for the nation (for she knew not how to conduct herself when in power), she was deprived of the talents and assistance of this great man; he was shot accidentally through the heart by an arrow, by one of his own knights, who accompanied him in hunting, and who aimed at a stag passing between them. This happened on Christmas eve 1143, or as others 1144. His continued exertions in favour and support of the cause he espoused in England, though of infinite advantage to the party he served, left him little time to attend to his possessions in Wales, which he seldom if ever visited; he is not found among the benefactors to the monastery or contributors to the liberties of the town of Brecon, although the *benevolence*[1] of the Welshmen frequently furnished a part of the repast of her imperial majesty, and his other guests of Gloucester. In the year 1795, an ancient seal of this earl was found by some labourers who were digging in a field near Andover in Hampshire—(as recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1795)—in the direct line between the city of Winchester and Luggershall, to which latter place the Empress escaped in her way to Devizes; it is probable her friend Miles, who was compelled to pass the enemy's camp barefooted, and in the disguise of a beggar, in order to join his royal mistress at Gloucester, threw away this tell-tale badge of distinction in the field where it was picked up, to effect his purpose with less risk of being discovered. It was of silver and weighed three ounces and three penny weights, quite plain on the reverse, and had a neck or loop on the top, for ribband, by which it was most probably suspended and worn, as a badge or ornament.

"Milo was buried in the chapter house of Saint Mary de Lantoni, near Gloucester, of which he was the founder; his wife Sybil was placed on his right side. He left five sons, each of whom, excepting William, enjoyed his property, and three daughters, Margery married to Humphrey de Bohun, Bertha to Phillip de Breos, and Lucy to Herbert Fitzherbert.

ROGER FITZWALTER'S QUARREL WITH HENRY II.

"Upon the death of Milo Fitzwalter, his eldest son Roger succeeded to the earldom of Hereford and lordship of Brecknock, together with most of his father's possessions; he married Cecilia,

[1] Upon the conquest of Breconshire by Bernard Newmarch and upon erecting castles in the county by the Normans, they compelled the tenantry to provide a certain number of cattle for the lord's larder yearly, in proportion to the quantity of lands they held; this exaction (in an insulting and sarcastic phraseology) they called "the *benevolence* of the Welshmen." The Vuwch Larder or memento of this custom or subjection was known and recollected early in the 18th century, and the figure of a cow, rudely carved in wood, was seen over a window in the manor house within the castle of Brecknock in 1805.

daughter of Payne Fitzjohn, a privy counsellor of Henry the First, and lord of Ewyas in Herefordshire, in whose right he became possessed of that territory. Carte says he was an active, valiant, and deserving man, but young and inexperienced and unequal to his father: he possessed an early attachment to Henry the Second, the son of his father's friend the Empress Maud. Upon the arrival of that prince in England, he accompanied him to the court of David King of Scotland, who had promised him assistance to oppose the arms of Stephen, and had in other instances shewn a sincere regard for his interest. Soon after the succession however of that great and good monarch to the throne of England, the harmony which subsisted between them was interrupted. Stephen, who during the whole of his life lay at the mercy of his nobles, and had not the power of resisting their exorbitant demands, had alienated so much of the crown demesnes, that a sufficiency was not left to maintain the royal dignity. Some cities and forts had been granted away, which it would have been imprudent to have permitted to remain in the hands of those to whom they were given, as the possessors were supposed to be inimical to the power of the crown and the peace of the nation. Henry found it absolutely necessary to recall most of these grants without discrimination whether made by Stephen or his mother; but the sound policy which dictated, and the impartiality with which this measure was executed, was neither admitted or approved of by the young lord of Brecknock. He could not comprehend or believe that private gratitude should give way to public advantage, or that the foes and friends of the monarch should be treated by the same rule. He was also encouraged and instigated to resistance by the Earl of Yorkshire and Roger de Mortimer, both of whom were likely to suffer by this resolution of the king; but Henry was no common opponent. It was the will of Providence that he should be humbled, to convince him, as well as posterity, of the vanity of human grandeur, and the imbecility of the wisest designs of princes, yet one only of his subjects could resist him with impunity, and even he, after having spurned at the power that raised him and distracted and divided the kingdom into parties, at last fell a sacrifice to the general, though too ardent attachment to the sovereign. Gilbert Foliott, bishop of Hereford, a wise and virtuous prelate and a kinsman and friend to Earl Roger, saw the precipice to which he was approaching and warned him in time of his danger: by seasonable and sound arguments he prevailed upon him to give up to Henry the castles of Gloucester and Hereford, which he claimed. Henry not only pardoned but restored the earl to favour; for though the rigid rules of justice compelled him to act with this apparent harshness towards the son of his mother's best friend, it was impossible to overlook the hardship of his case, and to avoid lamenting that it should become necessary to include him in the same class with the descendants of the depredators of the late reign, and therefore it is by no means improbable, that Henry commissioned the bishop to hint to him the consequences of his submission. Camden says, the moat and castle of Hereford were restored to him with all the original privileges attached to the earldom.

REVIEW OF ROGER'S CHARACTER.

"It is very extraordinary that we know not with certainty whether this earl was a very good or a very bad man; we are informed that he was active and valiant, and we have seen that he was hasty and impetuous, but whether a few crimes, such as homicide or murder, sacrilege, rapes or such fashionable offences of the day, suggested his numerous benefactions to the church, or they were really dictated by devotion, we know not. Both these motives, though of so opposite complexions and natures, were beneficial to the temporary concerns of the religious of those times, but inasmuch as crimes were more prevalent than piety, the doctrine of compensation was the most productive of the two. If a neighbouring baron or rich man was troublesome, and by accident or the chances of war fell into the power of his adversary or superior, he was knocked on the head, and by this means three principal points were gained. In the first place the great man "thank'd God he was rid of a knave," in the second he industriously employed himself in securing the effects of his late prisoner, part of which he appropriated to the benefit of some religious house, and lastly by this gift he not only rubbed off a long score of guilt from his conscience, but advanced considerably on his road to future happiness, and he also, in a case of this kind, had an irresistible claim upon the monks for their intercessions and prayers, which after such a clear proof of the sinner's repentance were always presumed to be efficacious. As however history has not recorded any flagitious actions of this young man, or branded his character with opprobrium, charity should induce us to attribute his donations to laudable motives, and under this impression we proceed to enumerate them.

HIS BENEFACTIONS TO THE MONKS AT BRECKNOCK.

"To the monks of Brecknock he was particularly munificent and bountiful, having augmented their privileges and revenues by five several charters now extant. By the first charter he granted the prior and convent the privilege of maintaining their own jurisdiction in all things, within such

liberties as were consistent with the dignity of holy mother church: he also thereby granted them the land of Saint Paulinus upon the mere (now called Llangorse pool), with the liberty of fishing in the mere three days of the week, and every day during the terms of lent and advent: he gave them the tythes of all his colts, calves, lambs, cheese, wool and flax and of all things tythable within the forest, throughout the whole lordship of Brecknock, and the tythes of whatever might be provided for consumption within his demesne, whether he should be absent or present; the tythes of his larder[1] at Hay; the tythes of all cattle arising from the *free gift of the Welshmen*, the tythes of whatever plunder he took in war[2] from his enemies, and also a free right of commonage throughout his whole territory of Brecknock, and lastly he confirmed and enlarged the charter of his grandfather Bernard de Newmarch.

"In the second charter he confirmed their full, free and peaceable jurisdiction over all their tenants, lands and possessions, and all things relating thereto; he granted them the tythes of all bread and drink, which should be expended in his castle of Brecknock and in all other his demesnes throughout the lordship of Brecknock, or in lieu thereof (to guard against the peculation or neglect of servants), the tythes of all his corn at the doors of his grange at the castle of Brecknock, at Talgarth and Hay; likewise of all pulse which after the first tything[3] should be discharged from the claims of other churches to which they had been before granted, and should any lands or manors out of the lordship of Brecknock by any event come into his hands, he granted them the like privileges therein! He also gave them the tythes of all tolls[4] arising from the carriage of goods from his lordships in England to his territories in Wales; he confirmed to them the churches of Talgarth, Mara or (Llangorse), Llanigon, Llangelen (perhaps Llanelieu), and Cathedin, also the English churches mentioned in the charter of Newmarch; he gave them the tythes of the profits of all his pleas, tolls, gifts and returns issuing from Brecknock, and of all goods and chattels which he had gained in Wales; he also renewed and confirmed to them the right of fishing and free pasturage as mentioned in his former charter.

"By the third charter he again confirmed to them their right of jurisdiction, &c.; granted to them a certain ruinated city, or rather the site of a city called Carneys, with its dependencies, extending from Aberescir, as far as the brook of Cilieni[5] and Llanywern as far as Maeslydan. He also gave them all the mills within the parish of Brecknock, with the entire tolls[6] thereof and all the customs, liberties and appurtenances belonging thereto, and he prohibited the erection of any other mill within the parish, excepting by the monks alone; he also granted them certain lands called Trewalkin and Penllanavel, &c., and concluded by a recital and renewal of his former grants. The fourth charter is little more than a confirmation of his former benefactions, with the addition of the tythes of pigs of his pannage.[7]

"The fifth charter is noticed by inspeximus in one of Henry the Fourth, though not inserted in Dugdale; by this he confirmed to the monks, in perpetual alms, certain lands given them by Osmond de Tranelcia, with a burgage in Brecknock and an acre of ground without the wall (extra Barram).

"Besides these donations to the monastery or Priory of Brecknock he gave in perpetual alms to the church of our lady within the valley of Dor, or rather D'or (or the golden valley), all his land which lieth from the head of the well called Ailburwell the More, on the side towards the forest, with common of pasture with the appurtenances. He also gave to the church of St. Mary at Clifford in Herefordshire, and to the monks of Saint Pancratius there, the full liberty of buying and

[1] Larder from the old Norman French "Lardier" a room for keeping provisions. The Normans had one in every castle, which was principally supplied by the *bouccolnce or the Welshmen*.

[2] Singular as this grant now appears, there is a precedent for it as far back as the days of Abraham; for we find by Genesis, c. 14, v. 20, that that Patriarch gave tythes of all, meaning (as Bishop Patrick in his commentary very properly observes) the tythes of all the spoil which he had taken from Chedorlaomer and other kings in battle, to Melchisedeck, or the church; the same learned prelate remarks that Diodorus Siculus reports the same customs to have prevailed among the Greeks, and repeated proofs may be produced from many Roman authors of offerings to the Gods of part of the plunder taken from their enemies.

[3] For the elucidation of this passage, it may be necessary to remind the reader, that Bernard Newmarch had before granted considerable tythes in this county to the monks of Gloucester, as had Earl Miles to the monks of Malvern, which claims must necessarily be satisfied, before this extraordinary grant of earl Roger could possibly have effect.

[4] Summagium, (the Latin word in the original) signifies a horse load or rather the toll for the carriage of each horseload.

[5] Kilmot in the original, and in another charter Kilmot, Cilieni however we presume is meant. This is a river which falls into the Usk on the North side about seven miles above Brecon, and four or five above the Escr. Maeslydan (Broadfield) is called in the old charters Nantsholdin.

[6] Cum tota moltura, from molo to grind signifies sometimes grist or a sack of corn brought to the mill to be ground, but more frequently, as here, the toll paid for grinding; thus, moltura libera, free grinding, or a right to grind without paying toll, a privilege which the lord usually reserved to his own family.

[7] "De pannagio meo," pannage in Norman French signifies acorning; or the collecting of acorns for feeding swine, afterwards Pannagium meant a sum paid for leave to feed swine in a forest or wood of another person, by one who had no right to the soil, it is sometimes written pathnagium and pasnagium; foresters call it pannage.

selling all commodities, free from all gabels and tolls and exempted from all fines, suits and customs whatsoever, within the territories of Hay and Brecknock and all other his possessions on that side of the river Wye. To the knight templars he gave certain lands near Gloucester bridge, and to the knights hospitallers his mill at Towcester, belonging to the preceptory of Shedgay: he founded the abbey of Flaxley[1] in Gloucestershire, and at length became himself a monk in the abbey of Gloucester, upon which he settled a rent charge of one hundred shillings a year, payable out of his estates in Herefordshire. He died in 1156 without issue and was buried near his grandfather Bernard Newmarch, in the place converted into the college library at Gloucester.

THE SONS OF MILES, EARL OF HEREFORD.

"It is remarkable that Sir William Dugdale in the *Monasticon* makes *Henry*, and in his *Baronage Walter*, to be the second son of Miles earl of Hereford. The former must have been a typographical mistake, as it is manifest from a variety of evidence that Walter had the advantage of his brother Henry in primogeniture. In the father's charter to the priory of Lantoni secunda, he speaks of his sons Roger, Walter and Henry: the same rotation is observed in the inspeximus of that charter by King John. In Holland and in Edmondson's list of constables of England, Walter immediately follows his brother Roger, and in their brother Mahel's charter to the monks of Brecknock he says, 'Whatever my brothers earl Roger, Walter the constable, and Henry and their tenants granted to the said church, &c., I have confirmed.' In this Walter (who undoubtedly succeeded his brother Roger as constable of England, though Robert Montenci says Henry took the earldom of Hereford into his own hands) were united the lordships of Brecknock and Overwent. According to Leland 'the hole lordship of Abergavenny makith the cumpace of Hye Wetland': this territory, which under the British princes of Gwent or Morganwg had been governed by its own native reguli, was first conquered by Hammeline the son of Dru or Drogo de Baladun, who soon after the conquest built a castle on the site of one formerly occupied by a British chieftain of the name of Agros. Hammeline died in the reign of Wm. Rufus, and was buried in the priory of Benedictines at Abergavenny, which he had founded. By default of issue, the castle, with the lordship of Overwent appendant thereto, descended to his nephew, sirnamed De insula or Fitzcomte, who having two sons afflicted with the leprosy, placed them in the priory, which he liberally endowed with lands, advowsons of churches, and the tythes of the castle. At length, seized with the religious frenzy of the times, he took up the cross and went to Jerusalem, leaving the whole of his property to his cousin Walter, constable of England, who afterwards during the life time of his son Miles settled it upon his grandson Walter de Hereford. In the year 1155 Walter occurs as high sheriff for the county of Gloucester, and the eleventh of Henry the Second for Herefordshire, of which county he is the first recorded sheriff. In lieu of the hundred shillings settled on the monks of Gloucester by his brother earl Roger, he granted them six virgates of land.

HENRY DE HEREFORD, AND MAHEL, SUCCEED TO THE LORDSHIP.

Upon the death of Walter, the lordship of Brecknock became the inheritance of Henry de Hereford, third son of Milo, which however he lived to enjoy only for a short time. Dugdale says he was killed by one Senel the son of Donwald, near Arnold's castle in upper Wentland, and that he was buried in Lantoni prima; according to Leland, in Lantoni near Gloucester. Whether this slayer was an English or a Welshman does not appear; probably from the place of Henry's death he was of the latter country, and perhaps Senel the son of Donwald is an anglicism for Sitsyllt ap Dyfnwal, a man of considerable property and weight at that time in the neighbourhood of Abergavenny. Dr. Powel in his Welsh history, observes that towards the latter end of the year 1172, 'Sitsyllt ap Dyfnwal and Jeuan ap Sitsyllt ap Riryd got the castle of Abergavenny upon the sudden and took the king's garrison prisoners.' Maddox in his *Baronia Anglicana* speaks of certain lands called Donewalde's lands within the town of Abergavenny, as having been the subject of a legal dispute in the time of Edward the First: these were undoubtedly Tyr Dyfnwal or Dyfnwal's lands.

MAHEL'S CHARACTER AND DEATH.

"Mahel de Hereford, who received his christian name in compliment to his gallant but unfortunate and disinherited uncle, succeeded his brother Henry, upon his death without issue. He is painted as a monster of rapacity and boundless ambition and avarice, 'inhumana præ cæteris crudelitate notabilis,' but his oppressions and most flagrant acts of injustice were particularly directed against David Fitzgerald, the second of that name, bishop of Saint David's, whom he distressed by

[1] Leland says "there was a brother of Roger erle of Hereford that was kyllyd in the veri place where the abbaye syns was made. Ther was a table of the matier hangged up in the church of Flealey." Itin. vol. 8, p. 66. Leland or his informant is incorrect, the table was most likely meant to commemorate the death of Milo at this place.

every means in his power, encroaching upon his property, and harassing his tenants, insomuch that he finally drove the prelate out of the country, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, who gives the following account of Mahel's death. 'It happened (says he) that while Mahel was upon a visit to Walter de Clifford at Brendlais castle, the building by some accident took fire, and he was mortally wounded by a stone which fell from the top of the principal tower upon his head: upon this, he immediately dispatched messengers to the bishop whom he had persecuted, and solicited his return, at the same time exclaiming in a tone of deep anguish, Oh father and bishop of our souls! thine Holy one hath exercised too severe a vengeance upon me, not waiting for the conversion of a sinner, but rather hastening his death and utter destruction: and having frequently repeated these words, accompanied with groans and deep sighs, he ended his life and tyranny together before he had completed the first year of his possession of his father's property, and died the herald of his own confusion.' This catastrophe is noticed by Camden in his description of Gloucestershire, as well as by Sir Robert Atkyns in his history of that county, but they are both evidently mistaken as to the scene of action, which they place at St. Briavels or Breulais in the Forest of Dean, whereas Giraldus, professedly writing from Brecknockshire, calls the castle Brendlais, which Powel in a note explains Brunellys, now written Bronllys, Brynllys and Brwynllys: it lies within less than half a mile of Talgarth in that county, and both Leland and Dugdale inform us, that the Cliffords were the antient lords and proprietors of that fortress.

"However strongly this monster Mahel might have been prejudiced against the bishop of Saint David's, yet out of regard to the health of his own soul and the souls of his father, mother, brothers and ancestors, and out of respect to *Geoffrey the cook*, an old servant of the family, whom his brother Henry had converted into a monk, he granted a charter to the monastery of Brecon, whereby he confirmed all former gifts to them, and gave five shillings a year towards purchasing lights and other purposes, which he supposed would be beneficial to the brotherhood. This charter, among others, is attested by Humphrey de Bohun his nephew, Walter de Clifford, Ralph de Buschevilte (Baskerville), Philip de Burghull (now called Burfield) the butler, Roger Picart and William Weldeboef, now written Walbeoff. William, the youngest son of Milo, died without issue, during the life time of his eldest brother; so that the male line being now extinct, the sisters coheiresses succeeded to the inheritance. Margaret, the eldest daughter, married Humphrey de Bohun, who in her right succeeded to the constableship of England and to the lordship and patronage of Llantoni: he was also created earl of Hereford. Bertha married Philip de Breos, lord of Builth,[1] which he acquired by conquest; he had with her the lordships of Brecknock, Abergavenny and *Gower;* and Lucy married Henry Fitzherbert, whose possessions were chiefly in and near the Forest of Dean, and who had also other lands in England.

"The family of *Brus*—(as it is written in Stowe's roll, copied from Scriven's MS. though spelt differently Breos, de Breos, Breosa, Braiosa, Braosa and de Braosa[2] by different authors) came into England with the Conqueror and settled first in the county of Sussex. William the father of Philip, our first Breconshire lord of that name married the wealthy heiress of Johel de Totness and Barnstable in the county of Devon, with whom he obtained a splendid fortune: that his lands in England were of no small extent is evident from the general survey in Doomsday Book, by which it appears, that he possessed the lordship of Sudcote in Berkshire, Essage in Wilts, Todeham and Bockeham in Surrey, half a hyde of lands in Petham hundred in Hants, twelve lordships in Dorsetshire and no less than *forty one* in Sussex, among which Brambre, where he obtained a licence to build a castle, was his principal residence: he settled the churches of St. Nicholas at Brambre, St. Peter at Sele, St. Nicholas at Shoreham and St. Peter at Vipont, all in the county of Surrey, upon the monks of St. Florence de Salmure, more commonly called Somars in France.

SOME ACCOUNT OF MOL WALBEE.

"His only son and successor Philip gave to the abbey of Lewes four of the salt works in the same town and confirmed some donations made them by his father. In the ninth of William Rufus,

[1] Of the expedition of this Philip de Breos into Wales and his conquest of Builth we have no further account; but it is by no means improbable that he likewise accompanied Roger de Newburgh when he came to the assistance of Bernard Newmarch in 1098 or thereabouts, and that he was rewarded with the country of Builth after he had reduced the inhabitants to subjection.

[2] In a charter of king John, one of this family is called Braiosa: by this instrument John grants to Wm. de Braiosa and his heirs, that neither sheriff or other minister of the crown should enter into the lands of William pertaining to the honour of Braiosa, to do any part of his office there, and that when the king's justices itinerant came to [illegible] to hold pleas of the crown, William was to provide them with necessaries for one day at Braiosa; by this charter he also grants several privileges and exemptions to the [illegible] and tenants of William in this lordship or honour: so that it appears the family had considerable possessions in Normandy when they came over with the Conqueror, which they retained for a long time after their settlement in England.

Philip de Breos was one of those noblemen who adhered to the king against Robert Court-hose duke of Normandy. In the fourth of Henry the First (A.D. 1104) he came to an agreement with the abbot of Feschamp at Salisbury, in the presence of the king and queen, concerning some claims made by the abbot to certain lands at Steyning in Sussex, a cell to Feschamp. Having afterwards rebelled against his sovereign, his property was confiscated and his possessions were seized by the crown. By his marriage with Bertha the daughter of Milo Fitzwalter, he became in her right, seized of the lordships of Abergavenny, Brecknock and Gower, and to his sword and the favor of Bernard Newmarch he owed the dominion over the country of Builth: he died early in the reign of Henry the Second, in what year is not known, leaving two sons, William and Philip. William, to whom the lordships of Brecknock and Abergavenny, together with the remainder of his father's immense possessions, descended, married Maud daughter of Reginald de St. Waleri, with whom he had the manor of Tetbury in Gloucestershire. This lady is the *Semiramis* of Breconshire; she is called in the pedigrees, as well as in King John's letter or manifesto, Maud de Haia, either from her having rebuilt this castle or from its being principally the place of her residence: most likely for the former reason, for within the limits of the county of Brecon she is an *Ubiquarian*. Under the corrupted name of *Mol*[1] *Walbee* we have her castles on every eminence and her feats are traditionally narrated in every parish. She built (says the gossips) the castle of Hay in one night; the stones[2] for which she carried in her apron. While she was thus employed, a *small pebble*, about nine feet long and one foot thick, dropped into her shoe: this she did not at first regard, but in a short time, finding it troublesome, she indignantly threw it over the river Wye, into the Llowes churchyard in Radnorshire (about three miles off), where it remains to this day[3] precisely in the position it fell, a stubborn memorial of the *historical fact*, to the utter confusion of all sceptics and unbelievers. It is very extraordinary what could have procured to Maud this more than mortal celebrity: she was no doubt a woman of masculine understanding and spirit, yet her exploits in Breconshire, where she is so famous, are not detailed either by history or tradition, except in the absurd tale just related. King John in his declaration against de Breos seems to hint pretty clearly that the gray mare was the better horse, and it is evident, whatever her merit was, that she had considerable influence and interest in this county, as her name, though corrupted, is familiar to every peasant, while her husband's is unknown, or known only to be detested.

AN EXPEDITION INTO IRELAND.

"In third Henry II. we find William de Breos, the husband of this virago, paying a fine of one hundred marks of silver for his moiety of the manor of Barnstaple, of which his grandfather Johel de Totnais or Totness for some misdemeanour had been deprived by William Rufus; it is probable therefore, that Totness was also at this time restored to de Breos. In the tenth year of this reign, William de Breos occurs as one of the witnesses to the recognition called the constitutions of Clarendon, and in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first of the same king he was sheriff of Herefordshire.

"Though the power as well as the wealth of this baron was very considerable, we do not hear of his exploits during the reign of Henry the Second, with whom it seems he was in high favour. His younger brother Philip de Breos had a grant from that monarch of the whole province of North Munster in Ireland, except the city of Limerick, and the *only* preliminary required towards the establishment of his government was the *conquest* of the country. To assist him in his enterprise he took with him Milo de Cogan, William Fitzstephen, and about four hundred and twenty horse and foot; they marched to the borders of the Shannon, when finding that the taking possession of the land was not a mere ceremony, but might be attended with some hard fighting, they returned ingloriously to their sovereign, to relate the misfortunes of their expedition and to exaggerate the difficulties they encountered. Henry however was not to be deterred or frightened by bugbears; he embarked in person for Ireland, and with him went the defeated Philip de Breos, who either encouraged by the presence of his sovereign, or ashamed of his former misconduct, now exerted himself in wiping off the disgrace which attached to him, and by the assistance of Henry seated himself firmly in his government, in possession of which his benefactor left him, as well as several other English knights, who had obtained territories in that kingdom: and it will be seen hereafter, that upon the death of his brother without issue, it descended or was granted to his brother William, who lived (during

[1] Maud is written and pronounced Mallt in Welsh; Leland calls her Malt Albere *Maraburn*, and says she was reputed a witch.

[2] A rude stone effigy was in the churchyard of Hay, said to be Mol, Walbee's though we believe it to be a monk's, perhaps one of the priors of Brecon, to which house, it has been seen, Newmarch gave the tythes of this parish. The fable of her carrying the stones and completing the castle of Hay in one night, perhaps means that she collected, or rather extorted from her tenants a sum sufficient for the purpose in a very short time.

[3] For engraving of this stone see *The History of Radnorshire* (Davies and Co., Brecon: 1907.)

Philip's first attempt) at the castle of Abergavenny, where he and his 'murdering ministers' involved themselves in such a scene of butchery as fortunately for mankind has seldom been paralleled

MURDER OF WELSHMEN AT ABERGAVENNY CASTLE.

"And while it is with pain the historian records this tale of blood, he may perhaps be pardoned if he expresses a satisfaction in consigning the memory of this hypocritical villain to perpetual infamy.

"It has been seen that about five years previous to this time, the castle of Abergavenny had been delivered by the treachery of the officers of the King of England, into the hands of Sitsyllt ap Dyfnwal and Jeuan ap Ryrid, two noblemen of Gwent, after which a warfare ensued between them and Henry the Second, which was terminated in the year 1176. The castle was restored to William de Breos, and Sitsyllt and the associate of Ryrid received the king's pardon, through the intercession of Rhys ap Griffith of Dinas fawr or Dinevor. It was to congratulate Rhys upon this reconciliation, according to Powel and the Welsh chronicles, though Lord Lyttleton from Ralph de Diceto says it was to notify to Sitsyllt and his adherents an act of the English Parliament prohibiting them from wearing arms or offensive weapons, that they became the guests of William at his castle. At first they were treated with the hospitality they expected, but in the midst of their conviviality, their host, either from a design to provoke a quarrel or in obedience to the instructions of his master the King of England, made them the degrading proposal of surrendering their weapons and submitting without the power of defence to his will: to this the Britons refused with indignation to accede, whereupon the assassin gave a signal to his journeymen, who entering the room, slew the unsuspecting and unarmed Welshman, and not satisfied with this, they accompanied their employer to Sitsyllt's castle in the neighbourhood of Abergavenny, where taking his wife prisoner, they murdered her son Cadwaladr before her face and set fire to the mansion, or as others say, rased it to the ground.

"Lord Lyttleton mentions this transaction with great coolness of temper, without even expressing his indignation at the horrid scene, though he seems to be rather surprised that Henry the Second did not notice it: while Giraldus Cambrensis hints, that it was perpetrated by the orders of the English Monarch, an insinuation which should not have been thrown out without better proofs to justify him than have hitherto appeared to the world, and without which no man who reflects upon the different characters of William de Breos and his supposed employer, will acquit the one or accuse the other, however he may condemn Henry for his negligence or rather partiality in overlooking the offence. But the measure of this monster's iniquity was not yet full, though he never afterwards had an opportunity of converting his castle into a slaughter house and murdering en masse: for about the year 1198, we find him using the same artful and nefarious stratagem to entrap a chieftain of Brecknockshire, against whom he entertained a secret grudge. Trahaern Vychan, or the little, lord of Llangorse, one of the grandsons of Gwrgan ap Bleddin ap Maenarch, was invited to meet him to confer in a friendly manner upon business. Unsuspicious of treachery and of course unprepared for defence, the descendant of Cradoc of the Strong Arm instantly determined to attend to the request, or to obey the command of his powerful neighbour and superior, who met him upon his road not far from Brecknock, ordered his blood hounds to seize him, tied him to a horse's tail and in that situation ignominiously and cruelly dragged him through the streets of that town, after which he was beheaded and his body suspended upon a gallows for three successive days.

GREAT BATTLES AT ABERGAVENNY AND COLWEN CASTLES.

"Repeated acts of tyranny and oppression will make even cowards brave: how strong and implacable then must have been the resentment of the Welsh, 'a people brave and irascible, bred upon their mountains, the indigenous children of freedom'? The castle of Abergavenny was unable to withstand the fury of the men of Gwent, who levelled it with the ground, and the whole garrison left there by de Breos were either killed or taken prisoners; the fortress of Dingatstow near Monmouth, belonging to de Poer (at that time sheriff of Herefordshire), was reduced to a heap of ruins, and it is said, he himself with nine persons of wealth and power in the neighbourhood, were driven by the assailants into the castle ditch and there slain. Upon the assassination of Trahaern, Gwenwynwyn prince of Powis, who was connected with the family of Trahaern by marriage, determined to avenge his death; he therefore with a strong army entered into Elvel in Radnorshire and laid seige to Painscastle in that district, then the property of de Breos, vowing he would reduce to ashes the whole country from thence to Severn; a sacrifice as he conceived too small to the manes of his butchered kinsman. The want of miners however and the insufficiency of his implements of attack, which were but ill adapted to the purpose, delayed his operations so long, that the

besieged found time to solicit aid from England. Being reinforced by a strong body of troops from thence and assisted by the united powers of the lords Marchers, their spirits were revived, though they at the same time proposed terms of accommodation; these were rejected with disdain by Gwenwynwyn, who renewed his former menaces. Policy now suggested to the English lords the enlargement of Griffith son of lord Rhys, who called himself prince of South Wales, and whom they knew to be an enemy to Gwenwynwyn: upon his release, he immediately collected together a number of his partisans, joined the English and marched to the assistance of the besieged garrison of Painscastle. A bloody engagement took place in which the Prince of Powis was defeated. Mathew Paris says this battle was fought before Maud's castle called by Camden the castle of Matilda in Colwen, and he tells us that three thousand seven hundred Welshmen fell in that combat. Thus escaped for a time the cruel and oppressive lord of Brecknock, but short lived was his triumph.

DOWNFALL OF WILLIAM DE BREOS.

"Soon after this time, we shall see fortune entirely forsake him or only shewing her face transiently, to bring to painful recollection the days when she loaded him with her gifts; we shall see him a fugitive and a wanderer, banished from his country and possessions, or only visiting them as an outlaw, under continual apprehensions and at the peril of his life; but before we come to this period, it is but justice to observe that he appears to have entertained something like sentiments of gratitude towards his sovereign Henry the Second, as well as to his successor Richard the First, for Stowe informs us, that in 1202 he was taken prisoner by John King of England while supporting the right of Arthur the lawful heir to the crown. From this imprisonment, the usurper either from motives of pity or policy, soon released him, but he continued ever afterwards (perhaps not without reason) suspicious of him, though he loaded him with favours during the first four or five years of his reign; and upon the breaking out of the war between John and his barons, he demanded de Breos's sons as hostages for his fidelity. Upon this occasion his wife Maud de St. Walery, whom some of our chroniclers call a *malapert woman*, desired the king's messengers who made the application, to inform their master, that she would not trust her children to one who had murdered his own nephew: this answer, which was certainly more flippant than prudent, so enraged the king, that her husband was instantly banished the realm (circa 1209), and his property declared to be confiscated for the use of the crown, as Matthew Paris and all the English writers say. It no doubt contributed towards his disgrace, but let us hear the complaints of John, which as they never have been contradicted, there is no reason to disbelieve; they are contained in a letter or manifesto, making known to his subjects 'how ill William de Breosa had conducted himself;'—'quam male se gesserat Willielmus de Breosa.'

RECITAL OF HIS OFFENCES, AND FLIGHT TO IRELAND.

"As the memorial is in fact a history of the latter years of this baron's life, we trust no apology is necessary for its insertion here nearly at length, or at least preserving the whole of its material contents. The first grievance recited by the king is, that William owed him on his (John's) departure from Normandy five thousand marks for the province of Munster, demised to him by the crown, and for which he paid no rent for five years; he also owed five years' rent for the city of Limerick, of this sum he only paid or *accommodated* the king with a hundred pounds at Rouen on account. As to the debt due for Munster, several terms were assigned on which he was required to pay it, yet he neglected to attend to them, wherefore after five years' neglect of payment, according to the custom of England and the law of the exchequer, it was resolved that his goods should be distrained until he made satisfaction for his debt to the crown; but the delinquent (having by some means obtained information of what was intended) caused all his property to be removed out of the way, so that no effects could be found upon which the distress could be made. Orders were therefore sent to Gerard de Athiis, the king's bailiff in Wales, that William's goods and chattels in Wales should be distrained 'till the debt was paid. Alarmed at this determination, his wife Maud de Haia, his nephew William earl Ferrars, Adam de Porter who married his sister, and many of his friends met the king at Gloucester and requested that William might be permitted to have an interview with his majesty, who coming to Hereford, in the meantime received possession from de Breosa of his castles of Hay, Brecknock and Radnor, to be held by the crown unless the debt was paid on a day appointed by himself, and besides, as hostages for his punctuality, he delivered up to the king two sons of William de Breosa the younger, a son of Reginald de Breosa and four sons of his tenants, yet notwithstanding this, he paid no more attention to the present than to his former engagements; for in a little while afterwards, when Gerard de Athiis commanded the constables of the castles surrendered by de Breos to the king, to collect the customary payment for the use of the crown, finding that the officers, to whom the care and custody of those forts had been committed were then

absent, he came with William the younger, Reginald and their sons and a vast multitude of people, and laid seige to those three fortresses in one day, and though he did not meet with the success he expected, yet he burnt one half of the town of Leominster, a cell belonging to the abbey of Reading, held under the crown in free alms, and wounded and slew most of the king's ministers there.

WILLIAM DE BREOS RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

"When Gerard de Athiis was informed of these proceedings, having collected together as many of the king's subjects as the time would permit, he marched to the relief of the besieged places, whereupon William de Breos instantly retreated and fled into Ireland with his wife and family, where they were hospitably received by William Marshal and Walter de Laci, although both of them had been commanded on their allegiance not to entertain or maintain the enemies of the King of England, who might fly hither to avoid payment of the debts due to their sovereign. Afterwards they sent to the king and undertook that William should appear before him on a certain day, to answer for his debt and the outrages he had committed, and in case of his neglecting so to do, they engaged to send him out of Ireland and never to receive him again; yet neither he nor they kept their word. It was now determined no longer to suffer these exeesses with impunity, and the king having collected his army, resolved to embark for Ireland to punish his rebellious subjects; but before his majesty could reach the place of his destination, William de Breos went to the king's bailiff in Ireland and petitioned for letters of safe conduct to enable him to make his peace with his lawful sovereign. These were granted on his being sworn to proceed without loss of time to meet the king, without any circuity in his route or turning out of his road, either to the right or left; yet when he arrived in England, as his family were then in Ireland, he immediately proceeded to Herefordshire and collected as many of the king's enemies as he could prevail upon to join his standa'd and to espouse his quarrel.

KING JOHN LANDS AT PEMBROKE.

"When the king heard this in the course of his voyage, being then upon the Irish sea, he determined to come on shore at Pembroke; here he was again requested by de Breos's nephew, William earl Ferrars, that he might be permitted to go to speak to his uncle to know his intentions. This was likewise granted, and one Robert de Burgate, a knight of the household, directed to accompany him, who returning, begged leave that William might once more be suffered to approach the royal presence, which was allowed him; he then came as far as the water of Pembroke, and offered by his messengers forty thousand marks to be restored into peace and favour, 'yet we (says John) knew full well that it was not in *his* power, but *his wife's* who was in Ireland, and that, if he was in earnest, we would accompany and supply him with a safe conduct or passport for that kingdom, to enable him to *talk with his wife* and friends about the amount of the fine he was to pay, and the ratification of the terms to be agreed upon; and we further undertook that if we could not agree upon those terms, we would send him to the same spot in Wales on which he then stood, and in the same condition.' These reasonable proposals were rejected by de Breos, who remained in the principality, doing all the mischief he could to the king and his subjects, burning a mill and setting fire to three cottages.

HIS INTERVIEW WITH MAUD OF HAY.

"In the meantime Maud of Hay, hearing of the king's expedition to Ireland, fled to Scotland, where she was taken prisoner by Duncan de Carye, whom the king calls his cousin and friend, and who immediately sent him information of this occurrence, which he received on the day the castle of Carrickfergus was surrendered to him. Maud's eldest son William, his wife and two sons, and her daughter (whose name was Maud) the wife of Roger Mortimer, were also made prisoners at the same time, but Hugh de Laci and Reginald de Breos her third son, made their escape. To conduct them into his presence, John sent two of his knights John de Courci and Godfrey de Cracombe, with a company of bowmen, and when they were brought before him '*this very Maud* (*ipsa* Matilda says John) began to talk about making us satisfaction, and offered us forty thousand marks for the safety and preservation of the lives and limbs of her husband and his adherents, and that his castles might be restored to him; to this we agreed, yet in three days she repented of her engagement, alleging that she was unable to perform them.' Afterwards when we returned into England, we brought her and her family with us in our custody, and now she again offered us forty thousand marks upon the same conditions as formerly, and ten thousand marks as a fine for her departure from her first proposal; this we likewise consented to accept, but to convince her that she was to adhere more steadily to her undertakings in future, we told her, that as often as she receeded from the present compact, she should pay an additional sum of ten thousand marks. To this she agreed, and the whole transaction was reduced into writing and confirmed and ratified by

her oath and seal, and the oaths and seals of her party, as well as of our earls and barons who were present at the treaty, and days were at the same time assigned for the payment thereof: for the punctual performance of which she and hers were to remain in custody, until the whole debt was paid by instalments.'

THE KING'S INDICTMENT AGAINST WILLIAM DE BREOSA.

"The king then proceeds to state, that after William de Breosa's breach of his engagements, when he entered Herefordshire and burnt and laid waste the country, he was proclaimed a traitor and an outlaw by the sheriff of Herefordshire, according to the law and custom of England; but that upon the faith of this compact with his wife, he (the king) wrote to that officer to postpone further proceedings against him till the monarch's return from Ireland: that upon his arrival in England, Maud and her family were prisoners at Bristol, where she petitioned that her husband might have leave to speak to her in private, that he obtained this permission, that he approved of the terms his wife had made, and that in order to enable him to raise the money promised to be paid, Geoffrey Fitzpeter the king's justice was sent to accompany him (a favour with which de Breosa would have readily dispensed, for upon the first instalment becoming due, he quitted the kingdom and left his Majesty's justice in the lurch). The rescript then concludes by saying, that upon being informed of this unexpected piece of intelligence, the king sent Geoffrey Fitzpeter, the king's brother the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Winchester and other noblemen to Maud, to know from her what was to be done in this dilemma, and what she and her husband proposed in the business, and that she answered explicitly, she would not pay one farthing, as she had no more money or money's worth in her possession than twenty four marks in silver, twenty four besants[1] and eleven ounces of gold; so that neither she or her husband or any person for them, ever paid the debt to the king, or any part of it.

DEATH OF MAUD WALBEE AND HER SON WILLIAM.

"This writing is attested by William Earl Ferrars, Henry Earl of Hereford, and several other noblemen, so that if this statement be true, of which (as has been before observed) there is little reason to doubt, King John was fully justified in his proceeding against William de Breos, independently of the *malapert*[2] speech of his wife *Mol Walbee*, which at the same time it is probable he neither forgot or forgave; and in revenge for this insult as well as her repeated breach of faith, he inhumanly inclosed her and her eldest son William in a tower at Windsor, or as some say Corfe castle, where they were starved to death, while her husband was compelled to take refuge in France, and to submit to the loss of the whole of his property and possessions. In this country he survived some time in the humiliating habit of a beggar, tormented by a wounded conscience and the miseries of poverty: and having in some measure expiated in this life, the crimes he had committed in his prosperous days, died at Gorboyl or Corboyl in Normandy, or rather in the Isle of France, on the 9th day of August in the year 1212 or 1213, from whence his body was conveyed to Paris and *honourably* interred in the abbey of St. Victor's there.

WILLIAM DE BREOS'S FIRST CHARTER TO BRECKNOCK PRIORY.

"It is not necessary to paint the character of this monster, his own actions have unequivocally pourtrayed it; but is it not extraordinary that such a man as Giraldus Cambrensis should from any motives have been induced to become his panegyrist, or to prostitute his pen in his defence? Yet so it is, for he tells us, that 'though as a man he sometimes erred, for he who sins not has more of the divine than of human nature in him, yet he always prefaced his discourse with the name of the Lord: in the name of God be this done, in God's name be that performed, if it please God, if it is the will of God, or by the grace of God it shall be so, and if he was on a journey, whenever he came into a church or saw a cross, he immediately betook himself to prayers, even

[1] Bisantia, Besants, or rather Byzants, from their having been coined at Byzantium during the time of the Christian emperors, were a gold coin of uncertain value. Besants are now only known in heraldry and are represented by little round yellow balls or surfaces.

[2] The words of Maud, as related by Matthew Paris, are preceded by a sarcasm, which none but a monk would have made; "Maud his wife (says he) snatching the words out of his mouth, answered with a *womanlike* flippancy, I'll not deliver my boys to your master king John, because he basely murdered his nephew Arthur, whom in honour he ought to have preserved and protected; her husband, (the author proceeds to say) reprehended her for her interference, and said, she talked like a foolish woman, that he was ready to obey the king in all his lawful commands, yet that he did not see the necessity of giving pledges for his fidelity." (Matthew Paris, Edn. of 1571. p. 303.) Speed says, Maud endeavoured to pacify the king; and to induce him to forgive her offence, she made a present to his queen of four hundred kine and one bull, all milk white with red ears. Bingley, in his *Animal Biography*, vol. 2. p. 80, describes wild cattle to be *invariably* white, the muzzle black and the whole inside of the ear, and one third part of the outside from the tip downwards red.

though he was engaged at the time in conversation with any person, whether rich or poor; and when he met children he always saluted them, hoping to be repaid by the prayers of innocents. His wife Maud (Giraldus also tells us) was not only chaste, but *prudent* and remarkable for her economy and domestic good qualities. But though the archdeacon was a man of learning and knowledge of the world, he was a high churchman; and the most meritorious service that could be rendered christianity or religion in those days was a liberal contribution towards the support of its ministers. Giraldus's respect for William de Breos may be more readily accounted for than commended, when we learn that he was a considerable benefactor to the priories of Brecknock and Abergavenny, as well as to the monks of Lira in Normandy. To the first he granted two charters which are on record: by the former he gives his body to the church of St. John the apostle and evangelist in Brecknock, to be conveyed thither from whatever place it might please God he should die, whether in England or Wales, *that being the church which beyond all others he reverenced, because upon St. John, after God and the holy Mary, he placed his greatest trust*: he then confirms the charters of his predecessors, and recommends the church to the care of all those who owe him faith or friendship, and conjures them, by the love of God, to promote its welfare with all things needful. He afterwards proceeds to grant to all persons belonging to the church of St. John, as well *burgesses*[1] as other, privileges and exemptions from all levies and contributions payable[2] to chief constables, and from all fines for common trespasses[3] and defaults, and gives to the monks the goods and chattels of all persons[4] apprehended in the act of stealing, or who shall be convicted of any other crime, at the same time reserving to himself and the officers of his court the right of determining and pronouncing all judgments affecting life or limb.

HIS SECOND CHARTER TO THE SAME MONASTERY.

"By the second charter he confirms to the same monks a certain demesne which Ralph de Bascheville gave them within his barony, called the mill of *Trosdref* and its stream in Leveni: by reference to Baskerville's grant and his wife's confirmation, this will be found to be a mill called Trosdref Mill upon the river Llyfni or Lleveni. This confirmation seems to have been necessary at the time, as we find by a document in the Bodleian Library, that a dispute arose, either between Ralph Baskerville or his wife or widow the lady Nest, the daughter of Gryffyth, and the prior and monks of Brecon, concerning the profits of the mill of Trosdref upon *Livini* as it is called in Ralph's charter, which was compromised and the right of the prior and convent established. The site of this mill is not now known, but it appears to have been part of the possessions of Bernard Newmarch, and, after his decease, of Milo Fitzwalter, from whom it descended to his grand-daughter Bertha, who married Adam de la Port, who had issue by her, Sibil, the first wife of Sir Ralph Baskerville,[5] in whose right he became possessed of this property, as well as the manor of Eardisley in Herefordshire.

"The *honour*[6] of Brecknock with its dependencies, together with Abergavenny and the whole territory of Overwent, upon the attainder of the late baron de Breos, escheated to the crown; and shortly after, John gave Blânllyfni, Talgarth and the Wallascherie[7] to his favourite, but ill-

[1] This is the first time we hear of burgesses of Brecknock; few boroughs in this kingdom can boast of equal antiquity, or trace their incorporation to as early a period.

[2] In the Latin, "liberi sint scyris et hundredis." This word hundredus was used not only for the hundred, or division now so called, but for the levies or contributions paid to the *Hundredarius* or chief constable, for the better support of his office; from which some persons and religious houses (as in the present case) were exempted by grant. So king Henry the Second to B. de S. Walleri, "ut terræ suæ sint quietæ de scyris et hundredis." Secta scyrarum aut hundredorum, signified suit of court or attendance on the county or hundred court. The tenants of abbies, monasteries, and religious bodies, were not in general liable to this suit of court, if the lands were held in Frank-Almoigne. (*Kennet.*)

[3] In the Latin "de placitis et omnibus querelis;" quietos esse de querelis, sometimes meant to be exempt from the customary fees, payable to the king or lord of a court for leave to prosecute a plaint, but more frequently implied an exemption from fines for common trepasses and defaults, as in the grant to Barham de S. Valleri, "ut terræ suæ sint quietæ de omnibus placitis et querelis, excepto *Murdredo* et Latrocinio. Quatuor Hydas apud Cesterton liberas esse et quietas omnibus placitis et querelis excepto murdredo et latrocinio." (*Kennet.*)

[4] There is clearly an omission here, and de Breos must have meant to have given the monks the goods of felons, taken and convicted *within their liberties* or *jurisdiction*. A right of the same kind, with some variation, will hereafter be found with the burgesses of Brecknock as late as the reign of Henry the Eighth.

[5] The Welsh pedigrees take no notice of this lady, though it is clear she was wife to Ralph Baskerville as appears by the grant above referred to.

[6] In ancient times a baronial estate was distinguished by the different names of Baronia, *Honor*, Terra; Fædum, and sometimes, though seldom, Tenementum. The baronial seigniory of an earl or other great men was commonly called an honour, whether vested in the individual by forfeiture or otherwise in the crown. Thus the barony of Adam de la Port, the Terra of Earl Simon; of the honour of Huntingdon and Gant; the Fædum of Wahull, the tenementum of several barons, and the lordship of Brecknock is indiscriminately called Fædum and Honor; de sentagio Pictaviæ, Fædum Willielmi de Braiosa. (*Madox's Baron. Anglic.* p. 5 and 53.)

[7] The lordship of Talgarth, like many others under the lords Marchers, was divided into English and Welsh, so called from two separate courts held for the government of the people of different nations and languages: that for the English was styled Englishcheria, the other for the Welshmen Wallescheria, unde Wallashirie, the Welshery or Welsh Talgarth. Talgarth first mentioned above, means that part of the lordship where the English laws prevailed

advising counsellor Fitzherbert, who was intitled, next to the de Breos family, to the possessions of Milo Fitzwalter in Breconshire, in right of his mother Lucia one of the daughters of that earl.

GILES DE BREOS MADE BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

'The eldest surviving son of William de Breos was Giles bishop of Hereford, promoted to that see in the second year of the reign of John (A.D. 1200). This prelate inherited all the violence and party spirit which marked the character of his detestable father, and upon all occasions stood forward in opposition to the crown; he was a zealous defender of the pontifical authority, and when the nation was put under an interdict, for what the pope was pleased to term the king's contumacy in refusing to acknowledge Stephen Langton as primate of Canterbury, upon his Holiness's consecration of him to that dignity, he was obliged to quit the kingdom to avoid the resentment of his incensed sovereign; his revenues were confiscated and his person outlawed. He continued abroad till the year 1213, when upon his return into England he was restored to all his spiritual titles and possessions; but his lay inheritance was still detained from him. To recover this, he joined in a confederacy with Llewelyn prince of North Wales and some English revolted barons, and sent his brother Reginald to demand restitution of his castles in Wales and the marches from those who held them under the crown. Such was the weakness of John's authority over the country at this time, that the castles of Abergavenny, Pencelli, and Grosmont were instantly surrendered to Reginald without oppostition, or (as far as can be now learned) the least shew or pretence of resistance: and when the bishop entered Wales in person, he obtained possession of Brecknock, Hay, and Builth, where he was readily acknowledged as the rightful lord, and at the same time he expelled Fitzherbert and his dependants from the possession of Blânllyfni.

"Thus far he had succeeded, when by the express injunctions of the pope (who flattered by the mean concessions of the king, now fulminated a bull of excommunication against Llewelyn and his adherents) he thought himself compelled to return to his allegiance, and having made a separate peace with the English monarch, his estate was by the royal mandate restored and confirmed to him. Stowe writes, that in the 15th King John, 'Gilo de Brawse the sonne of William de Brawse received all his father's inheritance into his custodie, together with his nephew, till the child came of lawful age:' this nephew was John, nicknamed Tadodie, son of his eldest brother William, generally called Gwilym Gam or squinting Will, whose melancholy fate has been recounted. This child had been privately nursed by a Flemish woman in Gower, and to him afterwards descended that lordship, together with the family estates of Sussex, and certain lands in Monmouthshire, part of which he gave to the Abbey of Talcy in Caermarthenshire as appears by Dugdale; though the names by which they are described are so miserably spelt and disfigured that we can learn little more than that they were situate somewhere near Abergavenny. This branch of the family instead of verry, ermine and gules, three bars azure, borne by the lords of Brecknock, assumed for arms, azure, a lion rampant, between ten crosses crosslets, *Or*.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BISHOP.

"It is uncertain whether William de Breos the elder was not alive at the very time the bishop obtained possession of his estates; yet as these were forfeited to the Crown, no blame attaches to the latter either for claiming or accepting them, further than that it should seem, he ought to have accounted for the profits to his nephew, if he knew he was alive. But Giles was neither capable of enjoying, nor had he merit to deserve such a vast accession of fortune; and though he cannot be charged with the atrocities that have perpetuated his father's infamy, it is doubtful whether the historian could have said thus much in his favour or allowed him even *negative* commendation, if providence had allotted him an equal length of days with his predecessor. He was evidently a fickle, proud, and imperious baron, at the same time that he appears to have been an obedient son of the church; he gave certain lands in Colwall (perhaps Craswall) to the cathedral church of Hereford, but directed that the rents thereof should be applied to the celebration of his anniversary for ever, and died at Gloucester November 17, 1215, leaving his immense possessions to his brother Reginald. On the north side of the choir of the cathedral at Hereford is the figure of a bishop pontifically habited, his right hand giving the benediction, in his left a crosier and an embattled tower of two stories, on the wall over him is painted this inscription: 'Ds. Egidius de Bruse Epus Heref, Obt. A.D 1215.'

"From the tower in his hand, Bishop Godwyn conjectures that he built the West tower of that edifice, which fell to the ground in 1786, about five hundred and eighty years after its erection.

FAMILY OF CRADOC AP GWYLYM.

"It has been seen how successfully the power of John (generally unfortunate) was hitherto exerted against the family of de Breos; this can only be accounted for by circumstances and facts not generally

known to the public. Upon the murder of Trahaern Vychan by William de Breos, many of the family of the Welsh chieftain quitted the country and fled to England: those however who remained in Wales cherished and preserved an hereditary resentment against the assassin and his descendants. Trahaern left several brothers, one of them Cadivor ap Gwrgan ap Bleddin ap Maenarch had issue Meuric, whose son was Gwylym of Glyntawe in Brecknockshire, the father of Cradoc, generally called after the Welsh manner Cradoc ap Gwylym. This Cradoc had very considerably possessions in the very centre of de Breos's property in this country; the quarrel therefore between John and the lord of Brecknock fixed him firmly in the interest of the English monarch, to whom he adhered in all his wars with his barons, and who gave him for arms, as a reward for his fidelity, azure, a buck tripping, argent, unguled and attired, and bearing between his horns an imperial crown, *Or*, which are borne by most of his descendants at this day. To this eternal enemy, this troublesome neighbour, aided as he was by all the old inhabitants of Brecknockshire and the neighbouring counties, who combined to support the cause and to avenge the murder of one of the descendants of their ancient reguli, may in a great measure be attributed the ruin of de Breos and the good fortune of John. The successors of this Cradoc sunk into country gentlemen, and though they may have occasionally distinguished themselves for their valour or their talents, yet after him they never shone as chieftains or appeared as commanders of armies. Cradoc either died in the latter end of the reign of John, or else Reginald, who succeeded the bishop of Hereford in his wealth and territories, found means to be reconciled to him, or perhaps the additional weight which Reginald de Breos derived from his connexion with Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, prince of North Wales, whose daughter Gwladis he married, or all these causes, contributed to his defence against the English monarch, and enabled him to resist his power with greater effect than his father; for during his government he will be seen combating the forces and resisting the attacks of John and his successor, with various success it is true, yet ultimately preserving his property, though frequently compelled to feel the weight, and to submit to the superior numbers of his adversary.

BURNING OF HAY AND RADNOR CASTLES.

"Soon after he had been permitted to pay his homage, and had sworn fealty, Reginald (in A.D. 1215) engaged in a confederacy with Llewelyn and the English barons in resisting the power of his sovereign; who in the last year of his life gratified his revenge against his revolted subject, by marching into Wales and burning his castles of Hay[1] and Radnor. Upon the accession of Henry the Third, overtures were made to him to detach him from the interest of Llewelyn and his adherents; and among other articles it was proposed, that as a reward for his obedience, his English estates should be restored to him, to be held on the same terms as his brother Giles. He was caught by the bait, and thus allured, he forgot his father in law; and regardless of the solemn engagements he had made with him, returned to England, when the castles and honours of Totness, Barnstaple, and other escheated property, were delivered up to him by the commands of the English monarch.

PRINCE LLEWELYN LAYS SIEGE TO BRECKNOCK.

"Llewelyn justly incensed at such a breach of faith, laid siege to the town of Brecknock (A.D. 1217), which in the first transports of his rage he determined to demolish, but afterwards, upon the humble petition of the burgesses, and the earnest intercession of his nephew Rhys, he was prevailed upon to spare it, and having taken five hostages for their future good behaviour, and one hundred marks as a compensation to his troops for their march, he crossed the mountains towards Gower. In this journey he was so greatly incommoded by the badness of the roads and the natural difficulties of the country, that several of his carriages were injured, and some of them lost in bogs and morasses. Reginald, now ashamed of his conduct and alarmed for the safety of his Welsh possessions, came to Llanguik (a parish in Glamorganshire, adjoining Brecknockshire, called by Powel, Llangrue), where his father in law was then encamped, and tendered him his submission, promising never again to offend him. Llewelyn with the generosity of a Briton, not only instantly forgave his former perfidy, but received him with all the mildness of paternal affection, and in the plenitude of confidence, put him into possession of the strong fortress of Caerphili in the highlands of Glamorganshire; he then proceeded with his troops to Dyved, and concluded the campaign with equal honour to himself and advantage to his country. The reconciliation between Reginald and Llewelyn was highly resented by the court of London, and in consequence of it, the lordships of Blaenllyfni

[1] Buck under his view of Hay castle in Brecknockshire (from what authority we know not) says that Louis the dauphin of France burnt this fortress in the reign of John, but this appears to be an error.

and Talgarth, which since his brother's death, had been enjoyed by Reginald, were, by a royal mandate, retransferred to Peter Fitzherbert to whom they had been given upon the attainder of William de Breos.

BURIAL PLACE OF REGINALD DE BREOS.

"Nothing further is known of the exploits of this baron, but we are informed that he died in 1228, and that he was buried in the priory church at Brecknock. Churchyarde[1] gives us the following account of his monument, or what he supposed to be such,

> Cross legg'd by him as was the auncient traile
> Debreos lyes in picture as I trae
> Of most hard wood, which wood as divers say
> No worme can eat, nor tyme can wear away;
> A couching hound as harrolds[2] thought full meete,
> In wood likewise lyes beneath his feete.

"Poor Churchyarde! Wert thou permitted once more to revisit 'the glimpses of the moon,' thou would'st find that this most hard wood is so completely eaten by the worm, or worn away by time, that 'like the baseless fabric of a vision,' not a wreck remains, nor does even the finger of tradition point to the spot whereon this monument stood.

"In all probability Reginald employed the years that followed his reconciliation with Llewelyn in a crusade or pilgrimage to Jerusalem; for Dugdale says, one of his charters to the monks of Brecknock was granted after his return from the holy land, which also accounts for the *auncient trade* of placing his legs across on his monument. By his first charter he granted to the monks just mentioned a Grist mill at Llanfaes with all the tools and profits belonging to it, and he gave them the further liberty (if they should think it expedient) to remove it to any other situation on the stream; he also granted them five shillings out of the revenues of the town of Brecknock, to purchase and provide a lamp[3] for the honourable celebration of the mass of the Virgin Mary daily, the same to be paid annually upon the festival of St. John the Baptist.

"By the second charter he merely confirms the grants of his ancestors: to both these charters Giraldus Cambrensis occurs as a witness.

"Gwladis the widow of Reginald de Breos afterwards married Ralph Mortimer lord of Melenydd in Radnorshire, who about the year 1242 built the castles of Knucklas and Cefnllys in that county; with her, Llewelyn gave the neighbouring territories of Cerri and Cedewyn as a marriage portion. Reginald by a former wife, Gracia or Grisseld daughter of William Bruere lord of Bridgwater, had issue, a daughter and two sons, named Mary, William and John. William, the eldest son, succeeded his father as lord of Brecknock, and as soon as he came into possession of his estate, discovered an attachment to the English interest, to which he steadily adhered during the whole of his life; he was little pleased with the second marriage of his father's widow, and contested her right to the jointure assigned her by her husband, but it does not appear that he was successful in his opposition.

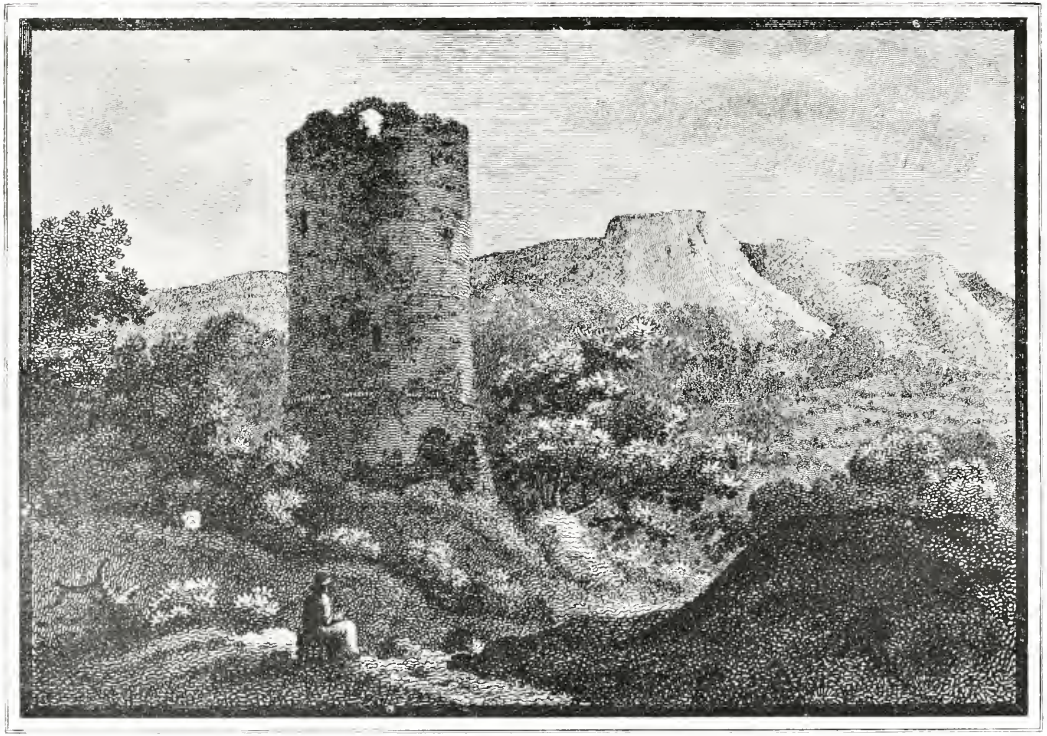
HENRY ATTEMPTS THE CONQUEST OF WALES.

"War still raged in the marches. The king of England heading his own troops made vigorous efforts to conquer the principality, while on the other hand Llewelyn strained every nerve to maintain his independence. The English monarch, soon after his irruption into the borders, led his army into Cerri, in Montgomeryshire, to a place there, called by Matthew Paris, Cridia, and by Sir William Dugdale, Cridie, a corruption (as it should seem) of Creigiau or Creigau, the Rocks: after having in his march thither compelled the Welsh to raise the siege of Montgomery, then held by Hubert de Burgh. At Cerri much time was spent in cutting a wood of vast extent, which had frequently protected the Welsh from the incursions of the English, and in the centre of which was a castellated mansion, or as others say, a religious house, serving as a place of security to the inhabitants in case of a sudden irruption, or unexpected attack from an enemy. This building was reduced to ashes, and as its site was thought almost inaccessible, Henry by the advice, and with the assistance of de Burgh, laid the foundation of a castle on the spot where it stood; but Llewelyn, though hitherto

[1] Worthinesse of Wales, p. 72.

[2] Heralds.

[3] The Latin word Luminare in the original signifies a lamp, a light or candle burning at the altar of any church or chappel, for the maintenance of which rent charges were frequently granted to churches and religious houses. It was sometimes stipulated that this luminary should burn all night and in the day at canonical hours during the time of divine service. A luminary at the great altar of the church was sometimes maintained by the rector of the church, and in vicarages, the expence was charged on the appropriations. In Normandy it was ordained that once in each year the priest and capellans should come with their people in full procession to their mother church, and there, every house offered on the altar a wax taper to enlighten the church. Bishop Godwin passed a constitution in the diocese of Lincoln, against the abuse of rents given for this purpose. (Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities.*) This grant of de Breos explains (as we conceive) the origin of Lady's rent or rather our Lady's rent once paid to the corporation of Brecon.



BRYNLLYS CASTLE IN 1805

(From a Drawing by Sir R. Colt Hoare)

repulsed, was very far from being subdued, nor was it his disposition to remain idle, while the enemy was encroaching upon his interior. With an eagle's eye, he watched the movements, and intercepted the convoys of the king of England, and sometimes cut in pieces his foraging parties: in one of these excursions it was the fate of William de Breos to be made prisoner by the Welsh, and though the whole territory of Builth was offered for his ransom, it was refused.

THE ALLEGED INFIDELITY OF LLEWELYN'S WIFE JOAN.

"Henry, awakened by these losses, and having some reason to suspect treachery among his officers (who as it is said corresponded with the enemy, and made them acquainted with his plans), at length thought proper to abandon the enterprise, and to leave the intended fortress, sarcastically called Hubert's Folly, unfinished. After three months fruitless waste of time and labour, and the loss of many men, during which period he had experienced nothing but mortification, he consented to a peace with Llewelyn, upon the disgraceful terms of levelling with the ground all the works he had constructed and nearly completed at an immense expence. The Welsh prince on his part engaging to pay him three thousand marks, as a compensation for the materials left on the spot, and consenting that in future the lord of Cerri should hold his territory as a fief of the crown of England. Henry was mean enough to make no stipulation in favour of his faithful servant de Breos, but suffered him to remain a prisoner with Llewelyn, who treated him as honourably and hospitably, as if he had been his invited guest. During this confinement he is said to have become enamoured of Joan the wife of Llewelyn, a natural daughter of John king of England, and to have been admitted to improper familiarities with her: this intrigue, it is added, remained a secret to Llewelyn until after the liberation of William, which was affected, as the Welsh chronicle says, by the surrender of the castle of Builth, and the payment of a large sum of money to Llewelyn, who being then informed of the infidelty of his wife, and determined to be revenged upon her gallant, invited him to a feast at his court. Upon his acceptance of this invitation, Llewelyn having him in his power, first reproached the profligate with his crime, and then commanded him to be ignominiously dragged out of his presence, and hanged (*circa*, 1230) without further trial or ceremony, upon a tree growing upon a neighbouring hill; he was afterwards, as tradition says, buried in a field called from him, Cae Gwilym ddu, or black William's field (the name by which this William de Breos was known among the Welsh); this inclosure is in the parish of Llandegai, in Caernarvonshire. Mr. Pennant relates that at the entrance into a deep glen, near Aber in Caernarvonshire, there is a very large artificial mount, flat at the top and near sixty feet in diameter, widening towards the base, on which was once a castle belonging to Llewelyn; some foundations (he says) are yet to be discovered near the summit, and in digging there, the vestiges of buildings may be found. Here, it is said, the intrigue was detected, and the tradition of the country is, that a bard of the palace, accidentally meeting with the princess, who was ignorant of the fate of her paramour, thus impudently accosted her,

Dieeyn, Doeeyn, wraig Llewelyn!
Beth a roed' am gweled Gwilym?

Hark'e dame! say what wilt thou
Give to see thy Gwilym now?

To which this *Englishwoman* is supposed to have been such a fool as to have answered flippantly and in tolerable *Welsh* rhyme,

Cymru Lloegr a Llewelyn
A rhown y gyd am gweled Gwilym.

Wales, England, and Llewelyn too
I'd give my William's face to view.

Upon receiving this answer, the bard, it is added, shewed her the body of her favourite suspended to the branch of a tree.

CHARGES AGAINST HUGH DE BURGH.

"Such is the story as related by many historians and confirmed in some degree by tradition, but notwithstanding this, there are many reasons which render it liable to suspicion, and make its veracity extremely doubtful: in the first place Matthew Paris, who is one of the earliest authors that assigns the jealousy of Llewelyn as the cause of de Breos's death, gives it as a report only,—'ut dicebatur' are his words—and he afterwards informs us, that among the charges against Hubert de Burgh were, stealing a precious stone from the king of England's treasury, which had the virtue of rendering the wearer of it invulnerable in battle, sending it to Llewelyn the king's enemy, and *treacherously writing letters to the same Llewelyn, by which means the prince of Wales was induced to hang William de Breos as a common thief.* In the second place, she was (to use a common phrase) old enough to be de Breos's mother; she was married to Llewelyn in 1201 or the beginning of 1202, supposing her therefore to be only twenty years of age at that period, she must have been nearly fifty when William's captivity commenced: it must also be observed, that though the heroes of those days were not very delicate in their amours, it is extremely improbable that de Breos should have intrigued with the wife of his father's father in law, and that David ap Llewelyn, the son of

the adulteress should have afterwards married Isabel, the daughter of his mother's seducer. It seems also extraordinary that a woman, accused tauntingly of a crime of this nature, should avow it, and avow it without hesitation, to one, who from the familiarity of his address evidently meant to insult her, and that in a language too, in which it cannot be supposed she was an adept, unless her facility of acquiring the knowledge of it, far exceeded that of her countrywomen of later days, and lastly we are told, that her husband Llewelyn, in honour of her memory, soon after her death, in the year 1236, erected the Franciscan monastery of Llanfaes, in Anglesea, to enshrine her tomb; so that upon the whole it may fairly be concluded that if any thing was said about this familiarity between William de Breos and the Welsh princess, it was only meant to furnish a pretence for his death, which the tortuous policy of the times suggested, and to which, it is by no means improbable, Hubert de Burgh, from a personal quarrel, or to get rid of a troublesome neighbour, by falsehood or artifice contributed.

LLEWELYN INVADES BRECONSHIRE IN 1233.

"The imputation thrown upon the character of his sister, as well as the execution of so powerful a baron as William de Breos, exasperated the king of England, and for a moment called forth the exertions of this weak and fickle monarch: with all the pride therefore of an insulted sovereign, though without the valour or the talents to obtain his object, Henry sent to Llewelyn a peremptory summons to appear before him at Shrewsbury to answer for his unwarrantable conduct. Instead of obeying this mandate, the prince of North Wales entered the marches with an army, and extending his vengeance to the family and even to the tenants of the deceased, he laid waste the then defenceless territories of de Breos. Having taken the castle of Montgomery, still in the possession of de Burgh, who was left to defend the marches of Wales, he proceeded to make himself master of Brecknock and Rhaiadrgwy, and, after considerable loss, reduced the church and castle of Caerleon to ashes. The same fate attended the fortress of Neath and Cydweli; the barbarities which accompanied his progress are highly disgraceful to his character, and too disgusting to be related. About two years afterwards (A.D. 1233) he made a second inroad into Breconshire, destroying and laying waste the whole of that country. At length, however, he was foiled in his attack upon the castle of Brecknock, which was either more ably defended or more strongly fortified than in his former expedition; for after a month's fruitless efforts he raised the siege, yet in order to leave a memento of his visit, he *humanely* set fire to the town and returned homewards with his booty.

WILLIAM DE BREOS'S ISSUE.

"The issue of William de Breos by his wife Eve, daughter of William Marshall earl of Pembroke, were five daughters. Isabel the eldest married David the son of Llewelyn; Elinor the second married Humphrey de Bohun earl of Essex, who in her right, as will be seen, succeeded to the lordship of Brecknock; Maud married Roger Mortimer earl of Wigmore and lord of Melenydd, son of Ralph lord of Wigmore by Gwladis ddu, and after his death Brian de Brampton; Eve the fourth daughter married William de Cantelupe, and brought him the lordship of Abergavenny, which by the marriage of his daughter Joan, descended to the family of Hastings, from whom it came to the Beauchamps earls of Warwick and afterwards to Sir Edward Neville the ancestors of the present earls of Abergavenny[1]; and Ella the fifth daughter married according to some MSS. a John Mowbray.

MORE BENEFACTIONS TO THE PRIORY.

"It must be recollected that upon the reconciliation of Reginald de Breos with Llewelyn, the lordships of Blaullyfni and Talgarth, including the honour and castle of Dinas, were seized upon by the crown, and given to Peter Fitzherbert, and though he was dispossessed of them by Reginald, he afterwards acquired a legal title to these possessions by marrying Isabel, the daughter of the last William de Breos, who survived her first husband, David the son of Llewelyn prince of North Wales. Fitzherbert died in 1235, leaving the bulk of his fortune, among which was his Breconshire property, to his eldest son by a former wife, Herbert Fitzpeter. The latter baron appears among the list of benefactors to the monks of Brecon: he granted them in full, pure, and perpetual alms, the liberty of fishing in the lake of Llynsavaddan, three days in the week and every day in Lent, with *one boat*. This was no new privilege, for they enjoyed this right in a far more ample manner under the first charter of Roger, earl of Hereford, indeed the present limitation to the use of one boat, seems as if it was the intention of the grantor to narrow, rather than enlarge the benefits of the fishery. He granted them also the lands of Pentenavel (Penllanafel) and all the lands of St. Paulinus (Llangorse),

[1] This lordship, as well as those of Kington, Radnor, Knighton, Earlston, Totness and St Clare were assigned to Eva, the widow of William de Breos, as her dower, and were held by her till her death, in 1246.

which used to pay to the said monks the yearly sum of one mark. By way of commutation, for the tythes of his castle of Blaullyfni, he gave them five marks yearly, subjecting his bailiff to the penalty of excommunication if he neglected or delayed payment; he also granted them a certain encroachment of land near Trewalkin, cleared and made profitable by the said monks, but for which they had incurred the displeasure of his father. The remainder of the charter contains merely a confirmation of grants by other persons of lands or hereditaments within his lordship. He died without issue in the thirty-second of Henry the Third, leaving his brother Reginald Fitzpeter his heir, who upon doing homage, had livery of his several estates in England and Wales, excepting the manors of Blaullyfni and Dinas, which the king seized and gave to Walerand de Teys.

CHAPTER VI.

From the Acquisition of the lordship by the Bohun Family to the failure of that Race in the male line; during the accession by the Crown of England, and until the Possession of the lordship by the Stafford Family.

"HUMPHREY DE BOHUN, who married one of the daughters of William de Breos, as has just been related, and who succeeded to the Welsh estates (A.D. 1246) upon the death of his widow Eve, was the sixth of that name after the Conquest. This family was of high respect in Normandy, and as some say, related to our first William, whom they accompanied into England. Humphrey the third, by his marriage with Margaret daughter of Miles de Gloucester or Milo Fitzwalter, became in her right on failure of the male issue or rather on the decease of his brother in law without issue (as has been already seen), earl of Hereford and lord high constable of England, an office of great honour and authority which descended through several generations of this family by the tenure of the manors of Haresfield, Newenham and Whittenhurst in Gloucestershire by grand Sergeanty. Camden says that Caldecott Castle in Monmouthshire was also held by them in virtue of that office, but this Coxe[1] denies, and says it was part of the property of the Bohun family. Humphrey Bohun, who married Eleanor or Elinor de Breos, was the son of Humphrey, earl of Hereford, surnamed the Good. The father and son differed widely in their politics; in fact the father obtained this honourable distinction not only for the many virtues which marked his private character, but for his loyalty to the crown, while the son (with what justice we do not take upon us to say) was stigmatised with the epithet of rebel, for his adherence to the barons.

"It is not our intention, not indeed is it consistent with our plan to enter into a detail of the convulsions which agitated the English nation during the long and sanguinary reign of Henry the Third: it will be sufficient here to observe that the All-wise-Being, 'whose ways are past our finding out,' from great and apparent evils and calamities, produced much real good, and laid the foundation of future happiness and rational freedom to the inhabitants of this highly favoured island. To the turbulence and ambition of some of the barons, and the patriotism of others, leagued as they were together, by motives so extremely different and by views so completely opposite, we owe the preservation of Magna Charta, a grant which secured to the subject in those days many very valuable privileges, but which has since from time to time so far been exceeded in consequence of that love of freedom implanted by these early struggles in the breasts of Englishmen, by the attention of the legislature and sometimes by the liberality of the crown, that though the name of this document sounds melodiously in the ears of those who are ignorant even of its contents, the advantages we now derive from it are comparatively small.

WARS CONTINUED BETWEEN ENGLISH AND WELSH.

"As the father of Humphrey was upon good terms with his sovereign during the whole or greatest part of his life, there is no reason to attribute the resistance of the son to improper motives: so that, unless Humphrey received some affront, or his tenants in Brecknockshire or elsewhere some injuries from the favourite D'Espencers, whose power in Glamorganshire was very great, it may fairly be presumed that the weak and wicked councils of Henry may have alienated him from his cause, and compelled him to support the violated rights of his fellow subjects, as well as to protect his own from the grip of a worthless monarch, and his insatiable minions. The first public notice we hear of this baron is in the twenty-eighth of Henry the Third, when in conjunction with the Earl of Clare and other English noblemen, he was employed to quell the insurrection of David the son of Llewelyn, his brother in law; a fierce engagement took place between them, in which it will hardly be lamented that the English were defeated, when it is known that de Bohun was himself

[1] Coxe's *Tour Through Monmouthshire* (second edition, 1904, Davies and Co., Brecon).

the aggressor, by unjustly detaining from the British prince a third part of his wife's portion settled upon him by her father. In the following year he was employed with William de Cantelupe in scouring the Welsh marches from Brecknock to Shrewsbury. Disputes ran now very high between the two nations, and wars continued with little intermission during the reigns of David and his nephew Llewelyn ap Griffith: the latter having dispossessed Roger Mortimer of the castle of Builth and the lordship of Melenydd, at length consented to a truce in consideration of their near relationship and permitted him to depart in peace. Llewelyn then passed on to Brecknock on the invitation, as it is said, of the inhabitants, received their voluntary submission and returned home into North Wales.

PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN HENRY AND LLEWELYN.

"In the insurrection of the Earl of Leicester, Llewelyn and de Bohun acted in one common cause as partizans of Montfort, and committed dreadful ravages in the marches upon the lands of such as adhered to the royal standard. Blaullyfni and Dinas, which upon the death of Peter Fitzherbert had been conferred on Walerand de Teys, now fell into the hands of Peter de Montfort. This Walerand in right of his wife, a daughter and heiress of Hugh de Kilpec in Herefordshire, held the bailiwick of Hay, of the town of Hereford, and the wood of Coedmore (or Coed mawr) for which, in the forty-first of Henry the Third, he paid a fine of three marks of gold: he also held a moiety of the demesne lands of Whatley, in the county of Somerset, granted him by the crown when he was governor of Bristol castle: these with all other his lands in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire and the Forestership of Hay, Hereford, he afterwards made over to his nephew Alan Plugenet or Pogonet, constable of Dryslwyn castle in Caermarthenshire in 1287, with a reservation of an annuity of one hundred and twenty pounds to himself for life. In 1267, upon a peace being concluded between Henry and Llewelyn, the latter was allowed to retain Brecknock and Gwerthrynion, and the claims of the Bohun family seem at this time to have been overlooked by the King of England, though the old Earl of Hereford, his fast friend and adherent was still living.

FIRST CHARTER TO BURGESSES OF BRECON.

"To Humphrey de Bohun the sixth of that name, the Burgesses of Brecknock are indebted for their first charter of liberties and immunities now on record, though it is not improbable there may have been prior grants, which have been either lost or destroyed. He left only one son, a minor at the time of his death, the wardship of whom was committed by the crown to Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, for though the father had offended, respect for his grandfather preserved the property from confiscation, at the same time that little attention was paid to prevent its dismemberment whenever policy dictated a sacrifice of part of it to a troublesome enemy, but upon the arrival of our young lord at the age of manhood, the same motives induced this English monarch to restore, or at least to permit him to recover his dominion of Brecknock. 'A.D. 1271 (says Leland) young Humphrey *fastnid*, i.e. entryed on his land of Brecknock after the feast of St. Mark.' The explanation was perfectly superfluous and unnecessary, *fastening* is full as easily comprehended as entering upon land, and is more descriptive of the manner in which the Norman lords *seized* or became seized of their Welsh estates as well as of the uses to which they were applied, when they had them under their talons.

"Upon the death of Humphrey the Good, who, according to York in his *Union of Honour*, was buried at Llantoni, near Gloucester (A.D. 1275), Humphrey his grandson was admitted to the earldom of Hereford and Essex, and the constableship of England, which last office his grandfather had resigned to him some time previous to his death, and upon doing homage he had livery of these honours. In the tenth of Edward the First, particular circumstances requiring his personal residence in Brecknock, he was allowed to depute his uncle John de Bohun to attend his sovereign as constable of England.

WAR BETWEEN EDWARD I. AND LLEWELYN.

"Though neither the Welsh or English historians have recorded the inducements which led Humphrey de Bohun into Wales at this period, it is not difficult to account for the necessity of his appearance in Brecknockshire, when we recollect the posture of affairs there in the year 1281. A war had just commenced between Edward the First and Llewelyn, which the humanity of Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury endeavoured to prevent; he even undertook a journey into Wales for that purpose, heard with patience and apparently without prejudice the complaints of Llewelyn, dictated in language which would not disgrace the orators of any age or country, almost admitted the truth

of his assertions and the force of his arguments, seemed to feel for the injuries of the prince and principality, and returned to England in expectation that they would be redressed, but the die was now thrown and the resolution of Edward irrevocably fixed.

"A wise and sound policy productive at the time, it is true, of calamities that may be deplored, and outrages which must be condemned, yet ultimately tending to promote the peace and happiness of both countries, suggested to this enterprizing monarch the necessity of uniting Wales with England, and the hatred of a rival in arms, as well as in talents, though inferior in force, confirmed him in his determination. Llewelyn ap Griffith had frequently and indeed recently foiled him in his attempts to subjugate the rough natives of the barren mountains, and had formerly sent him bootless back to the fat pastures of England, if not with disgrace, at least with mortification and disappointment; but that persevering potentate, skilled as he was in every branch of military tactics then known in Europe or in Asia, returned to the charge, and deaf to the representations of the ill-fated Llewelyn, sent the primate back with proposals so humiliating, that they were, as he of course concluded they would be, rejected with indignation. One of these proposals was, that the Prince of Wales should desert his subjects and submit to receive a pension of one thousand pounds a year in England. Llewelyn answered with great spirit, that if he were base enough to accept of it, such was the honest pride of his people, that they would not suffer him to enjoy it, or permit him to descend so far below his rank. Here the archbishop, whose conduct hitherto was so amiable, lost at once the high character he had acquired. Intimidated by the power or compelled by what perhaps he thought his duty to his sovereign, he not only condescended to convey terms which he knew to be unreasonable and only calculated to wound the feelings of an injured prince, but he absolutely, when they were not approved of, thought it necessary to employ the censures of the church and to send Llewelyn and all his adherents *to the Devil*, for what he called their invincible obstinacy.

EDWARD MARCHES INTO CARDIGANSHIRE.

"Both sides now prepared for war. The first efforts of the Welsh prince were successful. A considerable body of the English having crossed the strait or narrow channel between Anglesea and Caernarvonshire were cut to pieces, and Llewelyn overran Caerdiganshire and a great part of Caermarthenshire; but the fortitude, the perseverance, the talents and the forces of Edward, where he commanded in person, were irresistible: 'his banners were fann'd by the crimson wing of conquest wherever they waved.' A retreat therefore to the almost inaccessible heights and fastnesses of Snowdon was the only expedient left to the Britons for avoiding present death or future slavery. This was adopted, and Llewelyn might have remained sometime secure from attack, unless his supply of provisions was intercepted; of this disaster he seems to have been apprehensive, and in order therefore if possible to prevent it and to distract the attention of Edward, who was at Conway, he marched with a small body of men to Montgomery, and from thence into Radnorshire, where, as well as in Brecknockshire, he had a considerable number of friends, for he was the idol of his countrymen, or as an old chronicle describes him, 'he was the captayne, the prayse, the law and the light of nations.' The correspondence he held in this part of the country, was by some means or other made known to the English court, and it was to discover his intrigues and to counteract his designs, as well as to *fasten* upon his lordship of Brecknock, that Humphrey de Bohun was now sent down into this country; unfortunately for the Prince of Wales he was too successful in both the objects of his mission. Llewelyn's friends were either intimated or persuaded to desert him, his enemies were encouraged and a considerable force raised to oppose him.

LLEWELYN SEEKS ASSISTANCE AT ABEREDWY.

"Since the death of the last William de Breos, his widow and son in law possessed little more than a nominal dominion over this country: the descendants of the Norman knights preserved an attachment to the family of their seignior or lord paramount, but we have just seen the Welsh inhabitants of the town of Brecknock itself, the seat of his government, lately submit voluntarily to their favourite hero, and native chief; while Humphrey de Bohun, the father of the present Humphrey, involved as he was during the whole course of his life in continual troubles and perpetual skirmishes and warfare, had neither power or leisure to enforce the obedience of his tenants in the principality. But the case was now widely different; aided by the name and authority of the king of England, the arms or the arguments of Humphrey, the son prevailed with his dependents, and made even an appearance or attempt at resistance folly. This complete change in the government and politics of the country, affected with much secrecy, as well as expedition, was perhaps not perfectly known to Llewelyn. Led by the promises and flattered with the hopes of assistance held out to him by some men of power in the hundred of Builth and the neighbourhood,

he ventured to march with his little army to Aberedwy in Radnorshire, three miles below Builth, on the banks of the river Wye, where it is said he expected to have held a conference with some of his friends; here, however, he found himself fatally disappointed, for instead of allies and partizans, whom he was encouraged to look for, he perceived he was almost surrounded in the toils and trammels of his adversary. A superior force from Herefordshire having had notice of his route, from some of the inhabitants of this country, approached under the command of Edmund Mortimer and John Giffard. Llewelyn finding from their numbers that resistance would be vain, fled with his men to Builth, and in order to deceive the enemy, as there was then snow upon the ground, he is said to have caused his horse's shoes to be reversed, but even this stratagem was discovered to them by a smith at Aberedwy whose name as tradition says, was Madoc goch min mawr, or red haired wide mouthed Madoc. He arrived at the bridge over the Wye, time enough to pass and break it down, before his pursuers could come up with him; here therefore they were completely thrown out, as there was no other bridge over the Wye at that time, nearer than Bredwardine, thirty miles below.

HIS BETRAYAL AND ESCAPE.

"Thus foiled and disappointed of their prize for the present, the English immediately returned downward to a ford known to some of the party, about eight miles below, near a ferry called Caban Twm Bach, or Little Tom's ferry boat. In the interim, it should seem Llewelyn must have gained sufficient time to have distanced his followers, if he had made the best use of it, but he had not yet abandoned the expectation of meeting with assistance, and some hours may have been employed with the garrison of the castle of Builth, who awed by the approach of Mortimer, refused to treat with or support him. Stowe says 'he was taken to Buelth castle, where using reproachful words against the Englishmen, Sir Roger le Strange ran upon him and cut off his head, leaving his dead body on the ground.' It is by no means improbable that he should have accused the garrison of Builth and the inhabitants of that country of perfidy, and, as Stowe says, used reproachful words towards the English. He may also have bestowed upon the men of Aberedwy[1] as well as of Builth, that epithet which has stuck by them ever since, but he certainly was not slain at Builth castle, or by Sir Roger le Strange, for being he e repulsed by those from whom he expected support, and baffled in his attempts to reduce them to obedience, he proceeded westward up the vale of Irvon on the southern side, for about three miles, where he crossed the river a little above Llanynis church over a bridge called Ponty y coed, or the bridge of the wood, either with an intention of returning into North Wales through Llanganten, Llanavan fawr, Llanwrthwl, and from thence into Montgomeryshire, or perhaps of joining his friends in Caermarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, to oppose whom Oliver de Dyncham had been sent by the directions of the King of England, as appears by his letter from Rhuddlan. This passage once secured, he stationed the few troops who accompanied him, on the northern side of the river, where, from the ground being more precipitous and much higher than the opposite bank, and at the same time covered with wood, a handful of men were able to defend the bridge against a more numerous enemy: in this situation he preserved a communication with the whole of Brecknockshire, and as he supposed the river was at this season[2] of the year impassable, he waited with confidence and security, while he commanded the pass, in hopes to hear further from his correspondents, or in expectation of being reinforced from the westward.

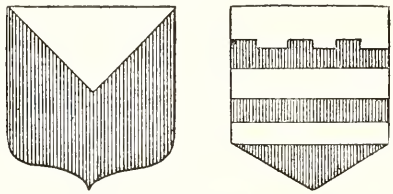
LLEWELYN SLAIN BY SIR ELIAS WALWYN.

"By this means the English forces gained sufficient time to come up with him, and appearing on the southern side of the Irvon, made a fruitless attempt to gain the bridge; here they probably would have been compelled to have abandoned the pursuit, or at least Llewelyn might have escaped in safety to the mountains of Snowdon, if a knight of the name of Sir Elias Walwyn (a descendant of Sir Phillip Walwyn of Hay), had not discovered a ford at some like distance, where a detachment of the English crossed the river and coming unexpectedly upon the backs of the Welsh at the bridge, they were immediately routed, and either in the pursuit or while he was watching the motions of the main body of the enemy, who were still on the other side of the river, he was attacked in a small dell about two hundred yards below the scene of action, from him called Cwm Llewelyn, or Llewelyn's dingle, and slain unarmed (as some say) by one Adam de Francton, who plunged a spear into his body, and immediately joined his countrymen in pursuit of the flying enemy. Of this Adam

[1] Bradwyr Aberedwy, Bradwyr Buallt. (Traitors of Aberedwy, traitors of Builth.)

[2] It is clear from the snow, as well as from Edward's letter, dated 12th November, 1282, that the circumstance related passed in the depth of winter. Polydore Virgil says, this battle was fought on the 10th of December, and Carte, in his *History of England*, quoting the chronicle of Dunstable, asserts that the Welsh lost two thousand men in this engagement. Sed. 9.

de Francton, or perhaps Adam de Frampton, we have no account in history, nor is it known what rank he held in the English army, but it appears by Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. 1. pages 88 and 89, that forty-three years after this transaction a person of that name was buried at Wyburton church, between Boston and *Frampton* in Lincolnshire: his tomb has the figure of a man and woman cut in strokes upon it, and underneath, the following arms and inscriptions in characters of the time.



CHI GIST SIBILLA LA FEMME ADAM DE FRANTON KI TRESPASSA L' AN DE GRACE MCCC

CHI GIST ADAM DE FRANTON KI TRESPASSA EN L' AN DE GRACE MCCCXXV LE XXVIII YME JOUR DE DECEMBRE PRIETZ POUR S' ALME[1]

BURIAL PLACE OF THE WELSH PRINCE.

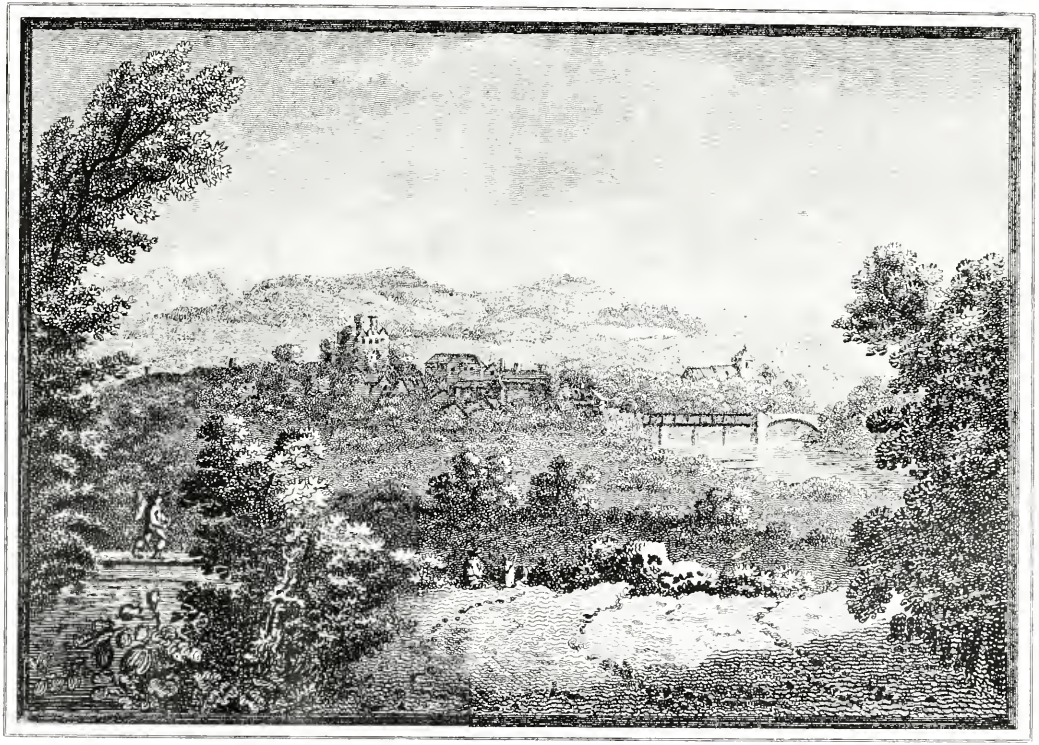
"In all probability this man of Wyburton was the slayer of Llewelyn, especially as the first shield is not unlike that of the Mortimers, under whom he served. Be this as it may, when Francton returned after the engagement in hopes of plunder, he perceived that the person whom he had wounded (for he was still alive), was the prince of Wales, and on stripping him, a letter in cypher and his privy seal was found concealed about him. The Englishman, delighted with the discovery, immediately cut off his head, and sent it (as the most acceptable present that could be conveyed) to the king of England. The body of the unfortunate prince was dragged by the soldiers to a little distance where the two roads from Builth now divide, one leading to Llanafan and the other to Llangammarch: here they buried him, and this spot has been ever since known by the name of Cefn y bedd[2] or Cefn bedd Llewelyn, the ridge of Llewelyn's grave. A copy of the letter found upon him was soon afterwards sent by Edmund Mortimer to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was then at Pembridge in Herefordshire, to be forwarded to the king; the primate in the course of conveying this transcript to his majesty, adds such further intelligence as had reached him, from which it appears, that dame Matilda Longspee had interfered upon hearing of Llewelyn's death intreating he might be absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and his body buried in a consecrated place. This request Mortimer, with the gallantry of a soldier and the affection of a relation (though that kinsman was an enemy), warmly seconded, by stating an assurance he received from those who were present when Llewelyn expired, that before his death he called for a priest, and that a white monk, who happened to be near, chaunted mass to him previous to his dissolution.

MAUD COUNTESS SALISBURY PLEADS FOR RITES OF SEPULTURE.

"Maud or Matilda Longspee, Countess of Salisbury, who thus kindly endeavoured to procure for the corpse of Llewelyn the rites of sepulture, and who married for her first husband William Longspee, the second earl of that name, was the only daughter and heiress of Walter de Clifford, governor of the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan, by his second wife Margaret daughter of Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, aunt to the deceased prince. Maud lived sometimes at Clifford castle in Herefordshire, and at other times at Bronllys in Brecknockshire; she married secondly Sir John Giffard of Brimsfield in Gloucestershire, who in her right became seized of these possessions, and who was so situated that notwithstanding this family connexion of his wife's, he was compelled by his allegiance to his sovereign to become one of the leaders of the English troops by whom Llewelyn was defeated and slain.

[1] The inscription is given in Gough in the old letters, which are all capitals and perfectly legible, but it is very extraordinary that the copyer's explanation is not only incorrect in the spelling, but it has omitted some of the words in the original.

[2] Cefn is the ridge or summit of a gently rising, and not very high hill. Owen, in his dictionary, writes that word singularly, "Cevyn," though all the derivations or compound words formed from it, as Cefnâdwn, Cefnbant, he spells in the common way, substituting (as his plan is) the *v* for the *f*.



HAY IN 1805

(From a Drawing by Sir R. Colt Hoare)

"No attention was paid to the request of Maud or the recommendation of Mortimer, and the remains of Llewelyn instead of being *bones of contention* among the loyal inhabitants of York and Winchester, as his brother David's[1] afterwards became, were permitted to rot at Cefn-y-bedd in unhallowed ground.

"Those who have attentively read the history of Llewelyn, of whatever country they may be, will lament the fate, and sigh while they contemplate the fall of the last and greatest of the Welsh princes. His grandfather, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, had courage and considerable talents, but he was savage in manners, variable in politics, fickle in his attachment and brutal in his revenge. During the greatest part of his life he had a mere driveller to oppose, but the last Llewelyn had to contend with an Alexander, supported by superior numbers and revenues; in short he had all the virtues of his ancestor with scarcely any of his vices, he had infinitely more difficulties to encounter, and when he was favoured with the smiles of fortune he owed them entirely to his own merit and exertions.[2]

ERECTION OF MORLAIS CASTLE.

"To return to Bohun. In the 14th year of Edward the First, he was with the king's army in Wales, and received scutage of all his tenants: his late guardian the Earl of Gloucester was now possessed of the neighbouring lordship of Glamorgan, but certain untoward circumstances had destroyed all intercourse between them. Carte thus relates the story: Gilbert earl of Gloucester had lately erected a castle[3] on the frontiers of Glamorgan, but situated in the county of Brecknock, upon lands belonging to Bohun, who complained of the injury in the king's court; Edward had reserved the cognizance of the cause to himself, and in the meantime forbad both to prosecute the quarrel by hostilities, or to disturb the peace of the country. This prohibition however did not prevent Gilbert's bailiffs and vassals from invading by his direction, and with his banner displayed, the territories of Humphrey, burning houses, killing several persons, carrying off cattle, and committing several other depredations. These enormities were perpetrated in the months of February, June, and December in the last mentioned year. The Glamorganshire men animated by impunity made afterwards frequent incursions into Breconshire, plundering wherever they marched, and to add sacrilege to their other crimes not sparing even the churches. Humphrey's vassals had hitherto been passive, but his bailiffs raiding them on one of these last occasions, followed the robbers into Gilbert's territories, slew some of them and rescued their own cattle. They carried off likewise some of the people of the latter, and were received by their own lord with their booty, who ordered it to be detained until satisfaction had been made for the injuries his tenants had sustained. The king resolving to put an end to such hostilities between his subjects, to maintain peace and order in every part of his kingdom, and to punish those who had insulted his authority and disobeyed his injunctions, issued a special commission for inquiring into the facts; which were found by a jury indifferent to both parties, being inhabitants of the neighbouring counties, to have passed as here related.

DISPUTE BETWEEN EARL OF GLOUCESTER AND HUMPHREY DE BOHUN.

"The inquest being returned to the king on the 10th of September, being the day after his mother's funeral, sitting in his Council at Ambresbury, he called upon the two earls to answer for their contempt of his inhibition. Gloucester endeavoured to excuse himself by the custom of the marches and other trifling and insufficient pretences. Humphrey, though perhaps not strictly justifiable, was certainly less to blame than his opponent. The king however hearing that he too had ventured to disturb the peace of the country against his express command, soon afterwards ordered another inquest, returnable before himself and council in three weeks after Michaelmas, to inquire into disorders committed since the former verdict, by which Gloucester alone had been found guilty, but now it appeared that Hereford had consented to his vassals' depredations, by encouraging them to retaliate upon the men of Glamorganshire, and receiving and detaining the cattle they had taken from

[1] Warrington informs us, upon the authority of the annals of Waverley, that when David ap Griffith's quarters were condemned by the sentence of the courtiers of Edward the First at Shrewsbury, to be placed in different parts of the kingdom, the cities of York and Winchester contended with a savage eagerness for the *right shoulder* of this unfortunate prince, and that that honour was decided in favour of Winchester! Can this possibly be true?

[2] The death of this prince is described in so confused and unintelligible a manner by different authors, that those who know the country are more at a loss to comprehend the circumstances attending it than even strangers. From an attentive perusal of *all* the accounts related by all the historians who have written upon these transactions (as far at least as we have been able to collect them) as well as from tradition and a survey of the supposed scene of action, we have endeavoured to give as accurate a relation as it was in our power, and we have reconciled the differences between them, without imputing any flagrant error or mistake to any of them where it could be avoided. Warrington has given a faulty translation of a very extravagant ode on the death of this prince, which those who think in Welsh, as they do in English who prefer Chaucer to Pope or Dryden, will perhaps admire.

[3] Marlais castle near Merthyr Tydvil (as we apprehend); this is now in Glamorganshire, but within a stone's throw of Breconshire.

thence. He was likewise taken into custody, and the liberties of both seized into the king's hands, this being the ordinary and legal punishment in such cases, for when it was not easy to discover or come at the vassal, the lord of the liberty was responsible for his offence; yet they were both dismissed upon giving bail for their appearance upon the seventeenth of January then next, at Westminster, and till then their liberties were replevied, when the king's court, consisting of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons and others of his council had considered the case, they abated something of the rigour of the law (by which their regalities and franchises would have been forfeited for ever), to the earl of Gloucester for the sake of his wife and her issue, who were innocent of the offence, and to the earl of Hereford, because he was less guilty than the other, having received considerable provocation from him. They adjudged (the king pronouncing sentence) that the liberties of Glamorgan and Brecknock should be forfeited for their respective lives, and both their persons taken into custody, to remain in prison till ransomed at the king's' pleasure: Brecknock was committed in trust to Roger de Burghull or Burchill, probably a descendant of Bernard Newmarch's Sir Humphrey Burchill, though his name is not found in the family pedigree. In this situation they were not continued long before they were permitted to compound with the crown, Hereford for one thousand, Gloucester for ten thousand marks, when upon giving security for the payment of the money, they were restored to liberty and the possession of their estates.

HUMPHREY DE BOHUN'S CHARACTER.

"This Humphrey, in his political character, was a zealous partizan in the cause of liberty, steady in his opposition to the encroachments of royal prerogative, and strenuous in asserting the constitutional rights and privileges of the subject; several instances of his undaunted spirit are recorded in the history of the times. When ordered by the king to accompany the Earl Marshal to the continent, they both resisted, insisting upon their privileges, and saying that if his majesty went thither in person, they were ready to attend him, but otherwise by the nature of their services they were exempt from obedience to such a command. The language of the Earl Marshal is said to have been indecently warm on the occasion. Upon the king's threatening them for their contempt of his authority, they withdrew from court and took up arms, and such was now the situation of the Kingdom, that his majesty thought it more prudent to submit to the affront than to persevere in insisting on their obedience. Here we see the same nobleman, who a little while back was compelled to throw himself entirely at the mercy of his sovereign, set the same monarch at defiance, and resist his orders with impunity; but the power of the crown varied in these days with the circumstances of the times, and even the great statesman and legislator Edward was occasionally compelled to bow to them, and relax from his severity. At another period we find de Bohun leagued with other malcontents prohibiting the lord treasurer and barons of the exchequer from levying that tax of the eighth penny upon the people, which the parliament of Edmundsbury had granted to the crown, and openly inviting the Londoners to join him in the recovery of their liberties; for this he was suspended from his office of high constable.

"During the king's absence in Flanders, Prince Edward, then left regent of public affairs, summoned him and the Earl Marshal to attend their duty in Parliament: they came, it is true, but they were attended by five hundred horse and a large body of infantry, and they even refused to enter the city unless their own men were allowed to keep the gates. Neither would they agree to anything there proposed, unless the king would confirm the great charter and the charter of the forest with some additional articles, that no subsidies should from thenceforward be exacted from the clergy or laity, but by consent of the lords, and finally that themselves and all others concerned with them, who had refused to go into Flanders should be freely pardoned. Humiliating to royal dignity, as all these concessions were, Edward was once more necessitated to comply with, and perform them.

HIS GRANTS TO BURGESSES OF BRECKNOCK.

"This Humphrey de Bohun appears upon the list of benefactors to the monks of Brecknock, to whom he confirms all the grants of his predecessors. By charter, dated at Chatley, 4 Edward I., he renewed and considerably augmented the privileges of the burgesses of Brecknock, expressly endowing them with liberties and immunities, in the same large and ample manner as he had before granted to the city of Hereford. He died at Plessy in 1298, and was buried at Saint Mary's chapel at Walden in Essex: upon this event one of our historians observes, that 'England in him lost one of the best friends, as Edward did one of the severest checks either had ever known.' The lordships of Blâenllyfni and Dinas were now possessed by John, the son of Reginald Fitzpeter, who was summoned to parliament from the twenty-second to the end of this reign, and in the first of King

Edward the Second, by the title of Lord Fitzreginald of Blânllyfni, and Roger Mortimer was styled Baron of Penkelly: they both appear upon the list of those patriots mentioned by Doctor Howel, who withstood the Papal usurpation when he claimed Scotland from King Edward the First.

"Their spirited memorial is recorded in the parliamentary register. John Fitzreginald was a benefactor to the monks of Brecknock and Llanthony. In the ninth of Edward the First, John Giffard obtained a charter for free warren within his lordship of Bronllys, which, as has been before observed, he held *jure uxoris*; in 1287 we find him constable of the castle of Builth, which he held under the crown of England, and during this reign he was created Lord Giffard of Brimsfield in the county of Gloucester. He died in the year 1295 possessed of the castle and manor of Bronllys and the manor of Glazbury: the last heir male of this house died in 1322, and the barony has been since claimed by the Talbot and Howard families.

HUMPHREY'S SON MARRIES A DAUGHTER OF THE KING.

"Wonderful are the turns and changes which the pages of history unfold! Strange are the revolutions which courtly interest has power to effect! We have just seen the independent Humphrey boldly withstanding the despotic views of Edward, and with a patriot spirit defending the liberties of the subject, and now we are to behold the eldest son of that very lord by way of atonement for his father's conduct, surrendering the inheritance of all his lands with the earldoms of Hereford and Essex, together with the constableship of England, into the hands of the crown, and shortly after marrying the daughter of that prince whose power the elder Humphrey had so frequently resisted with success: this last circumstance, whatever disgrace it may throw upon his principles, may perhaps account for the different conduct of the father and son. The wife of the latter was Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Edward the First, by Eleanor his first wife: at the early age of fourteen she was married to John, earl of Holland and Zealand, and lord of Friezeland, with the noble dower of eight thousand pounds per annum. This lord dying without issue, she took for her second husband the Earl of Hereford: upon this event the king restored to him all his titles and estates, reserving however to the crown in case he should leave no male issue, the reversion of the greatest part of the English property, together with the constableship, and providing that the estates in Bucks, Wilts, Gloucestershire, Huntingdon in Herefordshire, as well as those in Wales, namely Brecknock, Hay, and Caldecot, and Newton in the marches, should descend to the heirs at law of Bohun.

HUMPHREY IN REVOLT AGAINST GAVESTON.

"By charter, dated at Brecknock, on Good Friday the first of Edward the Second, this lord renewed and confirmed the privileges of that borough, to which he was very liberal, and where his memory was for ages so long respected, that Hugh Thomas dignifies him with the epithet of *noble*. Whatever his conduct might have been to his dependents and tenants, it is clear that his submission to Edward the First was either per force or dictated by policy; it is indeed more than probable that it may be attributed to both. In the first place, his father's death had weakened the powers of his faction or party, and the Earl Marshal conscious of his loss, and knowing the resolute, though generous disposition of the king, had thought proper to temporize and resign not only his office, but nearly the whole of his estate to the crown. Edward satisfied with having humbled his haughty spirit, graciously regranted him the greater part with the honours for his life, which he quietly enjoyed for the short remainder of it. Actuated by the same principle and knowing that all opposition would be vain, the lord of Brecknock thought it most prudent to follow the example set before him: his submission was certainly much facilitated, and his reconciliation with the sovereign rendered more palatable, by the flattering prospect held out to him in the projected union with his daughter. The event has been related and his allegiance was secured for the present reign, but no sooner had the death of the first Edward placed a new monarch on the throne (although that monarch was his brother-in-law), than the opposing and restless spirit of the Bohuns again became conspicuous. The unhappy partiality which the weak and youthful Edward manifested towards the stranger Gaveston, soon roused the jealousy of all the old nobility of England, and to such a height did they carry their resentment, that many of them refused to grace his majesty's coronation with their presence, until he had consented to the banishment of that obnoxious favourite. To appease the barons, the king seemingly acquiesced and made a promise which he was determined to evade in the moment he was giving it. Of this the lords were soon made sensible, but it only served to render them more violent: they even came armed to parliament. Having bound themselves by an oath not to desist from their prosecution of Gaveston till they had deprived him of the Earldom of Cornwall, to which he had lately been advanced, and compelled him to quit the realm, they in a still louder and more authoritative tone, demanded his banishment. (A.D. 1308).

"The principals among those malcontents were the Earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Pembroke and Hereford. In the meantime the whole nation was in a distracted state, and a civil war was seriously apprehended. It is irrelevant and indeed unnecessary here to pursue the subject through all the particulars of the barons' violence, the monarch's weakness, and the insolence of Gaveston. Those who have read the history of England are well acquainted with the event; the latter fell a sacrifice to the unceasing vengeance of his enemies, and the former were sufficiently powerful to extort a pardon from their misguided and infatuated sovereign.

BRECKNOCK SUPPLIES MEN FOR THE WAR AGAINST SCOTLAND.

"While England was thus weakened by intestine faction, and the wretched indecision of a feeble head, the Scotch were daily gaining strength under the judicious auspices of a brave and able leader. The gallant Robert Bruce had already possessed himself of the greater part of Scotland, and even laid the English Marches under contribution, when the lethargy of Edward was at length awakened to a sense of danger, and he seemed to feel the necessity of arming to prevent his further progress. The military tenants of the crown were now called upon for their respective levies, and the king marched against the enemy at the head of one hundred thousand men; upon this occasion the lordship of Brecknock was charged with a levy of eight hundred men! Elvel and Builth raised two hundred, and the whole of Wales and the Marches six thousand one hundred, being nearly twelve hundred more than were furnished by twelve English counties, in which number is included the extensive county of York.[1] In the great battle of Bannock-Bourn, the Earl of Hereford was taken prisoner, and Henry de Bohun (undoubtedly a relation, perhaps his uncle), was slain in single combat by Bruce. It is said that Edward was not very anxious to obtain the release of his brother in law, but the Earl of Lancaster and his faction made such a point of it that they absolutely withheld the necessary supplies from government till they had effected it; the wife of Bruce therefore, and other Scotch prisoners of rank, were exchanged for de Bohun and his adherents.

"'In the same year (says Dugdale from an old MS. in the possession of the Earl of Elgin) Humphrey de Bohun had a grant from the king of the castle of *Buelte*[2] in Ireland, in which year he entertained Sir Peter de Ouvedale (now written Uvedale), knight, by indenture to serve him during life, and to receive livery of robes, as his other bachelors, as also *bouche*[3] *of court*, with hay and oats for four horses, and wages for four groomes in times of peace, whensoever he should come to court by his command; but in times of warre and for *Tourney*,[4] hay and oats for eight horses, and wages for eight groomes with satisfaction for such horses and arms as he should lose in the war.' This custom of coming to court armed and followed by a numerous retinue in the same livery, or wearing clothes of the same colour, became so dangerous to the state, that in a subsequent reign it was found necessary to enact laws to prevent it.

REBELLION IN GLAMORGANSHIRE.

"In the year 1315 the Earl of Hereford, and all the lords of the Marches, raised their followers, and William de Montacute was sent by the king with a body of forces to suppress a formidable rebellion excited in Glamorganshire by one Llewelyn Bren (so Walsingham calls him) who had surprised the governor and taken the castle of Caerphili. This person (whom we do not find noticed by any Welsh writer) is said by Carte to have held a lucrative employment under the late Earl of Gloucester, but having been deprived of it by Payne de Turbeville, who acted under the crown upon the earl's death, he was incensed thereby to the commission of this violence. Without entirely rejecting the account given by this respectable historian, whose accuracy when he treats of the affairs of Wales exceeds that of any other English author who has preceded him, other causes may be assigned for this insurrection. Llewelyn Bren, as has been just observed, is not known in the Welsh annals, but pedigrees still preserved in the principality inform us that he was grandson to Ivor lord of Sanghenydd, of which district Caerphili was the manorial castle. Ifor being dispossessed of this fortress and the greatest part of his property, which descended to him from a long line of ancestry, by the Normans under Fitzhammon, left behind him no doubt some memorials of his right, and documents for its recovery at a fit opportunity.

"From the conqueror of Glamorganshire the castle of Caerphili and manor of Sanghenydd came to Gilbert earl of Clare by marriage. On failure of the male issue of this nobleman, it descended to

[1] We suspect some mistake here; it is highly improbable that Brecknock, even if Huntingdon and the Marches were added to it, could raise so large a force as eight hundred men in those days.

[2] It is difficult to say what Dugdale means by the castle of *Beulte in Ireland*. Builth in Brecknshire was then in possession of the Mortimer family

[3] Bouche of court, or as it commonly occurs Bowge of court was an allowance of diet or belly-provision from the king or superior lords to their knights, esquires, or other retinue, from the French Bouche, a mouth.

[4] Tourney, tourneyment or Tournament; i. e. provision for his horses when engaged in wars or tournaments.

his daughter Eleanor, who married the younger Spencer, and after his death, William Zouch of Mortimer, who in her right laid claim to it during the minority of her son by the first husband, and afterwards laid seige to it in 1329. During these contentions it should seem that Llewelyn Bren thought he might assert his claim with success, and in support of it he brought, it is said, ten thousand men into the field, with whose assistance he assailed the castle and gained possession of it. To oppose him, the English monarch sent John Giffard, lord of Brouffys, who had been appointed custos of the lands of Gilbert, late Earl of Clare in Glamorganshire, or (as they are disfigured in the *Fœdera*) in Glamorgan and Morgannon. He was directed to proceed under the command of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the general of the forces on this expedition. Of the battles which were fought and the events that ensued in this campaign, little is known, but it is clear that this rebellion was soon suppressed, and that the Welsh chieftain and his two sons Griffith and Jeuan were taken prisoners and committed to the Tower of London, where they remained in June 1317, when the king commanded his treasurers and chamberlain, to pay John de Crumbwell, constable of that fortress, three pence a day for the support of each of them in future, as well as the arrears then due to him.

"The result of this short lived, though perhaps formidable rising, was unusually favourable to the Welsh inhabitants, who obtained a considerable alleviation of some of the old feodal services, by which they were bound to their lords, as well as an addition of several privileges before enjoyed by them, and which were granted in hopes to secure their future peaceable demeanour. Amongst others, the fines usually paid the lord by his tenants for the marriage of their daughters, called Amobr, or Gwobr Merch, were moderated, freeholders were allowed to put a son into holy orders, if they had more than one, without the king's licence, and to dispose of their lands for three years to any of their countrymen of their own condition, except to monks and religious bodies. These, together with the previous indulgences by the Earl of Gloucester, which were very great, rendered the inhabitants of Glamorganshire easy and contented.

THE KING AND THE D'ESPENCERS.

"Scarcely were the troubles in Scotland terminated, when the king's partiality for the two D'Espencers again discovered itself and set the nation in a flame: the elder of these noblemen he created Earl of Winchester, and the younger by his marriage with Eleanor eldest sister and co-heir of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, enjoyed that title. Hugh D'Espencer the younger had been placed by the Lancastrian faction in the office of chamberlain of the household to the king, a situation which gave him frequent opportunities of ingratiating himself and excluding all others from the notice of his master; he employed these advantages with such success that he soon supplied the place of Gaveston in the monarch's friendship and favour. Gaveston and D'Espencer were both young and handsome in their persons, equally proud, haughty, ambitious, rapacious and debauched, but in point of avarice Hugh was, if possible, more insatiable than his predecessor: by his marriage he had obtained the greatest part of the territory of Glamorgan, and was very desirous of adding to it the neighbouring royalty of Gower. William de Breos, the then lord of Gower, was a dissolute and expensive man, of ruined fortune, and who, as has been seen, had carried on a kind of swindling transaction in the sale of these estates. In the first place, he had agreed to sell them to the Earl of Hereford, then to the two Mortimers who were ignorant of any former agreement, and lastly to Hugh D'Espencer, who had this advantage over his competitors, that he purchased with the king's licence, and was supported by the royal authority. But there was yet another claimant, John de Mowbray, who had married de Breos's daughter, and insisted upon her right to the inheritance; thus far Walsingham,[1] but Mr. Carte, inclining to the monk of Malmsbury, whose relation he says accords more nearly with the original deeds noticed by Sir William Dugdale, assumes it differently; according to him, William de Breos had two daughters, the eldest Aliva wife to John de Mowbray[2] the younger, Jane married to James de Bohun of Midherst, for whom the estate of Brambre lay very convenient, as that of Gower did for Mowbray.

"William therefore by a special deed granted the honour and land of Gower to John de Mowbray and Aliva, to the heirs of their bodies lawfully to be begotten, with remainder to Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and his heirs. In virtue of this grant, Mowbray entered upon the land

[1] Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.* p. 113, in Camden's Script. Ang. Norman.

[2] The title of baron de Breos of Gower, was in 1805 possessed by the Earl of Berkley, whose ancestor, Sir Maurice Berkley, in the beginning of the fourteenth century married Elizabeth daughter of Hugh D'Espencer, and soon afterwards James Berkley grandson of the above Sir Maurice married Isabel daughter of Thomas Mowbray, cousin and heir of John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, and widow of Henry Ferrers.

without any licence from the king, of whom it was held *in capite*, and this served young D'Espencer (who wanted to get into his hands a tract of country adjoining to his own) as a pretence to sue him in order to procure a sentence adjudging it to be forfeited. John and the Earl of Hereford, both interested in the settlement, alleged that the entry was made according to the customs of the Marches, and insisted upon their rights. As these were questions implicating every tenure there, the Lords Marchers were unanimous in resisting an inquiry: they loudly exclaimed against the rapacity of D'Espencer, which seemed to threaten all their possessions, and conscious that they had no other remedy than force, they in open arms demanded of the king that he should be either banished the realm or imprisoned and brought to trial. In this confederacy the names of de Bohun, Mortimer, Audley, Damory, Mowbray, Berkley, Tyes or Teys, Giffard and Talbot were the most distinguished. Finding that their menaces were disregarded, they proceeded to violence, and committed terrible devastation upon D'Espencer's property in Glamorganshire, killing and imprisoning his servants, burning, defacing and destroying his castles, and carrying off the effects found therein to a very great value, and they afterwards made such havoc in his manors in the western counties that twenty thousand pounds would have been insufficient to repair the damages. The insurgents then entered into a strict league with the Earl of Lancaster, and thus became sufficiently powerful to enforce a sentence of banishment against the obnoxious favourites. Both the D'Espencers were then abroad, and upon this account found it necessary to prolong their absence, yet afterwards they recovered sufficient strength to appeal against the sentence as informal and illegal, inasmuch as it had been passed against the king's will, and without the free assent of parliament, both being at the time in a kind of duress, and overawed by a force which they durst not contradict; these and other pleas were so successfully maintained and argued in their favour, that a reversal was speedily obtained, and the father and son recovered their liberty and property.

DEATH OF THE EARL OF HEREFORD.

"The faction still continuing in rebellion, the king, by the advice of his council, resolved to make head against them, and by force of arms to reduce them to obedience; so vigorously were his measures at this time carried into effect that several of the most powerful barons submitted to his mercy; but the Earl of Hereford with some others, and about three thousand of his followers, marched northwards, to join the Earl of Lancaster. Of those who submitted, the two Mortimers were sent to the Tower, Maurice Berkley and Hugh Audley (the father) to the castle of Wallingford, and the rest were imprisoned in different places, until it could be determined in what manner they were to be treated. The others, upon the determination of the truce with Scotland, joined the standard of Robert Bruce, but the cowardice of Lancaster, who fled at the first approach of the king's forces, entirely ruined their cause and they were defeated; the Earl of Hereford, endeavouring to pass the bridge at Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, was run through the body with a lance, by a Welshman, as is said, who lurked beneath it. He was buried at the Friars' Preachers at York, and his death happened, according to Dugdale, upon the 6th of March, 1321; the Earl of Lancaster was taken prisoner in the same battle and publicly executed as a rebel and traitor. Thus ended the great rebellion, which for a number of years had miserably embroiled the nation, and depopulated the country.

"The younger D'Espencer was now constituted governor of Brecknock castle; and afterwards obtained a grant of the lordship, together with Penkelly, Cantreff-Selyff, Blaullyfni, and Dinas, late the property of the Earl of Hereford and Roger Mortimer.[1] Giffard and Rhys ap Hywel, who had been attainted for the late rebellion. This last was the lineal descendant of Bleddyn ap Maenarch and grandson of that Trahaern fychan who was so inhumanly murdered by William de Breos of Brecknock. Rhys ap Hywel afterwards joined the party of the Queen, and was principally instrumental in seizing the person of his unhappy sovereign, when he was made a prisoner in Glamorganshire.

"Upon the death of the D'Espencers the several confiscations were reversed, and the property restored to the family of the former owners.

JOHN DE BOHUN MADE KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

"John de Bohun, eldest son of the deceased earl, succeeded to the family honours and estates. He married, first, Alice, daughter of Edmund Fitzalan earl of Arundel, who died in childbirth, and was buried in the same grave with her infant son, who expired soon after he was christened; his second wife was Margaret, daughter of Ralph lord Bassett of Drayton, by whom he had no issue.

[1] In the fourth of Edward the Second, Roger Mortimer of Chirk, second son of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, by Maud de Breos, was appointed governor of the castles of Blaullyfni and Dinas, and in the following year had the inheritance of those lordships confirmed to him by the king, to hold for the third part of a barony by the service of two knight's fees.

Owing to his ill state of health he interfered very little in public business, but appointed his younger brother (Sir Edward Bohun) his lieutenant to execute the office of high constable of England: in this character he attended the king to Nottingham, when the plan was laid for apprehending the atrocious Mortimer, and with his brothers Humphrey and William he was greatly aiding in the execution of the business; but though John was not fond of an active life, it seems he had no dislike to honours and could occasionally exert himself in the service of his sovereign, for Dugdale informs us, that upon the 20th of January, 20 Edward II. (A.D. 1326) he was made a knight of the Bath, and had by Prince Edward's special commands the robes of an earl, for that solemnity, allowed him out of the king's wardrobe, after which, being girt with the sword of knighthood, he went with Edward the Third, in the first year of his reign to Scotland, and in the ninth of the same king's reign he was also in another expedition to that country. He died in 1335, and was buried at the abbey of Stratford le Bow, being at the time of his death possessed of the following manors: a tenement called Blanch-Appleton, in the city of London; the manor of Wokesey, in Wiltshire; Whittenhurst, in Gloucestershire; the castles of Hay, Brecknock, Caldecott and Huntingdon, in Wales and the Marches; the manor of Agmondesham, in the county of Bucks; Northamstead, in Hampshire; Enfield, in Middlesex; Farnham, Dunmow, Fobbing, Querndon, Badewe and Deepden in Essex; *Kenebanton*, with the castle and honour in Huntingdonshire; Walden, great Waltham and Plessets (or Plessy) with the castle in Essex also, and the lordship of Donne also in Middlesex, which he held jointly with his second wife Margaret. Eleanor, a sister of this earl, was married to James le Botiller, Earl of Carrick, afterwards Earl of Ormond. Carte says, that in the third year of the reign of Edward the Third, the king gave licence to Edward (he should have said John) de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, to grant the manors of Kilpec and Trunell in the county of Hereford, and the bailiffship of the forest of Hay, to the said James Earl of Ormond and Eleanor his wife, and the heirs of their bodies. From the issue of this marriage descended the celebrated James Butler, duke of Ormond, who, upon the restoration of Charles the Second, was created Earl of Brecknock and Baron of Llanthony.

HUMPHREY DE BOHUN DISFRANCHISES BRECKNOCK.

"Humphrey de Bohun succeeded to the titles and property of his brother John, when he was twenty-four years of age. Dugdale styles him, 'Nobilis Armiger Seigneur de Brekennock.' In the eleventh of Edward the Third (A.D. 1337) he had one hundred and forty six pounds fourteen shillings and eight-pence assigned him for the wages of thirty men at arms, of his retinue in the garrison of Perth in Scotland, from the fourteenth of November, in the tenth year of that king's reign, to the twentieth of April then next following; and in the fourteenth of the same monarch, he was in the great naval engagement at Sluys, when the French were defeated: afterwards in his character of high constable of England, he attended the king in his expedition to France, accompanied by three hundred men from his lordship of Brecknock. In 1347 he was called upon to collect as many men as could be found fit for service within his territories, for the defence of the kingdom, and in the twenty-sixth of Edward the Third, that monarch apprehending an invasion by the French, commanded Humphrey de Bohun forthwith to repair to some of his lordships in Essex, there to give his assistance in case any such attempt should be made; and upon a commission of array in the same year, he was charged with sixty men for his honour of Brecknock, after which nothing more is heard of his military exploits.

"Upon some offence given him he wholly disfranchised the burgesses of Brecknock, revoking and rescinding all grants and charters whatsoever given them by his ancestors, and deaf to all entreaties, as well as the most humble submission, he kept them in a state of servile dependence during the remainder of his life. The cause of this arbitrary proceeding is not known, but probably the men of Brecknock proved refractory upon the subject of the levies. Hugh Thomas upon this, remarks with some spleen that 'he was never married, and always sick, which made him a cross peevish old bachelor.' The monks of Walden however speak more handsomely of him, 'Humfredus de Bohun &c. Londoniæ quiescit in ecclesia Fratrum Augustinensium, qui claustrum nostrum et illorum honorifice construxit; æterna gaudia reddet ei Altissimus, qui singulis secundum viris meritum confert diversa stipendia meritorum.'

BEQUEST TO THE FRIARS' PREACHERS AT BRECON.

"By his will, dated in October 1361, a short period before his death (in which he styles himself 'Counte de He'ford et D'Eez (Essex) et Seign'r de Breken),' he devised one hundred marks to the priory of Saint John's in Brecknock, to be divided among them for the benefit of the house, provided they would pardon and assoil him for what he owed them, and pray for him; to the *friars preachers* of Brecon he gave ten pounds to pray for him, and to the like religious order at Chelmsford ten pounds upon the same condition: he particularly enjoined that his jewels should be the last things

sold, and that after payment of his debts their value should be applied to charitable purposes, 'because (says he) we have great delight in looking at them.' He died at his castle of Plessy or Plesset in Essex, leaving his brother William's son his heir.

"In 1346 the castles of Blânllyfni and Dinas, late Roger Mortimer's, were by grant from the crown held by Gilbert lord Talbot of Goodrich castle (who in the fourth of this reign had been constituted justice of South Wales), for the term of his natural life, and afterwards in consideration of his eminent services to the State, the grant was extended to the inheritance of these demesnes. He died this year, and was succeeded by his son Richard, who was then charged with the finding one hundred men well armed from his lordships of Blânllytni, Criekhowel and Ystradyw.

"William de Bohun the twin brother of Edward, who was drowned after the death of his brother John, was created Earl of Northampton, by King Edward the Third; he married Elizabeth daughter of the Lord Bartholomew of Baddlesmere, and widow of Lord Edmond de Mortimer, in whose right he held the lordship of Melenydd in Radnorshire, and other possessions in the Marches. He died September 15, 1350, and was buried at Walden, leaving the earldom of Northampton to his son Humphrey, who upon the death of his uncle succeeded also to the earldoms of Hereford and Essex, and all the family honours and estates, but being a minor, he was committed to the guardianship of Richard Fitzalan Earl of Arundel (whose daughter Joan he afterwards married), 'whereupon (says Dugdale) he had licence from the king to travel, and the next year being of full age, he had livery of his lands: shortly after which, viz., in the fortieth of Edward the Third (A.D. 1366) he was the principal person employed in that embassie unto Galachius duke of Milan, to treat with him for a marriage betwixt Leonel duke of Clarence and Violanta daughter of that duke; and in the forty-third of Edward the Third (A.D. 1369), he was in that expedition then made into France, so also in the forty-sixth of Edward the Third.' (A.D. 1372).

"According to Hugh Thomas he lived in great splendour in the castle of Brecknock, which he considerably enlarged, and fitted up in the best style of the times. To conciliate the good will and friendship of his neighbours, he restored to the disfranchised burgesses, all those chartered liberties of which the severity of his uncle Humphrey had deprived them.

WILLIAM DE BOHUN'S CHARTER TO BRECKNOCK.

"By a charter, dated at Brecknock February 16th, the thirty-ninth of Edward the Third, upon a fine of sixty marks, he privileged them to hold a fair for sixteen days together, viz., eight days before, and eight days after the festival of St. Leonard (16 November) annually: this, together with the large demand for provisions of every kind, occasioned by the hospitality of the Earl, and the great resort of company to the castle, elevated Brecknock to a consequence it had never known before, and made it the great mart of South Wales. The character of this noble lord was as conspicuous on the theatre of public life, as it was amiable within the smaller circle of his dependents; he has been just now seen discharging a very important trust, in which the interest of the royal family was concerned, and repeatedly accompanying his sovereign to France. In the forty-fifth of Edward the Third (1371) he was again employed in a diplomatic mission to the Duke of Bretagne, for the purpose of concluding an alliance with that prince against France, and was present in the same year in the naval fight, in which the Flemish fleet under Peterson was defeated. For eleven years he lived a friend and blessing to all around him, and when he died, they lost a father, a good and worthy lord.

WILLIAM'S DEATH, AND BURIAL PLACE.

"He died in 1377, and was buried at Walden (although his effigies in stone is in the south aisle of the choir of Gloucester), leaving two daughters, Eleanor married to Thomas Plantagenet, sirnamed of Woodstock, sixth son of King Edward the Third, and Mary who married Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry the Fourth. The earldoms of Essex and Northampton were the inheritance of the eldest, and in her right enjoyed by her husband, who was appointed constable of England, during the royal pleasure; the Earl of Derby was created duke of Hereford. The lordship of Brecon seems to have remained in settlement during the widowhood of Joan the countess dowager of Hereford. Eleanor died the 3rd of October 1390, and was buried at St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster, where her monument still remains; Mary died in the year 1419, and was buried in the abbey of Walden in Essex.

"Thus ended the male line of the noble race of the Bohuns lords of Brecknock, the last of whom made ample amends for the tyranny or worthlessness of some of his predecessors, most of whom seemed to have considered their Welsh territories of no further use than as a source of revenue, or a nursery for soldiers.

BLANLLYFNI CASTLE IN 1805

From a Drawing by Sir R. C. Hoare

"In the parliament held at Westminster, the twenty-eight of Edward the Third, Roger the son of Edmond Mortimer obtained a reversal of the judgment given against his father as erroneous and void, upon which he was restored to the title of Earl of March, and had restitution of the lordships of Blaenllyfni and Dinas, with several others of the forfeited estates. He died February 26, 1360, the thirty fourth of Edward the Third, at Roncra in Burgundy, possessed of the manors and castles of Radnor, Gwrthrynion, Cwmydauddwr, Cefnllys, Melenydd, Pilleth and Knucklas in Radnorshire, the cantred of Builth and the manors and castles of Blaenllyfni and Dinas in Brecknockshire, and of a moiety of the lordship of Ewyas in Herefordshire. He was brought to England to be buried, and though his sepulture took place in Wigmore Abbey, yet there was a solemn obsequie kept for him in the royal chapel at Windsor, the king assigning a cloth of gold called *Braudekyn* (Royal Wills) out of his great wardrobe for the celebration thereof; he was succeeded in title and estate by Edmond his son and heir.

HENRY OF BOLINBROKE.

"Henry the Fourth, sirnamed of Bolingbroke (where he was born), by his marriage with Mary the youngest daughter of Humphrey de Bohun the last, enjoyed the earldom of Hereford, and was afterwards elevated to the dukedom. he had also the lordship of Brecknock in reversion, though Hugh Thomas gives it to his uncle, who married the eldest sister. To follow Henry through all his circumstances until he deposed his cousin Richard the Second, and assumed the crown, will be wholly unnecessary, and indeed irrelevant here; that he was an usurper is clear, for Richard's resignation was undoubtedly forced, and he had previously declared the Earl of March his heir. There is something very singular in the character of this unfortunate monarch, as described by historians, as well as Shakespeare; in the early part of his life, and while he sat upon the throne, he was thoughtless, extravagant, fickle, fond of dress, and entirely addicted to gaiety and dissipation.

Fair laughs the morn and soft the zephyr blows,
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm,
In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
Youth at the prow and pleasure at the helm,
Regardless of the furious whirlwind's sway,
Which hush'd in grim repose expects his evening's prey.[1]

"Yet though we see the captain of the ship, while the favouring gale continued, talking like a fool, acting like a madman, and playing 'such antic tricks before high heaven as made the angels weep,' yet the howling of the blast no sooner reaches his ears, than all his follies fly with it, no sooner does the iron arm of adversity fall upon the hitherto giddy and unthinking Richard, than he becomes the hero and the philosopher, the moralist and the christian. Though Shakespeare may not be correct as to the very words used by him, the poet is better supported by history, even in the most minute particulars of his conduct after he was deserted by his subjects, than is generally supposed. There is something so truly pathetic, so extremely beautiful in the reflections of the son of 'the sable warrior,' upon hearing of the fate of some of his favourites, that we cannot resist reminding the reader of them:—

Within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king;
Keeps Death his court,—and there the Antick sits
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp,
Allowing him a breath; a little scene
To monarchize, be fear'd and kill with looks;
Infusing him with self and vain conceit,
As if this flesh, which walls about our life,
Were brass impregnable; and humour'd thus,
Comes at the last, and with a little pin
Bores through his castle wall,—and—farewell king![2]

EINION SAIS'S CASTLE NEAR LLANSPYDDID.

"During the four first years of the reign of Henry the Fourth, the territory of Brecknock was greatly harrassed by the incursions of that bold and enterprizing chieftain Owen Glyndwr or Glyndwrdwy, who exclusive of the enmity which he inveterately bore to the house of Lancaster, had a personal quarrel with the well known David Gam, a native of that county, and a warm supporter of the Lancastrian interest. Irritable as these chiefs and indeed all Welshmen are supposed to be, they were fired by the madness of party rage and opposing factions, insomuch that their resentmnt against each other became as violent as it was implacable. A brief introduction to these celebrated partizans may not perhaps be unacceptable. Einion, the second son of Rhys ap Hywel,

[1] Gray's Bard.

[2] We cannot help lamenting that this drama is not more familiar to an English audience; while the curses of the belldames in Richard the Third are tolerated, some of Shakespeare's most beautiful passages in Richard the Second are almost overlooked.

whose attainder has been noticed, embraced a military life, and served our Third Edward in the memorable battles of Cressy and Poictiers; after a long residence in England he returned to his native country with considerable opulence, and married the rich heiress of Howel, lord of Miscin in Glamorganshire. He became possessed by purchase of nearly the whole of what is now called the hundred of Devynnock, from Llywel on the borders of Carmarthenshire to the river Tarell near Brecon. He built a castellated mansion for his residence in the parish of Llanspyddid, lately called the castle field, now (1805) the property of Penry Williams of Penpont, Esq. It is described to have been situated on the fall of a small brook into the Usk, near Bettws or Penpont chapel: there is still an unevenness in the surface of the ground, though there are not now the smallest vestiges of buildings remaining. Hugh Thomas, who wrote in 1698, recollects to have seen the ruins, and there were others living in 1805 who remember the rubbish being removed and the soil cleared of the stones and materials of the walls: it was called from the owner, Castell Einion Sais, or Einion the Englishman's castle, an appellation by which the Welsh sometimes distinguish not only the English settlers among them, but also their own countrymen, who have been brought up and educated in England.

DAVID GAM, SHAKESPEARE'S "FLUELLIN."

"David Llewelyn or Dafydd ap Llewelyn, generally called David Gam, or squinting David, was the fourth in descent from Einion Sais, and inherited the estate and demense of Castell Einion Sais; his father Llewelyn had also purchased the mansions and lands of Peyton (Wallice Peityn), now called Peityn gwin, Peityn du, and Peityn glâs, in the parishes of Garthbrengy and Llanddew, from William Peyton, the last Brecknockshire resident of that Norman family, for three hundred marks. In consequence of an affray in the High Street of Brecknock, in which David unfortunately killed his kinsman Ritsiart fawr o'r Slwch, he was compelled to fly into England, and to avoid a threatened prosecution for the murder, attached himself to the Lancastrian party, to whose interest he ever afterwards most faithfully adhered. There can be little doubt but that Shakespeare in his burlesque character of Fluellin intended David Gam, though for obvious reasons, as his descendants were then well known and respected in the English court, he chose to disguise his name. We have called Fluellin a burlesque character, because his pribbles and prabbles, which are generally out heroded, sound ludicrously to an English as well as a Welsh ear. Yet after all, Llewelyn is a brave soldier and an honest fellow; he is admitted into a considerable degree of intimacy with the king and stands high in his good opinion, which is strong presumptive proof, notwithstanding Shakespeare, the better to conceal his object, describes the death of Sir David Gam, that he intended David Llewelyn by this portrait of the testy Welshman, for there was no other person of that country in the English army, who could have been supposed to have been upon such terms of familiarity with the king. And it must be observed, that Llewelyn was the name by which he was known in that army, and not Gam or squinting, by which epithet, though it was afterwards assumed by his family, he would probably have knocked down any man who dared to address him. By his behaviour on this memorable day, he in some measure made amends for a life of violence and rapine, and raised his posterity into riches and respect; but alas! how weak, how idle is family pride, how unstable worldly wealth! At different periods between the years 1550 and 1700, we have seen the descendants of this hero of Agincourt (who lived like a wolf and died like a lion,) in possession of every acre of ground in the county of Brecon: at the commencement of the eighteenth century we find one of them, common bellman of the town of Brecknock, and before the conclusion, two others supported by the inhabitants of the parish where they resided, and even the name of Games in the legitimate line extinct.[1]

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e're gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

OWEN GLYNDWR.

"Owen ap Griffith fychan, commonly called Owen Glyndwr, was a gentleman of North Wales, liberally educated at the English Inns of Court and intended for the bar, but he afterwards quitted the study of the law and had an appointment in the household of Richard the Second. Walsingham says, he was scutifer or esquire of the body to that king; and Carte asserts, that he was actually attendant upon the royal person when he was seized and made prisoner at Flint Castle. Henry had no kindness for Owen, on account of the fidelity and friendship he bore to Richard, and Owen was as much dissatisfied with the usurper, for the traitorous, though successful designs he had formed

[1] Of this we have since had some reasons to entertain doubts, though the tradition of the family is against the legitimacy of that branch who now bear the name.

and executed, as well as the wrongs he had done to his late royal master. Owen's estate, which was considerable, lay contiguous to the demesne of Reginald lord Grey of Ruthin, who in the true spirit of a marcher, made several very unwarrantable encroachments upon Owen's property, who sought for redress in the king's courts of law, but without success. Henry, upon his expedition to Scotland, summoned all the military tenants of the crown to attend him; one of the writs for this purpose was delivered to Reginald, who maliciously detained it until the day before the general rendezvous at Newcastle, so that it was impossible Owen could obey it. This was evidently done with a design to subject him to the forfeiture of his lands, but without waiting for any legal process of confiscation, he himself most unjustly and by force of arms, seized upon part of the possessions of Owen, depending upon his interest at court to sanction these violent measures. Sensible that he had little to expect from the royal clemency, and despairing of justice in any other way, Owen had recourse to the sword, and returning force for force, obtained possession of his estate.

GLYNDWR ASSUMES THE TITLE OF PRINCE OF WALES.

"Upon the king's return from Scotland, the lord Grey complained to him of the injury he had received, and the sovereign without entering into the merits of the dispute (to avoid the tedious and puzzling mode adopted by lawyers, of hearing both sides of the question), instantly gave him a commission, in which Lord Talbot was included, to assemble troops and apprehend Owen as a traitor and a rebel; and so suddenly did they come upon him, that it was with difficulty he escaped into the mountains. Finding that his enemy was thus protected while he was proscribed, Owen now resolved upon an extremity which he at first little thought of; he threw off his allegiance to the English crown and boldly assumed the style and character of prince of Wales (A.D. 1400). To his countrymen he urged his maternal descent from Llewelyn ap Griffith, who was defeated and slain near Builth, though in fact he was descended only from a younger brother of the house of Powis; the very name however of a British prince was sufficient to rouse the spirit of the Welsh. Numbers crowded to his standard, and he became daily more formidable; thus supported, he showed no mercy to his enemies—burning and laying waste the property of all those who adhered to the cause of Henry.

ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE GLYNDWR.

"It is remarkable that Owen met with the greatest opposition from his own first cousin Hywel Sele of Nannau, who was a zealous favourer of the house of Lancaster. Of his vengeance for an iniquitous attempt of this relation, Mr. Pennant gives the following account, 'I have been informed that the abbot of Cwmmer near Dolgelli, in hopes of reconciling them, brought them together, and to all appearance effected his charitable design. While they were walking out, Owen observed a doe feeding, and told Hywel who was reckoned the best archer of his days, that there was a fine mark for him. Hywel bent his bow, and pretending to aim at the doe, suddenly turned and discharged the arrow full at the breast of Glyndwr, who fortunately had armour beneath his clothes, and so received no hurt. Enraged at this treachery, he seized on Sele, burnt his house and hurried him away from the place, nor could anyone learn how he was disposed of; till forty years after, the skeleton of a large man was discovered in the hollow of a great oak, in which Owen was supposed to have immured him in reward for his perfidy. The ruins of the old house are to be seen in Nannau park, a mere compost of cinders and ashes.'

TRAITOROUS CONDUCT OF DAVID GAM.

"The next exertion of Owen's assumed power, was the summoning a parliament at Machynlleth in Montgomeryshire, and here he was successful beyond his most sanguine expectations. Numbers of the Welsh nobility and gentry were obedient to his call, and pledged their lives and fortune to support his cause, and here among the rest came David Gam,[1] but he came not as the friend of his country, or even from motives of curiosity; he approached the court of one with whom it does not appear that at this time he had any personal quarrel, armed with the poigniard of an assassin. In a word it is strongly suspected he was employed by Henry to murder Owen: the plot however by timely discovery was rendered ineffectual, and the foul agent of it taken into custody, when he certainly would have suffered an ignominious death, but for the intercession of some of Owen's best friends in his behalf. He was still however detained in prison at Machynlleth, although he was sometime afterwards released (as the Welsh historians say) upon his parole of honour and

[1] Carte, and upon his authority Pennant, erroneously call David Gam the brother in law of Glyndwr, and state him to have married one of Owen's sisters. The fact is, that David married Gwenllian, the daughter of Gwylym ap Hywel grach, and Morfudd the sister of Glyndwr was married to David ap Ednyfed *Gam*, a nobleman of North Wales, of the house of Tudor Trevor; a similarity of names and an ignorance of the pedigree occasioned the mistake, Cam is crooked but when applied to the person means any defect in the eyes or limbs.

engaging not to serve against Glyndwr in his present contest with England: yet notwithstanding this undertaking, upon his return to Brecknock he broke his faith and recommenced a formidable opposition, persecuting with the greatest rancour all who were attached to Owen. It was probably at his instigation or that of his friends, that the country people destroyed the castle of Dinas, then belonging to Edmond Mortimer, who compelled by the impolitic conduct of Henry, who neglected to ransom him, had joined the faction of Glyndwr. Leland notes, that 'the people about Dinas did burn Dinas castel, that oene Glindour should not kepe it for his fouteres' (favourers).

ENGLISHMEN APPOINTED GOVERNORS OF WELSH CASTLES.

"The unexampled successes of Owen's forces and supporters, thus strengthened by the aid of the house of Mortimer, and afterwards of the gallant Hotspur, made Henry tremble on his throne. All the castles in Wales and the Marches were forthwith strongly fortified, and Englishmen of approved fidelity appointed governors. Brecknock was entrusted to Sir Thomas Berkley with a power of demanding assistance from the sheriffs of six adjoining counties, should necessity require it; Llandovery to John Touchet lord Audley, Laugharne to Sir Henry le Scrope, Crickhowell (A.D. 1403) to John Pauncefoot, Tretower to Sir James Berkley, Abergavenny and Harold's Ewyas to Sir William Beuchamp, Goodrich to Sir Thomas Neville of Furnivale, Eardisley to Sir Nicholas Montgomery, Caerleon and Usk to Sir Edward Charlton of Powis, Caerphili and Ewyas Lacy to Constance dowager lady Despenser, Manerbier to Sir John Cornwall, Payncastle and Royll (Elvel or Colwyn) to Thomas earl of Warwick, Huntingdon to Anne countess of Stafford, Lionshall and Dorston to Sir Walter Fitzwalter, Stapleton to John Brian baron of Burford, Brampton to Brian de Brampton and the castle of Snowdon to Sir John Chandos.[1] Every precaution was also taken to render these fortresses secure. Proclamations of pardon were soon afterwards issued out with a commission to Sir John Oldcastle knight, John ap Henry and John Fairford clerk (vicar of Llanvillo, and prebendary of Garthbrengy in Breconshire), to extend the royal clemency to all such rebels within the lordships of Brecknock, Cantreff-Selyff, Hay, Glynbwch and Dinas, as should immediately return to their allegiance, and deliver up their arms offensive and defensive; the king at the same time reserving to himself the right of disposal of their estates and properties. This instrument is dated at Devynnock, September 15, 1403, and is subscribed 'per ipsum regem,' as is a pardon granted the day before, dated at Hereford, to the rebels of Abergavenny and others, so that it should seem Henry himself was in Breconshire in September 1403.

"In the year following, John Touchet, lord Audley, was associated with Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick and lord of Abergavenny, in defence of the castle, town and lordship of Brecknock for one whole year, having one hundred men at arms, and three hundred archers on horseback, assigned them for that purpose, with an allowance of *twelve-pence* a day for each man at arms, and to each archer *six-pence*.

OWEN'S VICTORIES, AND DEFEAT IN BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

"All these preparartions served only to shew the very formidable height to which Owen had arrived in the English court, and raised his character still higher in the opinion of his countrymen; still he repeated his incursions into South Wales, and terror and desolation everywhere accompanied his steps. In Gwentland it is true he met with a repulse, but he soon recovered his temporary check and suddenly rallying his men, he overtook the English army at Craig y Dorth in Monmouthshire, where he gained a complete victory, and pursued them to the very gates of Monmouth. From hence he proceeded forward, burning and destroying all before him: towns, villages, castles and forts fell indiscriminately sacrifices to his fury. Among others the castle of Abergavenny and the town and castle of Caerdiff were destroyed, excepting only a street in the latter, in which the monastery of Franciscan friars was situated,—a religious body supposed to have been favourable to the cause of Owen. He afterwards sent his eldest son Griffith with an army into Brecknockshire, where after an obstinate engagement at Mynidd y Pwll Melin (a hill now not known by that name, but supposed to be in the hundred of Crickhowel), he was defeated, and as some say, taken prisoner by the Prince of Wales, with the loss of fifteen hundred men. Among the dead bodies on the field, was one which resembled Owen so strongly, that it was currently reported he was slain; but upon more minute inquiry, it was found to be his brother Tydyr or Tudor, who was so extremely like him in features, that they might easily be mistaken for each other, excepting that Owen had a little wart above one of his eyebrows, which the other had not. The report of the discomfiture and death of their leader disheartened the Welsh, and numbers, particularly in Glamorganshire, threw themselves upon the

[1] It should seem that Sir John Chandos afterwards was appointed governor, or had the custody of Penkelley castle in Breconshire, for it appears by the bishop of St. David's register, now at Abergwili, that in 1406 Richard Andrew clerk was presented or nominated to officiate in the free chapel (St. Leonard's) within the castle of Penkelley, by Sir John Chandos, Knight.

mercy of the king, but Owen, though weakened, was not conquered. For some years longer did he continue his exertions and set Henry at defiance, but the future operations of the war, though interesting, are irrelevant here; it is however worthy of observation that in the midst of these tumults, and while death stalked in a thousand shapes around him, the palace of Glyndwr was the seat of festivity and harmony. The martial spirit, the Awen or British muse, at this period, once more revived to celebrate the heroic enterprizes of her darling chieftain. Like himself, the bards of his time were irregular and wild, and as the taper glimmering in the socket gives a sudden blaze before it is extinguished, so did they produce a few scintillations of genius, which brought down to that age the recollection of the splendour of the former bards, and then sunk into ever-during darkness upon the fall of their patron and their friend. But though poetry flourished, learning certainly suffered from the boisterousness of the times, for such was the unrelenting and indiscriminate fury of the English, as well as the Welsh, that monastries and their libraries containing many very valuable manuscripts were destroyed: a loss, the more to be lamented, as it can never be repaired. Henry began this unmanly and mischievous species of warfare,[1] and Owen did not hesitate to follow his example when an opportunity occurred, and neither side bestowed a thought upon the injury they were doing to posterity by the destruction of those documents, which as men of learning (for both had claim to that character), it should have been their study to preserve.

ESTIMATE OF OWEN'S CHARACTER.

"It has been said of Owen as it was of Hannibal, that if he had known how to use victory as well as to obtain it, he would effectually have checked the power of an encroaching foe, and probably have restored to Wales her ancient independence; he was undoubtedly brave, and fitted for command, but the errors of the Carthaginian were the errors of Owen. Thus, as Hannibal lost sight of the advantages of victory, when he loitered at Cannæ, so Glyndwr, if he could not join Percy before the battle of Shrewsbury (as Mr. Pennant suggests), certainly wanted policy in not attacking the troops of Henry immediately after that engagement, and by this neglect ultimately sealed the ruin of his cause; and as the luxuries of Capua enervated the troops of Carthage, so did the plunder which the Welsh acquired, render them rich and factious, and Owen after a stand for several years against the whole power of England, at length found himself forsaken by his friends, and compelled to retire to the mountains for safety. Even here he might have made terms with Henry; indeed, Stowe says, he was actually pardoned at the intercession of David Holbetche,[2] Esq, but he disdained submission, and determined to die as he had lived, *free*.

OWEN'S DEATH AND SUPPOSED BURIAL PLACE.

"After wandering about for a time from place to place unnoticed and unknown, he took up his last refuge at Monnington, or as some say Kentchurch, where in the arms of filial piety he found protection, and died September 20, 1415, aged sixty-one.

"The place of this chieftain's interment has been a matter of doubt and inquiry among historians. Carte says, it was in the churchyard at Monnington, and the following extract from a MS. in the British Museum makes it probable; it at least infers a local tradition of the circumstances: 'About the year 1680, the church of Monnington was rebuilt, in the churchyard of which stood the trunk of a sycamore, in height about nine feet, and two and a half in diameter, which being in the workmen's way was cut down: a foot below the surface of the ground was laid a large grave-stone without any inscription; on its being removed there was discovered at the bottom of a well stoned grave, the body (as it is supposed) of Owen Glyndwr, which was whole and entire and of a goodly stature, but there was no appearance of any remains of a coffin; where any part of it was touched, it fell to powder. After it had been exposed for two days the stone was again placed over it and the earth was cast upon it.'

GRANT BY HENRY IV. TO BRECKNOCK.

"In the third year of Henry the Fourth he granted to the burgesses of Brecon[3] and the inhabitants, an exemption from tolls, murage,[4] piccage and pannage, during pleasure, and in the

[1] In 1400, Henry plundered the convent of Franciscans at Llanvaes, in Anglesea, and carried away the monks prisoners, under pretence that they supported Glyndwr.

[2] David Holbetche, sed recte Holbwrch, was made a denizen or free citizen of England, in the eighth of Henry the Fourth, Cotton's *Records by Prynne*, p. 458. The ancestor of the tribe of Holbwrch was named Llwarch Holbwrch; they were a Denbighshire family; it is remarkable that the eldest branch differing form the general custom of the Welsh, preserved their surname, while the descendants of the younger children assumed many years afterwards the names of Llwyd and Hughes.

[3] Records in the Tower of London, 3 Hen, 4, pt. 1, m. 21.

[4] Muragium, a tax or payment towards repairing the walls of a castle or fortified town. Piccagium, a payment for leave to dig holes in a pitching of a market town, to place the supporters of stalls or standings. Pannage has been before explained.

thirteenth year of his reign,[1] by a general inspeximus of all former charters, he renewed and confirmed to the monks of Brecknock all those grants which the munificence and piety of former benefactors had conferred upon them; in the following year he granted to the burgesses of Brecon the first royal charter they had ever enjoyed. The attachment of Sir David Gam and his adherents to his person and family, and the possession of the lordship in right of his wife, account for this partiality to the inhabitants of Brecknock; to the remainder of the principality he was a cruel and merciless tyrant. His son Henry the Fifth, by charter, dated May 12, 1415, renewed and confirmed all the ancient privileges of the burgesses of Brecknock; in addition to their ancient fair upon St. Leonard's day he granted them the privileges of holding two more fairs for eight days before and eight days after the nativity and decollation of St. John the Baptist annually."

[1] Records in the Tower, 13 H. 4, p. 1, m 5.

CHAPTER VII.

General History Concluded. From the Accession of the Lordship of Brecknock by the Stafford Family, to the year 1800.

"UPON the death of Johanno countess dowager of Hereford, Anne the widow of Edmond earl of Stafford, who was slain in the battle of Shrewsbury, and daughter of Thomas Plantagenet late duke of Gloucester, demanded of the king a division of her late grandmother's esta e; upon which Henry generously gave up to her and her son the earldoms of Buckingham, Essex, Hereford and Northampton, the lordship of Brecknock and patronage of Llanthony, reserving to himself in his mother's right, only the constableship and some estates in England appendant to it. Some difficulties afterwards however occurred in making the partition, which produced a petition from the countess Anne, stating, that 'the feoffees of Humphrey Bohun conveyed certain lands to Johan de Bohun,[1] formerly countess of Hereford, of the annual value of one hundred pounds, to hold to the said countess for life, and after her death to Mary and Alianor, daughters and heirs of the said earl in fee, that Mary died, and the reversion came to Alianor, from whom it descended to the petitioner; that her deeds relating to the said estate were in the hands of John Leventhorp, council for the Duchy of Lancaster, who would not deliver them without an order from the king's council; that a partition was made in the reign of the late king Henry the Fifth, between him as son and heir of Mary before mentioned, and the petitioner, of all lands belonging to the said Humphrey Bohun, and that in this partition the castle and manor of Brecknock were assigned to the petitioner as part of her share, of which castle and manor the seigniories of Brenles, Langoit and Cantereeli in Wales were pareel. But because doubts had arisen whether they were or were not parcel of the same, and no mention was made of them, specifically in such partition, and they were said to be seigniories in gross, she prayed for the love of God, and as it would *be a work of mercy*, that a writ might issue under the king's great or privy seal, to levy the rents, issues and profits of the said lands, as might be thought most advisable to her and her council.'

LADY STAFFORD DISFRANCHES BRECKNOCK.

"To which the parliament answered, 'let this petition and our answer being first enrolled in the rolls of parliament, be sent to the king's council, and let the lords of the same council there present have power to determine thereon, and to make such partition, and generally to execute, do and ordain therein, as may be necessary, according to their discretions.'[2] Upon this petition it was adjudged in the seventh of Henry the Sixth, that the lordships therein mentioned, and the ville of Bronllys were not parcel of the manor of Brecon, and in the thirty-ninth year of the same reign,[3] the forestership of the forest of Cantereely, then belonging to the crown, with the office of seneschal and receiver there, as well as of the lordships of Penkelly, Alysanderstone, and Llangote were granted to Robert (or rather Roger) Vaughan of Porthaml, Esq., in whose descendant[4] from a female, part of Cantereely now continues, although the whole of it was afterwards granted to Henry duke of Buckingham[5] and the heirs male of his body, upon whose attainder it became revested in the crown. This lady Stafford married for her second husband William Bourchier earl of Eu: no sooner was she possessed of Brecknock than she showed her authority, in disfranchising the borough, annulling the acts even of her royal predecessors in their favour, and revoking all grants, charters, privileges and immunities whatsoever given them by her noble ancestors, and so kept them during the remainder of her life. By her last will she desired to be buried at Llanthony, near Gloucester, to which she bequeathed one hundred marks in money, or the value thereof, out of such of her moveable goods as should seem best in the discretion of her executors: she died in 1439.

THE STAFFORD FAMILY.

"The family of Stafford, originally of Norman extraction, was anciently called Toni, and related to William the Conqueror. 'Le Sire de Tony' appears in the Norman chronicle, quoted by Stowe.

1 Parl. Rolls, H. 6.
2 Records in the Tower, 7 H. 6, p. 1, m. 3 and 4.
3 Ibid. 39 H. 6, m. 3.
4 Lord Ashburnham.
5 Records in the Tower, 17 E. 4, p. 2, m. 14.

The first who assumed the name of Stafford was Robert, governor of Stafford castle in the time of the Conqueror. The male issue failing after three generations, the heiress married one Bagot, of an ancient family whose son assumed the mother's name, which was then usual when the mother's rank was superior to the father's: this son's name was Harvey de Stafford. Dugdale calls him *lord*, though it does not appear that as yet any of the family had been honoured with the peerage. Edmond de Stafford was created baron Stafford of Stafford castle by king Edward the First. Ralph lord Stafford, was seneschal of Aquitain, repulsed John, son of the French king, before Aquilon, and shared the honour of the victory at Cressy; he was also employed in several embassies, installed a knight of the garter in the reign of Edward the Third, signalized his valour in reducing the Irish rebels, and was created Earl of Stafford in 1350.

"Our first lord of the name of Stafford was created Duke of Buckingham by King Henry the Sixth, in the twenty-third year of his reign, when a whimsical dispute arose about precedence between him and Henry Beauchamp, created at the same time Duke of Warwick, which was as whimsically determined by an act of parliament,[1] ordaining that they should take precedence one, one year, and the other, the next year, and that their posterity should have precedence according as who should first have livery of their lands. Luckily the Duke of Warwick died without issue, whereupon Humphrey, to prevent the agitation of so important a question in future, obtained a grant upon the twenty-second of May, in the twenty-fifth of Henry the Sixth, (A.D. 1447) unto himself and his heirs for precedence above all dukes whatsoever, whether in England or France, excepting only such as were of the blood royal; he was afterwards made constable of Dover and Queenborough castles, and warden of the Cinque Ports, and in the thirty-eighth year of the same reign, in consideration of his great and eminent services to Henry, he had another grant from him of all those fines which Walter Devereux of Weobley, in the county of Hereford, esquire, William Hastings of Kirby, in the county of Leicester, esquire, and Walter Hopton of———, in the county of Salop, esquire, were to make to the king for their transgressions.

ANCIENT BURGESSES OF BRECON.

"This Duke of Buckingham, upon his elevation to the title declined his paternal arms, or at least postponed and placed them in the last quartering of the field, bearing first, Woodstock, or England and France, with a label; secondly Bohun earl of Hereford; thirdly Bohun earl of Northampton, and fourthly Stafford, which arms were afterwards borne by his descendants, dukes of that name. He restored to the burgesses of Brecon all those privileges of which his mother had deprived them, confirming them by a new charter dated at Makestock, April 26th, 21st of Henry the Sixth (A.D. 1448). A copy of his inspeximus of all the ancient charters of the borough is preserved among the MS. collections of Mr. Hugh Thomas in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and is likewise upon record among the archives of the borough. The marked partiality which then prevailed in favour of Englishmen to the exclusion of the ancient Britons, will appear strongly from a perusal of the following list of burgesses named in this new charter: John Cole, Richard Myle, Llewelyn Burghull, Thomas Goldsmyth, Thomas Hunt, Phillip Gerald, Edmond Pyeard, David Davowe, William Bennett, William Gerald, John Huggin, *Benedict Wynter*, John Burghull clerk, Thomas Fitzdavid, Richard Gerald, John Brady, Walter Scull, Thomas Baker, John Sherbury, William More, John Havard senior, John Pecke, Howel Oistres, John Byrre, Llewelyn Fitzjohn, the sons of Llewelyn Draper, John Burghull, esq., John Havard junior, Lewis Fitzhowel, John Burghill Fourber, Edmund Porter, John Radynor, Richard Baker, Myles Wanter, William Skulle, John Hunt, Myles Wanter Salser, John Matthew, John James, John Slyngarth, John Porter, John Gerald, Myles Porter, Roger Porter, John Powle, John Gaggowe, Walter Huggin, Hugh Dilwyn, John Baker, Roger Huggyn, John Botte, Griffin Hayledyke, Walter Fitztrahearn, Thomas Mortimer, John Glover, John Kewe, Thomas Oliver, William Shethe, John Smith, Phillip Oliver, Sampson Paynott, Matthew Porter, John Paynott, Agnes Wanter, Cecilia Gunter, Margaret Bennett, John *Pierrepoint* senior, John Pierrepoint junior, Agnes Baker, John Mulsander, John Dyer, and Mahel Drencher, '*whom we esteem to be English people*, to them and their heirs *being English, both upon the part of their father and mother.*'[2] The town was governed by this charter until the ninth of King Henry the Eighth.

[1] This business might have been settled with infinitely less trouble, by the toss of a halfpenny.

[2] His grace was mistaken if he thought so; some of these persons were Welsh, not only by their parents, but they were also descended from the old inhabitants of Breconshire, several of the names are clearly disguised, Thomas Fitz David, John Byrre, Lewis Fitzhowel, and Walter Fitztrahaern, for Thomas ap David, Sion bir or the short, Lewis ap Hywel and Gwalter ap Trahaern, and some of them we suspect are translations of their trades into English, as John Baker for Sion bobydd, or the baker; John Dyer for Sion llyw-wr, or the dyer, etc. The Duke's intentions however are evident, yet how their children and descendants thereafter to be born in Wales could be *English* both by father and mother is not so clear.

TRETOWER IN 1805

From a Drawing by Sir R. Colt Hoare

"To the Welsh tenants and *resiants* within the honour, this Duke of Buckingham was an implacable tyrant, for he burdened them with very heavy taxes and unusual impositions; his bailiffs distrained the cattle of the farmers upon every trivial occasion, using the greatest severity in the exercise of their power, and commonly appraising and selling their property at low rates, to answer the exacted debts. The freeholders who lived within the lordships were called upon to exhibit the title deeds of their estates, or otherwise to submit to the arbitrary disposition of their lord, and many were thus ruined through the mere terror or unequal litigation, but still even in these worst of times, some few were found who had sufficient fortitude to resist oppression. Among these were Thomas ap Jenkin Madoc of Llanfrynach, the ancestor of the late family of Thomas of Slwch, and Evan ap Phillip Howel of the same; both of whom refused to pay either homage or custom for their land, or to acknowledge any other lord than the king of England. Evan, upon refusal, was arrested at the duke's suit, and imprisoned in the gaol of Gloucester, where he remained three years before he obtained even a trial; at length his cause was heard, and he cast his noble adversary; thereby establishing the manorial rights of his estate, and exempting it from all homage, suit and service and the payment of any taxes, except to the crown.

BUILDING OF VELINFACH MILL.

"During his confinement, his wife built a mill upon his estate, called Velin Vach, which is now surrounded by a few houses called Velindre, or Milton: but the Duke of Buckingham, though a bad master, was a good subject; during the multitude of troubles which weighed down the virtuous though imbecile Henry the Sixth, he was the warmest friend and supporter of that persecuted monarch. In the first battle with the Yorkists at St. Alban's he lost his son and was himself wounded, and finally at Northampton, where the king was made a prisoner (10th of July, 1460), he fell a sacrifice to the exertions of his loyalty, and was buried, as some historians say, in the Gray Friars at Northampton. He died possessed of the castles, manors and dominions of Brecknock and Huntingdon, of the manor of *Jonesfield*, or Johnsfield, now called Chancefield, the dominion of Talgarth, and also the lordship of Welsh Penkelly.

THE DUKES OF BUCKINGHAM.

"In the early part of this reign died Edmund the last Mortimer earl of March. He was possessed of the cantred of Bualht, with its castle, the lordship of Melenydd Radnor, Tal-y-van forest, the castle and lordship of Clifford, the lordship of Glazbury, the borough and lordship of Ewyas Lacy, the castle, lordship and forest of Dinas, the castle, lordship and borough of Blânllyfni, and the castle, lordship and borough of Usk, all of which now devolved to Richard Earl of Cambridge, who had married his sister Anne, upon whose attainder, upon his being implicated in Jack Cade's insurrection, these possessions again became vested in the Crown. The last Earl of March, a short time before his death, granted an annuity of one hundred pounds per annum to Sir John Talbot, who was of his household, chargeable upon his lordships of Dinas, Talgarth, Blânllyfni, and other estates in Brecknock.

"Henry the son of Humphrey earl of Stafford (who was slain in the first battle of St. Alban's), by Mary his wife, daughter and coheir to Edmund duke of Somerset, succeeded his grandfather as duke of Buckingham, and to all his other honours and titles, but being a minor and a ward of government, he was with his brother Humphrey put under the care of Anne duchess of Exeter, the king's sister, who had an assignment of five hundred marks per annum for their maintenance, charged upon the lordships of Brecknock, Newport, Wentllwch or Gwentllwg, Hay and Huntingdon. During this minority, the stewardship of the castle and lordship of Brecknock, and of all other castles in Wales belonging to the late duke of Buckingham, was given to Sir William Herbert, the first earl of Pembroke of that name, who during the reign of Edward the Fourth had a grant of the lordships of Crickhowel and Tretower, which upon the marriage of his grand-daughter Elizabeth with Charles earl of Worcester became the property of that family, and afterwards of the dukes of Beaufort, with whom they continue. Henry, upon his coming of age and doing homage, had livery of his honours and estates. During the greater part of the reign of Edward the Fourth, he lived in retirement within his native walls of Brecknock. Stowe says, that immediately upon the death of this monarch, he offered his services to Richard duke of Gloucester, and suggested to him the plan of his future greatness; for which purpose he sent to him a confidential servant of the name of Pershall, to communicate a proposal of his assistance, accompanied with one thousand *good fellows* of his dependents, if the duke of Gloucester wished it. What answer was given to this

message does not appear, probably affairs were not then sufficiently ripe for placing Richard on the throne, though the two friends never afterwards lost sight of the project.

CHARACTER OF RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

"Upon the trial of George duke of Clarence, the duke of Buckingham presided as lord high steward, and soon after the decease of Edward, he became conspicuous on the stage of public life, zealously supporting the pretentions of Gloucester to the crown. The lamentable uncertainty which overshadows the transactions of these times, marked only by furious dissensions and party violence, when no contemporary historian existed, or at least dared to write impartially upon the subject, leaves posterity greatly in the dark as to the real character of persons and the events of this period. The life of King Edward the Fifth, has indeed been elegantly and diffusely written by Sir Thomas More, who also began but never finished the history of his successor. That Sir Thomas had every opportunity of inquiring and making himself thoroughly acquainted with every circumstance he describes, cannot be doubted, and we naturally look for accuracy to one who may almost be considered as an eye-witness of the events, for though he was too young to preserve the actual remembrance, he must necessarily have heard them talk over it in his youth, with all the various comments of the day, and we may readily suppose that he made his own reflections upon the subject. Upon his authority then, most of our later writers have described and expatiated upon the cruelties of Richard; hence we have been accustomed to regard him as an odious unrelenting tyrant, equally deformed in body and in mind. That he was bloody, violent and ambitious, we have too many reasons to induce us to believe, but still there is room to suspect much exaggeration, when we recollect that his biographer was the pupil of Morton and the favourite of Henry. 'Audi alteram partem,' though it often creates difficulties and raises doubts, is yet upon the whole a very reasonable requisition, and more especially in this case, as there are not wanting those who have appreciated him very differently. 'His memory (says Dr. Fuller) has met with a modern pen, who has not only purged but praised it to the very height': he has indeed met with a very strenuous advocate in Mr. Buck. Zealous for the house of York and for the honour of that monarch, in whose cause his grandsire lost his head, he has professedly undertaken the defence of Richard, and even where he cannot excuse, he labours to extenuate his guilt. Mr. Carte equally disbelieves the account of his bodily deformity, and the charges of inordinate cruelty brought against him, and the ingenious author of 'historic doubts' on that reign strongly supports the arguments of Mr. Buck, insinuating that many of the crimes imputed to that prince, are to be charged to the malevolence and rancour of the Lancastrian party, rather than to any real demerit of his own, but none of his apologists can deny that he deposed his nephew, and that he was not over scrupulous as to the means by which it was effected, though they are unwilling to admit the charge of his having murdered one or both of the sons of Edward. The duke of Buckingham appears to have been his confidential agent and chief adviser in all his measures; a congeniality of temper first recommended them to each other, and it is to be feared that many a bloody scene was the result of the coalition. Rivers, Hastings, Grey and Vaughan all fell a sacrifice without a trial, and without justice; who can apologize for these murders? Carte will answer that the lord of Brecknock was the instigator and promoter of them; but will this acquit the principal of his share of the guilt?

DISAFFECTION OF BUCKINGHAM.

"In reward for his unworthy, though effectual services, Buckingham not only received large sums of money, but was invested with several lucrative and honourable employments; he was constituted governor of all the king's castles in Wales, and steward of all the royal manors in the counties of Salop and Hereford, chief justice and chamberlain of North and South Wales, and lord high constable of England. He was also further promised a restitution of all those lands which belonged to the Bohuns earls of Hereford, and to which as next in blood, he claimed an hereditary right, though by an act of parliament passed soon after the deposition of the late King Henry they were vested in the Crown. Thus royally endowed Buckingham would have been the richest as well as the most powerful nobleman in England, but in truth, not so willed Richard. 'It all was farce and nothing more.' That wary politician too well knew the principles of his coadjutor not to see the necessity of restraining him in time; he knew Buckingham to be haughty, violent and avaricious, a great dissembler, and of consummate art, that he was at heart a Lancastrian, and consequently an inveterate enemy to the succession in the house of York, which interested motives alone had induced him to support, and though from similar motives he himself had been induced to accept of his services, it was very far from his intention to raise him to the condition of a rival. Having therefore now attained the high object of his ambition, and fully secured, as he thought, the reins of government, he threw off his mask, and treated his hitherto fast friend and supporter with superciliousness.

"The Duke ill brooking the ingratitude of a man whom at the expense of all that was good and honourable, and perhaps the sacrifice of his own peace of mind, he had thus greatly served, instantly turned all his thoughts to vengeance, and became as eager to dethrone as he had been studious to exalt him: thus resolved he withdrew in deep discontent from court, and shut himself up in his castle of Brecknock, where remote from public observation, he indulged his busy thoughts in projects to effect his purpose, a fit instrument for which he discovered in a prisoner whom Richard in the plenitude of his confidence had committed to his charge. This prisoner was no other than the well known John Morton Bishop of Ely, an able and artful politician, originally a zealous Lancastrian, but afterwards (having been pardoned) an equally strenuous adherent of the family of Edward, and consequently an object of suspicion to the jealous Richard, who thought him too dangerous a man to be entrusted to the care of an ordinary gaoler.

BISHOP MORTON PRISONER AT BRECKNOCK CASTLE.

"Stowe[1] as well as Speed has preserved at considerable length the conversation which passed between the duke and the bishop in the castle of Brecon on this occasion. The former says, Morton soon perceived that Buckingham, 'though he began to praise and boast the king, and showed how much profit the realme should take by his raigne,' yet at heart entertained an inveterate animosity against him, and was prepared for any measure that might be proposed to humble him, but in order to be satisfied beyond all doubts as to the duke's real sentiments on the subject, he very artfully observed that it would be folly in him to dissemble, for that he was certain, neither his grace or the nation would believe him, if he affected a friendship for Richard. 'I could have wished (added he) King Henry's son, and not King Edward had the crown, but after that God had ordered that he should lose it, I was never so mad as to strive with a dead man against a quicke, so I became King Edward's faithful chaplain, and glad should I have been had his child succeeded him, but if the secret judgment of God hath otherwise provided, I purpose not to contend or labour to set up him whom God pulleth down, and as for the late protector and now king————But I have said too much, I will no longer intermeddle with the affairs of this world, but retire to my books and my beads.'

"This abrupt conclusion stimulated the duke's curiosity so much, that he encouraged the bishop to proceed; he told him he need not fear the discovery of his sentiments, that whatever he said (he might confide in him) should be concealed if he chose it, that he wished for his advice and counsel, which he said was the only reason why he applied to the king to place him under his custody, where he might reckon himself at home. The prelate 'right humblie,' thanked his grace and proceeded, 'In good faith my lord I love not to talk much about princes as a thing not at all out of peril, even though my words may be innocent because they may not be taken as I mean them, but as the prince chuses to construe them; I often think of that fable of Æsop, in which the lion is said to have caused a proclamation to be made that no horned beast should remain in a certain wood upon pain of death, upon which one of his subjects that had a bunch of flesh upon his forehead fled from thence as fast as he could, but being met by a fox who asked him whither so fast, the affrighted animal answered he neither knew or cared, and immediately informed him of the proclamation, but you fool, says the fox, yours is not a horn, you have nothing like a horn on your head; that I very well know replied the other, but if the lion insist upon it it is a horn, where am I then? The duke laughed at this tale and said, 'My lord I warrant you neither the lion or the *bour* shall pick out any matter out of any thing here spoken, for it shall never come to their ears.' 'In good faith (replied the bishop) the thing I was about to say, taken well (as afore God I mean it), would deserve thanks, but being misunderstood might produce me little good and you less.' Here he paused again, the duke desired him to proceed. 'Well then (says Morton) as for the late protector, since he is king and in possession of the crown, I do not mean to dispute his title, but for the welfare of the nation, over whom he governs, of which I am a poor and humble member, I could have wished that to those abilities which he certainly possesses, and which are far above my praise, it had pleased God to have added those which peculiarly distinguish your

[1] It will be unnecessary to apologise for the long extract from Stowe which has been slightly passed over by modern historians, it develops most clearly the character of the parties, and to the inhabitants of Brecon, to whom *Ely Tower* is a familiar object, it becomes for that and other reasons more peculiarly interesting; the conservation as related is extremely plausible, and only one difficulty remains which is to account for the channel by which this information is conveyed to us. It may indeed be said that the bishop of Ely minuted down the substance of the conference, but he would hardly have preserved some of the sentiments here detailed, certainly not the words in which they are recorded, and unfortunately neither of the chronicles mentioned condescend to give us their authority. It must however be observed that both of them lived not long after the time when the conversation is supposed to have passed.

grace,' and here he again broke off abruptly, but being encouraged to go on and speak out the whole of his mind, with an assurance that whatever he said should be kept as secret as if related to the deaf and dumb, with a hint that the duke perceived his prisoner was meditating some project in his favour, Morton was prevailed upon *apparently* to disclose the whole of his designs, especially as he knew that the duke was 'desireous to be magnified,' and he saw clearly that at heart he entertained an inveterate hatred to Richard, he therefore (as the chronicle says) 'opened his stomach from the bottom,' at the same time mixing a little more flattery to sweeten the dose, and proceeded; 'My singular good lord, sith the time of my captivitie which being in your Grace's custody, I may rather call it a libertie than a straight imprisonment, in avoyding of idleness the mother of all vices, in reading books and ancient pamphlets I have found this sentence written; that no man is born free and at libertie of himself onely: for one part of his duty he oweth to his parents, another part to his friends and kinsfolks, but the native country in which he first tasted this pleasant and flattering world demandeth a debt not to be forgotten; which saying causeth me to consider in what case this realme, my native country now standeth, and in what estate and assurance before this time it hath continued, what governour wee now have and what ruler *wee might have*, for I plainly perceive (the realme being in this case) must needs decay and be brought to confusion; but one hope I have, that is, when I consider your noble personage, your justice and indifference, your fervent zeal and ardent love towards your natural country, and in like manner the love of your country towards you, the great learning, pregnant wit and eloquence which so much doth abound in your person, I must needs think this realme fortunate which hath such a prince in store, meete and apt to bee governour, but on the other side when I call to memorie the good qualities of the late protector and now called king, so violated by tyranny, so altered by usurped authoritie, so clouded by blind ambition, I must needs say he is neither meete to be king of so noble a realme nor so famous a realme meet to be governed by such a tyrant; was not his first enterprize to obtaine the crown begun by the murther of divers noble personages? Did he not secondly procede against his own naturall mother declaring her openly to be a woman given to carnale affection and dissolute living, declaring furthermore his two brethren and two nephews to be bastards and born in adultry? Yet not contented after he had obtained the garland, he caused the two poor innocents his nephewes committed to him to be shamefully murthered; the blood of which two little babies do daily cry to God from the earth for vengeance: what surety shall be in this realme to any person for life or goods under such a cruell prince which regardeth not the destruction of his owne bloode and then the less the losse of others? But now to conclude what I mean toward your noble person, I say and affirme it if you love God, your linage or your native countrey, you must yourself take upon you the crowne of this realme both for the maintenance of the honour of the same, as also for the deliverance of our naturall countrymen from the bondage of such a tyrant, and if yourselfe will refuse to take upon you the crowne of this realme I adjure you by the faith that you owe to God to devise some way how this realme may be brought to some convenient regiment under some good governour.'

THE PLOT AT ELY TOWER.

"The duke sighed, and here the conversation ended on this day; on the morrow however he sent for the bishop, who had now discovered so much of his sentiments that in return, Buckingham thought he might venture to disclose his own, but if the prelate was artful in his mode of sounding his keeper's private opinions, it must be allowed the duke was equally a master of dissimulation, and laboured hard to excuse or apologize for the part he had acted on the political theatre. He begins with complimenting his prisoner on his abilities, and his love for his country, and adds: 'Sith at your last communication you have disclosed the secrets of your heart, touching *the new usurper* of the crown, and also have a little touched the advancement of the two houses of York and Lancaster, I shall likewise declare to you my privy intents and secret cogitations and to beginne: when King Edward was deceased I then began to study and with deliberation to ponder in what manner this realme should be governed; I persuaded with myself to take part with the duke of Gloucester, whome I thought to be as clean without dissimulation, as tractable without injury, and so by my means hee was made protector both of the king and realme, which authority being once gotten hee never ceased privily to require me and other lords as well spirituall as temporall that he might take upon him the crowne till the prince came to the age of four and twenty, and were able to governe the realme as a sufficient king, which thinge when hee saw mee somewhat sticke at, he then brought in instruments autenticke doctors, proctors and notaries of the law with depositions of divers witnesses testifying King Edward's children to be bastards, which deposition then I thought to be as true as now I know them to be fained. When the said depositions were before us read

and diligently explained hee stood up bare headed, saying, Well[1] my lords even as I and you would that my nephewes should have no wrong, doe mee nothing but right; for these witnesses and sayings of famous doctors be true, for I am the only indubitable heyre to Richard Plantagenet duke of York, adjudged to be the very heyre to the crowne of this realme by authoritie of parliament. Which things so by learned men to us for verity declared, caused mee and others to take him for our lawfull and undoubted prince and sovereigne lord, and so again by my ayd he of a protector was made a king, but when he was once crowned king and in full possession of the realme he cast away his old conditions; for when I myself sued to him for my part of the earl of Hereford's lands, which his brother king Edward wrongfully detained from mee, and also required to have the office of the high constableship of England as divers of my noble ancestors before this time have had and in long descent continued, in this my first suit he did not onely delay mee and afterwards deny[2] mee but gave mee such unkinde words as though I had never furthered him; all this I suffered patiently, but when I was informed of the death of the two young innocents, Oh Lord! my heart inwardly grudged, insomuch that I abhorred the sight of him; I took my leave of the court and returned to Brecknock, but in my journey as I returned I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnaturall uncle. First I fantasied that if I list to take upon me the crowne, now was the way made plain and occasion given, for I saw he was disdained of the lords temporall and accursed of the lords spirituall; after divers cogitations as I rode between Worcester and Bridgenorth,[3] I encountered the comtesse of Richmond (now wife to the lord Stanley), which is the very daughter and sole heyre to John duke of Somerset, my grandfather's elder brother so that shee and her sonne the earl of Richmond bee both between me to enter into the gate of majesty royall and getting of the crowne; I then began to dispute with myself whether I were best to take it upon mee by the election of the nobilitie and communaltie or to take it by power: thus standing in a wavering ambiguity, I considered first the office duty and paine of a king which surely I think no mortall man can justly and truly observe, except hee be appointed by God as King David was, and further I remember that if I once took on mee the governance of the realme, the daughters of King Edward and their allies (being both for his sake much beloved) and also for the great injurie done to them much pitied would never cease to bark at the one side of me; Sembably my cousin, the Earl of Richmond, his aydes and kinsfolks will surely attempt either to bite or pierce mee on the other side, so that my life and rule should ever hang unquiet in doubt of death or deposition, and if the said two lines of York and Lancaster should joyne in one against mee, then were I surely matched. Wherefore I have clearly determined utterly to relinquish all imaginations con-

[1] This account given by the duke of Buckingham is directly contradictory to that recorded by historians; according to all or most of those who have written upon the transactions of this day, the bastardy of Edward's children, though privately concerted between Richard and Buckingham, was first mentioned in public by the latter, and Richard so far from claiming the crown, as above asserted (according to a plan settled by himself and his friends) affected to refuse it, and it was not till after Buckingham had threatened to place some other person on the throne, that, as related by Shakspeare, he complied and thus addressed the *patriotic* duke, and his followers.

> "*Cousin of Buckingham* and sage grave men!
> Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
> To bear her burden whether I will or no;
> I must have patience to endure the load,
> But if black scandal or foul faced reproach
> Attend the sequel of your imposition,
> Your mere *inforcement* shall acquit me
> From all the impure blots and stains thereof,
> For God he knows and you may partly see
> How far I am from the desire of this."
>
> *R. III, Act* 3, *Scene* 7.

[2] This is agreeably to Shakspeare's description of the rupture between these two bad men.

Buckingham: "My lord, I claim my gift, my due by promise,
For which your honour and your faith is pawned,
The Earldom of Hereford. ———

King Richard: Stanley look to your wife. —

Buck.: I am thus bold to put your grace in mind
Of what you promised me.

K. Rich.: What's o'clock
I am not in the giving vein to-day.

Buck.: Why then resolve me whether you will or no?

K. Rich.: Thou troublest me, I am not in the vein
[*Exit Richard.*

Buck.: Is it even so! repays he my deep service
With such contempt? made I him king for this?
Oh let me think on Hastings, and be gone
To Brecknock, while my fearful head is on.

R. III, Act 4, *Scene* 2.

Some *historians* also attribute the breach between him and Richard, to Richard's refusal to restore him a moiety of the Bohun estate, and if Shakspeare be correct, this was the cause that drove him to Brecknock, and not the shock which his feelings received on hearing of the two poor innocents; on the other hand it is clear that a bill of livery was made to him of the lands of the late Humphrey de Bohun and a grant of the constableship of England (Dugd. Bar. vol. 1. p. 168). Yet it is by no means improbable that delays were invented and obstacles thrown in the way of his taking possession of this property; so that he was never able to avail himself of these instruments, nor perhaps was it intended he should be benefited by them. The first of them is dated the 13th day of July, 1483, and it appears by a proclamation in Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. 12, p. 204, that he was executed before the 25rd of October, in the same year. Buck hints that one cause of offence given to Richard by the duke was, the *right* by which he claimed the Bohun honours. "The Earldom of Hereford, says the king, was the inheritance of Henry the Fourth, who was also King of England, (though by tort and usurpation), and will you, my lord of Buckingham, claim to be heir of Henry the Fourth? You may then haply assume his spirits and lay claim to the crown by the same title." Buck's life of R. 3.

[3] Buckingham had possessions in Shropshire, otherwise he deviated from his direct road to Brecon in going to Bridgenorth from Worcester, perhaps however, he met the countess of Richmond by appointment, in that county.

cerning the obtaining of the crowne; for as I told you the comtesse of Richmond on my return from the *new named king*, meeting mee prayed me first for kindred sake, secondly for the love I bare to my grandfather duke Humphrey, which was sworn brother to her father to move the king to be good to her sonne Henry earle of Richmond, and to licence him with his favour to return again into England, and if it were his pleasure so to doe, shee promised her sonne should marry one of king Edward's daughters at the appointment of the king without any thing demanded for the said espousalls but only the king's favour, which request I soon overpassed and departed. But after in my lodging I called to my memory more of that matter, I am bent that the earl of Richmond heyre to the house of Lancaster, shall take to wife the Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to King Edward, by which marriage both the houses of York and Lancaster may be united in one.'[1] This was precisely what the bishop was driving at, all this time, though at first he was cautious of discovering his intentions; after several further consultations therefore, it was determined that the countess of Richmond should be made acquainted with their design, of raising her son to the throne which was principally effected by the agency of Reginald de Bray, one of her domestics, and doctor Lewis a physician who attended her as well as the queen dowager, and whose visits for that reason passed without suspicion.

MORTON ESCAPES INTO FLANDERS.

"Morton having accomplished this important point, took his leave of Buckingham, and much against his grace's inclination, found the means of escaping into Flanders, where he justly conceived his presence would be more serviceable to the cause than his stay in England. Now, it was that the report of the young princes having been murdered in the tower was industriously published and circulated by the agents and partizans of Buckingham, though the rumour had been propagated (as has been just seen) before he quitted the court, of such a foul transaction having happened. The friends of Richard say this falsehood was spread abroad merely to answer the purposes of the faction, who could have no pretence of setting Richmond upon the throne while either of the children of Edward was living, and therefore to answer the double purpose of calumniating the present king, and paving the way for his successor, they charged him with the atrocious crime of having procured the assassination of his nephews; certain it is, that we have nothing like decisive evidence of the fact either way. The Croyland continuator gives a kind of hint, that some foul play befell them, though he by no means asserts it positively,[2] 'vulgatum est regis Edwardi pueros quo genere interitus ignoratur, decessisse in fata.' Polydore Virgil (though no great degree of credit is attached to his authority as an historian) mentions another report, that the princes had escaped and were alive in foreign parts 'In vulgus fama valuit, filios Edwardi Regis aliqua terrarum parte migrasse atque ita superstites esse.' Others again assert that they were actually stifled between two feather beds, by Tyrrel, Dighton and Forest, (whom Speed calls 'big broad square knaves') and rest their evidence on a supposed confession of Sir James Tyrrel, who was said to have been also a principal in the business. Tyrrel was certainly a favourite with Richard, who entrusted him with several offices of honour and emolument: he was made steward of the lordships of Llandovery, Llantrissent, Newport and Gwentllwg, and governor of Glamorganshire.

PERKIN WARBECK'S DECLARATION.

"As to his confession we can scarcely believe it possible that he made it during the life of his patron, and if he did it afterwards, it is very extraordinary, as Carte pertinently observes, that Henry should not only have pardoned, but even patronized a self convicted murderer; for he made him governor of Guisnes and sent him ambassador to the Emperor Maximilian. In the declaration of Perkin Warbeck, he is particularly noticed as being in the confidence of Henry, and though he was afterwards executed upon suspicion of high treason, as implicated in the affair of the Earl of Suffolk, yet as Mr. Carte says, this did not happen until after an interval of ten years, and his son was almost immediately restored in blood by a special act of parliament, passed upon the requisition of Henry. Dighton is also said to have confessed a participation in the guilt, yet it does not appear that he was either punished or prosecuted: these are circumstances which plainly show that Henry, though he countenanced these reports unfavourable to the memory of his predecessor, was afraid to institute such a strict inquiry as must have brought truth to light; indeed we have every reason to believe that he himself did not give credit to this tale. That Richard has much to answer for there can be no doubt, and the time will assuredly come, when he will be truly judged at the great tribunal of eternity, and rewarded according to his work; until that awful and solemn day, let no man decidedly condemn him as the perpetrator of this iniquitous and foul transaction. Carte closes

[1] All the substance and much of the quaintness of the conversation is here preserved; but *the whole* of it as related by the chroniclers is tedious. [2] Gale's *Hist. Angl. Scrip.* v. 1, p. 568.

his arguments with a comparative eulogium on the character of Richard, and an assertion of his belief, that Perkin Warbeck was the real duke of York. To this opinion we beg leave to add a firm, though perhaps insignificant assent; there are so many circumstances in support of it, exclusive of those mentioned in Walpole's *Historic Doubts*, that we are astonished the world should have been so generally misled upon this question.

"The evidence of Sir Robert Clifford who was sent over to the duchess of Burgundy, and who wrote back that he was satisfied that the person afterwards called Perkin Warbeck was the duke of York, as he was of his existence, that he knew him by private marks on his person, and from anecdotes related by him of circumstances which passed in the English court during his infancy, the behaviour of Henry and his partizans, who first spread a report (a report which in spite of its absurdity, has been countenanced and propagated by some of our ablest and latest historians) that the duchess of Burgundy had informed him of these private events,—of *events which passed after she had quitted England*!—though we learn that when Perkin Warbeck was taken prisoner, the king and his advisers made the young man declare that he was schooled and taught English by a John Walter, mayor of Cork;[1] the conduct of the victor who treated him as a cat does a captive mouse, parading him up and down twice or thrice through the streets of London, while he peeped at him through a window, at the same time that he never ventured a personal interview with him, or dared to confront him with his mother or sister, both then living and at court, all these and many other circumstances which could be mentioned, are strong proofs in confirmation of Carte's judgment. The finding of human bones in 1673 in the Tower of London, in that place where neither Henry the Seventh (who was so anxious at one time to discover them, nor those who were said to have deposited them were successful in their search, though this circumstance hastily considered established the report of the murder), proves too much, unless it be admitted, as Hume very oddly insinuates, that in the Tower no boys but those who are nearly related to the crown can be exposed to a violent death!

SIR ROGER VAUGHAN RAISES AN ARMY.

"To return to the conspiracy of Buckingham. Morton having departed to confer with Richmond on the continent, and planned the means of a descent on England, the duke exerted all his energy to raise an insurrection at home, and by the assistance of Reginald Bray had so far succeeded that a day was actually fixed for a general rising in several of the English counties. Richard was too vigilant to be ignorant of what was going on; he saw a conspiracy was formed against him, and he spared no pains to make himself acquainted with the persons of the conspirators in order to divide and counteract their force. It was immediately obvious that Buckingham was at the head of it, and he, too late, lamented the extensive powers he had intrusted to him in the Marches, but the escape of Morton, whose deep laid policy he dreaded, afforded him still more uneasiness.

Morton with Richmond touches me more near,
Than Buckingham and his rash levied numbers.—*Rich. 3rd.*

"The duke was still at Brecknock, and as no overt act of treason, or at least of violence had been yet committed, the king in the most pressing manner invited his return to court, and to intreaties, added the warmest expressions of regard; finding he could not entrap him by fair means he in peremptory terms commanded his attendance, which were equally disregarded. In the meantime spies were everywhere set to watch his motions. Directions were sent to Sir Thomas Vaughan, son of the late Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower (whose influence in the neighbourhood was considerable), to raise the country and attack his castle, the moment he stirred from Brecknock, holding out as an allurement, the riches it contained. Sir Thomas, with the assistance of his brothers and relations, executed his commission with great spirit, and kept a strict look out in the interior of the country, while Sir Humphrey Stafford was equally alert in destroying the bridges and occupying the passes on the side of England. The duke however having mustered his dependents, and published a flaming declaration against Richard, proceeded with a numerous but disaffected and ill appointed army to join his Western friends at Salisbury, taking the route of Gloucester; but having reached the banks of the Severn, a most tremendous flood had rendered the river impassable and laid a fatal embargo upon his further progress. Thus delayed, his troops became dissatisfied for want of pay and the conveniences of living, and deserted in such numbers that he was left nearly alone. The Croyland

[1] Lord Verulam in his *History of Henry the Seventh*, speaking of the confession of Perkin Warbeck, observes "he was diligently examined, and after his confession taken, an extract was made of such parts of them *as were thought fit to be divulged*, which was printed and dispersed abroad; wherein the king did himself no right: for as there was a *laboured* tale of particulars of Perkin's father, mother, grandsire, grandmother, uncles and cousins by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down, so there was little or nothing to purpose concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him *nor the duchess of Burgundy herself* (that all the world did take knowledge of as the person that had put life and being into the whole business) *so much as named or pointed at*."

continuator, and upon his authority Carte, say, that he now retired with a few confidential friends to the house of Sir Walter Devereux, lord Ferrers, at Weobley; but how is this to be reconciled to the steady adherence of that nobleman to the cause of Richard, under whose banners he fought and fell in the battle of Bosworth? Can it be supposed for a moment that the duke could have retired for protection to that very house which his grandfather had plundered by royal permission in the reign of Henry the Sixth, in consequence of his attachment to the house of York? The above historians however assert this, and add that the Bishop of Ely was of the party, yet for the reasons already given, as well as the general concurrence of historians, we conceive there can be no doubt that the fact was otherwise, and that his last retreat was to the house of one Bannister, who had formerly been his servant and now resided in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury. Here he thought he might remain secure till he could either join his English friends, or make his escape to Richmond on the continent; but a royal proclamation soon shook the fidelity of his host, whose avarice could not withstand the temptation of a thousand pounds offered by Richard for the apprehension of Buckingham. To secure, as he hoped, the money, he betrayed his master; betrayed that master whose former kindness had supported him and enriched his family. For this base action he received his deserts, though he failed of his reward; when he applied to Richard, he refused to pay him, telling him that he who could be unfaithful to so good a master, would be a traitor to his king if an opportunity offered.[1] Stowe adds, that soon after this event, his eldest son became insane and died in a pigstye, his daughter was stricken with a leprosy, his second son lost the use of his limbs, his youngest son was drowned in a puddle, and Humphrey the father was convicted in his old age of murder, and only saved by his being a literate person and claiming the benefit of clergy. At what age these sons died is not mentioned, but they or one of them probably left descendants, who continued in Brecknock in tolerable repute till the middle of the eighteenth century; for in the Cappel y cochiaid, in the Priory Church there is a tombstone to the memory of Thomas Bannister, who died in 1737, and who is said to have married Rebecca, daughter of John Crusoe, apothecary and grand-daughter of Dr. John Crusoe, theretofore chancellor of St. David's.

EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

"The Duke having been arrested by John Mytton, high sheriff for the county of Salop (A.D. 1483), was first conveyed to Shrewsbury, and from thence under a strong guard to Salisbury, where the king then was; he solicited an interview with his majesty, with an intention as it is said of stabbing him, but being refused, he was immediately taken out to the market place, and there executed without a trial. His titles were attainted and his estates confiscated. Thus fell the once powerful and ambitious Buckingham, and if the proud Great can be taught any lesson, they may learn from this upon how weak and tottering a foundation their much prized grandeur stands.

> Almost he touch'd the highest point of greatness!
> And from that full meridian of glory,
> He hasted to his setting;—And he fell
> Like some bright exhalation in the evening,
> And no man saw him more!

"He left by his wife Catherine, daughter of Richard Widville earl of Rivers, three sons and two daughters, Edward who afterwards was restored to his honours, Henry created earl of Wiltshire, and Humphrey who died young; Elizabeth, his eldest daughter, married Robert Radcliffe earl of Sussex, and Anne who married first Sir Walter Herbert, and secondly George earl of Huntingdon. Sir James Tyrrel was appointed a commissioner for his forfeited estates in Wales, and Sir Ralph Ashton, vice-constable, with a power to try either by the examination of witnesses *or otherwise*, to pass sentence, and to execute on the spot *without noise, form of trial or appeal, all persons suspected and guilty of high treason* or who were concerned in this insurrection: allowing him the full exercise of his discretion whenever he chose to act under this authority, and only requiring him on such occasions to take with him a secretary to make minutes of his proceedings.[2]

THE DUKE'S ESTATES RESTORED TO HIS SON.

"Soon after the establishment of Henry the Seventh upon the throne (A.D. 1485), Edward the

[1] This is the account of the treatment Bannister received from Richard, according to most historians, and Buck among others; but in a note to the life of Richard, by this latter author, it is said that Ralph (not Humphrey) Bannister who betrayed the duke, was rewarded for this service by a grant of the manor of Eadding in Kent, part of his unfortunate master's property, which grant is in part recited in this note, and the reader for its authenticity referred to K. R's. journ.

[2] If there were no other evidences remaining of Richard's tyranny than this bloody inquisitorial commission, it would be sufficient to consign his memory to perpetual infamy; unprecedented as are the words, and unlimited as is the power intrusted by this document, its authenticity is unquestionable. Buck, to conceal in part the iniquity of his hero in granting powers so extraordinary, says, the vice-constable was impowered to proceed against the rebels, "omni strepitu et *futura* judicii appellatione quacunque remota."—The commission as given by Rymer in the *Faedera*, vol. 12, p. 205 has, "sine strepitu et *figura* judicii appellatione quacunque remota."

1. TRETOWER CASTLE
2. CRICKHOWELL CASTLE

eldest son of the late Duke of Buckingham was restored to blood, his titles and estates, and upon the death of Edward Stanley earl of Derby in 1504, who in the first year of this king was created, or rather confirmed constable of England for life, the duke was appointed to this office, though the grant does not appear in the *Fœdera*, as all those of his predecessors do, yet there can be no doubt but that he held this office in the latter end of Henry the Seventh and in the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign; for Sir Robert Cotton in a paper in Hearne's *Curious Discourses*, tells us, that over his castle gate at Thornbury was the following inscription, 'This gate was begun 1511, and Anno regis Henrici octavi 2. by me Edward duke of Buckingham, earle of Hereford, Stafford and Northampton, high constable of England.' This office however expired with him, for after his death no person was ever appointed to it, and it is now scarcely known but to antiquarians.

"Though the confiscations of his father's property were immense and of course a very tempting bait to the avaricious Henry, yet his services had been so beneficial to this monarch's cause, and indeed, inasmuch as they had principally and primarily produced his elevation, gratitude prompted the restoration of everything to the son. In the last year of this reign he obtained a grant from the crown of the castle and ville of Bronllys, the manors and lordships of Bronllys, Cantreff selyff, Penkelley and Alexanderstone, with the third part of the barony of Penkelley, and the advowsons of all the churches belonging thereto. He confirmed by charter the franchises of the borough of Brecknock and considerably improved the castle, though his principal residence was at Thornbury in Gloucestershire, where by license from King Henry the Seventh, he had imparked one thousand acres of land, and began to build a stately edifice, which the shortness of his life prevented him from finishing. The distinguishing features of Edward duke of Buckingham were family pride and ostentation; he *felt* himself a duke, and indulged a high sense of rank and of his own consequence.

> He deem'd plebeians, with patrician blood
> Compared, the creatures of a lower species;
> Mere menial hands by nature meant to serve him.

HENRY DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, AND WOLSEY.

"It is said he was weak enough to have confidence in judicial astrology and divination. Upon all occasions of public show, the utmost magnificence of expence was exhibited in his dress, and he was studious of appearing unrivalled in elegance. Upon the celebration of Prince Arthur's nuptials with the lady Catherine of Spain, he appeared at Court in a robe of needlework upon cloth of tissue, and trimmed with sable, valued at the enormous sum of fifteen hundred pounds, and in honour of Prince Henry's accession to the throne, he rode to the Tower in a gown of goldsmith's work, 'a thing (says Stowe) of great riches;' but alas! this high patrician pride soon undid him, and brought him to the grave in early life, or at least in the prime of manhood, and the plebeian Wolsey triumphed over the noble Buckingham: some unguarded expressions uttered by the duke at first excited the cardinal's disgust, and a trivial circumstance converted the quarrel into deadly animosity. It seems that the duke having held the bason to the king, while he was washing his hands, the cardinal came and dipped his hands also in the water; this, 'though a trifle light as air,' so offended the high spirit of Buckingham, that in contempt he threw the whole contents into his eminency's shoes. The equally haughty prelate retired in a rage, vowing 'that he would shortly sit upon his skirts'; to make a jest of this threat, his grace appeared the next day in public without any skirts to his coat, jocularly observing that he did it by way of precaution.

THE DUKE ACCUSED OF HIGH TREASON.

"Trifling as all this may seem, it sealed the duke's destruction: so dangerous are ill timed jokes, 'sæpius hæ nugæ in seria ducunt.' This nobleman being descended in the female line from Thomas of Woodstock, conceived himself by birth to be nearly allied to royalty. He is said to have declared his intention of claiming the crown, if the king died without issue, and in that case his resolution to be revenged upon Wolsey for his insolence; being also, as before observed, infected with the absurd notions of magic and judicial astrology, he was weak enough to be led away by one Hopkins a monk of Henton, who pretended to inspiration, and flattered him with the hope of one day ascending the throne of England. The pride of family and perhaps the fond idea of seeing these wild predictions realized, led him into certain indiscretions, which being reported to Wolsey, were thought sufficient grounds for an impeachment; the Cardinal therefore having upon various pretences removed his friends out of the way, and secured the mercenary evidence of a discarded servant of the name of Knevett, boldly accused the duke of high treason. The King extremely jealous of all who had any pretensions to the crown, and fully aware of the ambitious character of Buckingham, was easily induced to credit the assertion, nor could the most solemn asservations of innocence avail him; for so deeply was the plot laid, that he was tried by his peers, found guilty, and condemned

(A.D. 1521). The Duke of Norfolk, with a flood of tears, pronounced the fatal order for execution, to which the noble prisoner submitted with a manly resolution, disdaining to sue for mercy, or ask a life of which he conceived they were unjustly about to deprive him; though he is said to have hinted that a free unsolicited pardon, if the king would grant it, would not be unacceptable. Shakespeare makes him thus pathetically address the audience at his execution:

When I came hither I was lord high constable
And Duke of Buckingham;—now poor Edward *Bohun*.[1]
Yet I am better than my base accusers,
Who never knew what truth meant; I now seal it;
My noble father Henry duke of Buckingham
Who first raised head against usurping Richard,
Flying for succour to his servant Bannister,
Being distress'd, was by that wretch betray'd,
And without trial fell: God's peace be with him!
Henry the Seventh succeeding, truly pitying
My father's loss, like a most royal prince
Restor'd me to my honours, and out of ruin
Made my name once more noble. Now his son
Henry the Eighth, life, honour, name and all,
That made me happy, at one stroke has taken
For ever from the world. I had my trial,
And must needs say a noble one,—which makes me
A little happier than my wretched father.
Yet thus far we are in one fortune; both
Fell by our servants,———by those men we loved most.
A most unnatural and faithless service!
Heaven has an end in all: yet you that hear me,
This from a dying man receive for certain:
Where you are liberal in loves and counsels
Be sure you be not loose; those you make friends
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from you,—never found again
But where they mean to sink you. All good people
Pray for me.———I must leave you—the last hour
Of my long weary life is come upon me,
Farewell! and when you would say something sad,
Speak how I fell. I have done; and God forgive me.

"When the Emperor Maximilian heard of this execution he severely remarked, 'that a butcher's dog had ran down the finest buck in England,' alluding to Wolsey being the son of a butcher; but if we take Dr. Henry's character of this duke, he was a desperate and dangerous man, who had formed the most pernicious schemes, and was capable of the most atrocious actions, and neither the king or the cardinal could be blamed for bringing him to trial, and permitting the sentence to be executed.

"The dukedom of Buckingham now became extinct. He left by his wife Alianor, daughter of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, one son and three daughters; Elizabeth the eldest married Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk. Catherine married Ralph Neville earl of Westmoreland, and Mary married George Neville lord Abergavenny. Henry (his son) was afterwards by an act of parliament restored in blood, and to the barony of Stafford only. Upon the death of Henry (the fifth baron of that name) without issue, the title of baron and baroness of Stafford was conferred in the reign of Charles the Second, on Sir William Howard knight of the Bath, and Mary Stafford, his wife, only sister of the last peer of that name, and the heirs male of their bodies, but they likewise, dying without children, the title became extinct. The last duke of Buckingham and lord of Brecknock, of whose life we have given the fullest account we have been able to collect, was executed May 17, 1521, and was buried at the church of Austin Friars in London.[2]

ANCIENT MANORS.

"The great lordship of Brecknock with the borough, castles, manors, and dependencies now merged in the crown, but the burgesses of Brecknock were permitted to retain their ancient franchises, upon payment of their accustomed fee farm rent of one hundred and twenty pounds a year. A list of the manors in Herefordshire dependent on the castle of Brecon, and owing suit and service to the court of Baili-glâs formerly held there, will be seen in the appendix No. XI. A further and more particular survey, made in the thirteenth of Henry the Eighth, containing the whole of the possessions of the lords of the castle and manor of Brecon will appear in another part of this

[1] Stephenson in one of his notes observes that Shakespeare was led into the mistake of the then family name of the duke of Buckingham, by Holinshed. Tollet however says the duke affected to take the name, as his ancestors did the arms, of Bohun, and we are inclined to think he is correct.

[2] The pedigree of this nobleman and his predecessors, lords of Brecon, will be seen in the appendix, No. X.

work. From this document it appears that the manorial rights and lands held by the last Duke of Buckingham, in this county and neighbourhood were of the annual value of £806 : 15 : 0½, to which every third year was added an increased rent of £506 13s. 4d. We are indebted to Sir Charles Morgan, bart., for permission to copy this valuable MS. which has been preserved in the evidence room at Tredegar."

ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII.

King Henry VIII. ascended the throne 1509. Descended from Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, and having thus in his veins Celtic blood, he did more than any previous monarch to promote the welfare of his ancestral country. He united Wales to England, and destroyed the power of the Lords Marchers; divided South Wales into counties, and established a form of justice which survived into the 19th century. He fostered the education of the people, establishing at Brecon that Collegiate establishment which has proved of such advantage to the Principality. In much of this he was ably advised by Sir John Price of the Priory, Brecon, a member of the Council of the Court of Marchers, established in the reign of King Edward IV. to curtail the power of the Lords Marchers. King Henry VIII., undoubtedly a great statesman, saw the advantages which would accrue from destroying a power which touched upon the Royal prerogative, and was a chief cause of the lawlessness then existing in Wales.

ABOLISHES THE LORDS MARCHERS.

After the execution of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, the Lordships of the Marches had for the most part fallen to the Crown. The time seemed appropriate for reforming laws and justice in Wales: "Albeit the principalitie of Wales hath been incorporated under the imperial crown, wherefore the Kinges moost Roiall Majestie of mere droite is verie Hedde King Lord and Ruler, yet notwithstanding because that in the same contrey dyvers lawes be farre diserepant from the lawes of this realme, and also because that the people of the same dominion do daily use a speche nothing like, ne consonaunt to the natural mother tonge used within this realme, some ignorant people have made distinccion between the Kinges subjects of this realme and his subjects of the said principalitie of Wales whereby great discorde has growen between the said subjects, His Highnes therefore hath enacted that his said countrey of Wales shall be united to his realme of Englande."

FORMATION OF COUNTIES.

The English laws of inheritance were extended to Wales. The Act then proceeds—"And forasmoche as there be dyvers lordshippes marchers within the said countrey of Wales, lieng between the shires of Englande and the shires of the said countrey of Wales.....and forasmoche as many of the said lordshippes marchers be now in possession of our soveraigne Lorde the Kinge and the smallest nombre of them in the possession of other lordes; be it enacted that dyvers of the said lordshippes marchers shall be united to the shires of Wales, and that all the residue of the said lordshippes marchers shall be divided into certayne p'ticular counties or shires, that is to say the countie or shire of Monimouth, the countie or shire of Brekenoke, the countie of shire of Radnor, the countie or shire of Montgomerie, the countie or shire of Denbigh."

The Act then defines the county of Monmouth, in which the King's subjects are to be obedient to the Lord Chancellor of England. It then proceeds:—"The lordshipps townes parishes commotes and cantredes of Brekenoke, Crickhowell, Tretowre, Penecelly, Englisshe Talgarth, Welshe Talgarth, Dynas, The Haye, Glynebogh [Glasbury], Broynlles, Cantercelly, Lando, Blayn Uynby, Estrodewe [Cwmdu], Buelthe, and Langors.....shall be accepted as members of the said countie or shire of Brekenok; and the town of Brekenok shall be reputed hede and shere towne of the said countie or shere of Brekenock."

The other counties are then dealt with in a similar way; and it is then enacted that the business of courts shall be transacted in English, and concludes—"For all Parliamentes to be holden for this realme one Knight shal be chosen for every of the shires of Brekenoke.....and for every other shire within the said countrey of Wales."

Thus Brecknock became a county. Its boundaries were not fixed with regard to local government, still less to modern requirements, but they represent a mass of ancient manors more or less connected with each other from very early times.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SESSIONS.

A few years later (1542), a further enactment settled by commission the boundaries of hundreds, permitted the stewards of manors to hold court leets, appointed justices of the "peaxe," also "oone custos rotulorum in every of the twelve shyres." "Twoo of the justices at the least were to keepe theyre sessions foure times in the yere," and at other times upon urgent causes.

Up to the time of the Reformation there were no schools in Wales. Whatever education the Welsh received they must have obtained within the walls of the monasteries at the hands of the monks. With the Tudor dynasty a change for the better took place, and the University of Oxford was entered by many natives of the Principality. Sir John Price of the Priory, of whose exertions on behalf of his country notice has already been taken, was educated there, but in Wales itself there were no schools.

HENRY ESTABLISHES A COLLEGE AT BRECON.

The College of Christ of Brecknock was founded by Henry VIII. by Royal Charter, bearing date January 19, in the 33rd year of his reign (1542). It states that his Majesty's subjects in the southern parts of Wales were unable by reason of their poverty to educate their sons, and by reason of their ignorance of the English language were unable to understand the laws which they were bound to obey, and that Christ College was intended to comprise a grammar school and divinity lectureship for providing instruction in letters and divinity. His Majesty then established a grammar school and provided gratuitous instruction. And by his Charter the priory of the Preaching Friars at Brecknock, with all property belonging to it at its dissolution, were given by his Majesty to the Bishop of St. David's, with power to transfer the officers of the existing college at Abergwili to the College of Christ at Brecon, to which the property of the College at Abergwili was also granted. After the Charter, the College at Abergwili was duly transferred to Brecknock, at which town it has carried on the work of education until the present time. But it will be more convenient to deal with the history of this important foundation when we come to the parochial history of the county.

WILLIAMS ANCESTOR OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

About this period we have translations of works into Welsh. Sir John Price, LL.D., was the son of Rhys ap Gwilym Gwyn, a gentleman of high standing in Brecknock. Having taken his degree at Oxford, he was called to the Bar, and soon attracted the notice of the King. He married Joan, niece of Morgan Williams of Whitchurch, an ancestor of Oliver Cromwell. At the dissolution of the monasteries he was appointed a Commissioner for their suppression, the field of his labour being the county of Brecknock. He translated into Welsh the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed, and published them in 1546, this, so far as is known, being the first book printed in the Welsh language.

SURVEY OF ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of King Henry VIII. is a survey and estimate of the whole ecclesiastical property in England and Wales in the state in which it stood on the eve of the Reformation—the accumulation of many centuries which had preceded since first the British Church was endowed. During a long series of years the usurpations of the Church of Rome on the ancient freedom and property of the British Church had been advancing till they had reached a height which may justly be called enormous. Some small contribution might not unreasonably be demanded from every part of Christendom by that power which was supposed to be ever consulting the common benefit of Christianity, and which did actually administer the affairs of the great Christian confederacy, but the contributions had grown excessive, and there was much vexation in consequence of the demands. Resistance to their encroachments had been made from time to time by the Sovereign and prelates. At length the cord was cut which bound the British Church to that of Rome, and in the time of Henry VIII. the Church of Rome was deprived of the whole revenue which she had been accustomed to derive from England. Two Acts were passed forbidding the payment of annates to Rome (23 Henry VIII. and 25 Henry VIII.), by which the clergy of England were relieved of a heavy burden; but it was not in the contemplation of the Court to give to the Church what it had wrested from the Pope without requiring something in return. The demand at last assumed the form that the Church should render to the King the first fruits of all benefices and dignitaries, and the tenth of their annual revenues. It was to carry into effect this Act that the *Valor* was formed. First fruits are the revenues of one entire year as they stood at the date of the assessment. Tenths, the tenth part of the clear annual value as then ascertained and recorded in "the King's books."

LOCAL CHURCHES IN THE TAXATIO.

Since the valuation (see *Taxatio*) in the time of Edward I. a great change had taken place in value estimated in money. The piety of the English nation had provided many churches; from the wealthiest dignitary to the most poorly endowed chantrey, all were brought under the new Act. The principal use now (1900) to be made of the *Valor* is determining the sums payable as first fruits and tenths which are still chargeable. These payments are no longer paid to the Crown. Queen Anne, as an act of royal bounty to the Church, in the second year of her reign, gave up this source

of revenue to trustees, who were empowered to administer it for the benefit of the poorer clergy. The *Valor* also shows what churches are of ancient foundation. Amongst chapels, it shows which have existed before the Reformation, for it is held that none escaped which had before the Reformation any fixed endowment; whence it follows that any chapel not in the *Valor* is either of more recent foundation or was in the reign of King Henry VIII. without endowment. The following extracts are taken from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in the Public Records publications in the British Museum:—

DEANERY OF THE FIRST PART OF BRECON.

Name of Parish as recorded.	Modern name of Parish.	Value as recorded.
Llanvigan	Llanfigan	15 9 11
Llandevailok	Llandefailog	13 0 0
Estradgullos	Ystradgunlais	9 10 7
Cantreff	Cantref	9 9 7
Vaynor	Vaynor	8 3 11
Llanspythytt	Llanspyddid	117s. 8
Tallasdoy	Talachddu	4 9 11
Abrysker	Aberyskir	66s. 1
Penderyn	Penderyn	9 3 11
Llanseyntfrede	Llansaint Fraed ..	6 4 5
Llandetty	Llanddetty	7 10 7
Llanhanilach	Llanhanilach	6 0 19
Llanfaes	Llanfaes	115s. 6
Devynok	Defynock	14 14 0
Lluell	Llywel	9 10 5
Merther	Merthyr Cynog ..	7 10 5
Llanvrenach	Llanfrynach	4 10 7
Llyswen	Llyswen	74s. 7
Carchprengny	Garthbrengy	66s. 8
Llandou	Llanddew	6 0 0

SECOND PART OF THE DEANERY OF BRECON.

Llanfihangel	Llanfihangel fechan ..	60 17 8
Llandevachle	Llandefalle	100s. 0
Bronlles	Bronllys	4 15 9
Llandey	Llanelly	4 5 3
Llangenedir and Eglus Yaill	Llangynidr	13 4 7
Llangastey	Llangasty-Talyllyn ..	4 18 7

Name of Parish as recorded.	Name of Modern Parish.	Value as recorded.
Crickhowell Rectoria		109s. 8
,, Vicaria		77s. 8
,, Porcionar		4 14 7
Llantilangel Talyllyn		4 12 3
Llantillo		6 14 9
Llangarse	Llangorse	109s. 11
Kethoddyn	Cathedine	102s. 11

THIRD PART OF BRECON.

Conerdny	Cwmdu	9 13 1

DEANERY OF BUILTH.

Masenynys	Maesmynis	7 0 15
Llangammarch, preb.		27 0 0
,, Vicarage		8 14 5
Llanynys		7 0 7
Llanbeter	Llanbedr in the Hundred of Crickhowell ..	16 17 6
Llanurthal	Llanwrthwl	9 13 2
Llanavon Vaure ..	Llanafan Fawr ..	9 8 7

DEANERY OF HAY.

Glasebury	Glasbury	10 0 0
Hay Vicarage	.. .. ..	7 0 4
Llanygon	Llanigon	7 7 7

In this return, Ystradfellte is not mentioned, but was probably included in Defynock, of which it was deemed a chapelry. Llandefailog tregraig is similarly a chapel of Llantillo. Llandeilo'r fan and Llanfihangel nant bran were then unseparated from Defynock. Trallong unmentioned as a perpetual curacy; Battle was a hamlet of St. John. Llanywern was then a chapelry. In Builth, Llanfechan was perhaps considered a chapelry to Llanafan fawr, and the same may apply to Alltmawr. Gwenddwr and Crickadarn were curacies of Llandefalle. These explanations will perhaps account for all the apparent omissions. How Llanbedr came to be included in the deanery of Builth is difficult of solution. Since the Taxatio of Edward I., Crickhowell has been made a parish, and the curious division of its emoluments into three portions will be found explained under Crickhowell.

Upon the union of Wales with England, the interests and political events of both countries became so amalgamated, that the history of one, is, generally speaking, the history of the other. Among the other lordships marchers, the little *Imperium in imperio* of Breconshire ceased, and the lord of Brecon had from thence forward no greater authority than any other lord of a manor in England. The first steward of this lordship after it vested in the crown, was Henry earl of Worcester, who was appointed to that office for life, soon after the duke's execution by King Henry the Eighth.

WILLIAM SALESBURY, AND JOHN PENRY.

In 1551, William Salesbury, son of Foulk Salesbury, Esq., of Llanwrst, Denbighshire, published the Epistles and Gospels in Welsh, followed in 1567 by his translation of the New Testament into Welsh. In this he was assisted by Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's; Dr. William Morgan (subsequently Bishop of St. Asaph, and who was in 1561 translated to the see of St. David's), and by Thomas Huet, rector of Cefn Llys and Disserth, Radnor, and precentor of St. David's from 1562 to 1588, in which latter year the translation of the Bible was completed. Huet built Tymawr in the

hamlet of Llysdinam, Brecknockshire, where he died in the year 1591, and lies buried in the churchyard of Llanavan.

John Penry was born in Brecknockshire in 1559. He was the son of Meredith Penry of Cefn Brith, Llangammarch, the surname being originally Ap Henry. John matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, 3rd December, 1580. At this time he professed Roman Catholic opinions, but soon adopted the Puritan doctrines. In 1583 he graduated B.A., and subsequently became a commoner of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, where he took the M.A. degree 1586. His principles did not allow him to take holy orders; none the less he practised both at Cambridge and Oxford.

He was deeply impressed with the spiritual destitution of his native county, where he preached generally in the open air with rousing energy. In 1586 he wrote an address to the Queen and Parliament on behalf of the country of Wales that some order may be taken for the preaching of the Gospel among the people. In it he drew a forcible picture of the ignorance of his fellow countrymen, of their belief in fairies and magic, their adherence to Roman Catholic opinions, and the silence and misconduct of the clergy. He urged the necessity of a Welsh translation of the Old Testament. This address was published at Oxford, and in a shortened form presented as a petition to Parliament. The Archbishop of Canterbury was not inclined to overlook an attack on the Church, so he issued his warrant calling in the book and ordering the author's arrest. Five hundred copies of the treatise were seized, Penry's opinions were pronounced heretical, and on his refusal to recant, he was sent to prison for twelve days.

PENRY'S PRINTING PRESS.

In April, 1587, he married Eleanor Godley, of Northampton. In Michaelmas, 1588, Penry purchased a printing press, which he deposited secretly at the house of Mr. Crane, at East Moulsey. Within three weeks, the first of the Martin Mar Prelate tracts were published. Then followed "An Exhortation to the Governours and People of Wales to labour earnestly to have the preaching of the Gospel planted among them," and other works of a polemical nature. Mr. Crane, from whose house these tracts emanated, having shown signs of alarm, the press was removed to the mansion of Sir Richard Knightley, a puritan squire of Northamptonshire. Penry was obliged to live with great secrecy, and in 1589 the press was seized by the authorities. On 29th January of the same year his house at Northampton was searched, his papers removed, and the Mayor was directed to apprehend Penry as a traitor, but before this could be carried out he fled to Scotland, where he was well received. In 1592, the controversy having subsided, Penry left Edinburgh with the intention of renewing his evangelising efforts in Wales. He, however, went to London, where for some time he was not molested, but on 21st May, 1593, he was put on his trial on a charge of having, while at Edinburgh, feloniously written certain words with intent to excite rebellion and insurrection in England. Penry was found guilty of treason, and sentenced to death; a week later, May 29, at five in the afternoon, he was hanged at St. Thomas a Watering, Surrey.

By Welsh historians, Penry is reckoned the pioneer of Welsh Nonconformity. He was a religious enthusiast, believing himself to be an instrument of God for the reformation of the Church and for sowing the seed of the Gospel amongst the mountains of Wales. In his writings he compared himself to Jeremiah and to Paul. It is not from such that mankind can expect prudence, but a modern judgment would probably be that, like the Apostles, he had done nothing worthy of death or of bonds.

BIBLE TRANSLATED INTO WELSH.

In the 5th year of Elizabeth, 1562—3, the Bible was ordered (chap. 28), to be translated into Welsh—"Whereas the Queen's most excellent Majesty did in the first year of her reign set forth a book of Common Prayer in the English tongue, which tongue is not understanded of the most of Her Majesty's loving subjects within her country of Wales, who therefore are utterly destitute of God's Holy Word, and remain in more darkness than they were in the time of Papistry, be it enacted that the Bishop of Hereford, St. David's, Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaf, shall take order that the whole Bible be duly translated into the Welsh tongue....."

ERECTION OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

In 1571, Dr. Hugh Price, of Brecon, obtained the Queen's leave to erect Jesus College, Oxford, and to endow it with lands and tenements to the annual value of £60. The expense of building amounted in his lifetime to about £1,500 and £300 was left in the hands of Sir E. Thelwall towards the completion of the work.

INSURRETION IN BRECONSHIRE.

"During the reign of Elizabeth, through the interest of Mrs. Blanche Parry, chief gentlewoman of her majesty's privy chamber (of whom we shall have occasion to say more, when we come to speak of the branch of the Parry family settled in Breconshire), Harry Vaughan of Moccas was

appointed her majesty's lieutenant for Brecon and steward of her castle and the lordships of Brecon and Dinas. This gentleman was of the Porthaml branch of the Vaughans, being a son of Watkin Vaughan of Tregunter, by Joan Parry, a daughter of Miles ap Harri or Parry of Poston in Herefordshire, the eldest brother of Mrs. Blanche Parry. Soon after the death of Elizabeth an insurrection of a very serious nature appears to have been projected, and in part executed in the county of Brecknock; though we have not been able to trace the cause of the dispute, nor is the event mentioned by any historian. Probably it arose from a desire of resisting the payments of the chief rents, the strict levy of cymorth, the *benevolence of the Welshmen*, or else from some oppressive acts committed by those who were appointed to collect these dues. An old Welsh song in the hand writing of one Thomas Powel, a prisoner in the county gaol of Brecknock in the year 1680, alone preserves the memory of this occurrence.

"It was written in Welsh, but we give the English translation only:—

Now hear me with attention,
All ye magistrates of Breconshire,
While with pleasure I praise gentlemen;
Two much esteem'd 'squires,
Sprung from Moreiddig:
It is probable they'll be members of parliament (or knights).

Mr. Harry Vaughan,
A just and upright lieutenant,
And Steward paramount we know,
Particularly of Dinas
And Brecon castle,
We've seen him in this situation in perilous times.

When old Bess died,
He promised full stoutly
He'd come and defend us like Samson;
He is indeed a man, fully
Has he carried his point;
However troublesome and alarming the times.

When the inhabitants of the high lands came down.

All under arms,
Bringing with them pointed bills (or bill hooks);

They said they'd pull down the castle,
That he should no longer be permitted to keep it,

That they'd drag him bleeding from his chamber.

They came down twelve hundred in number,
Of this I beg leave to assure (or warrant to) you.

They said they'd killed fifteen hundred
And if they could but penetrate into the castle,
They'd make it another Troy,
My companions be united and steady together.

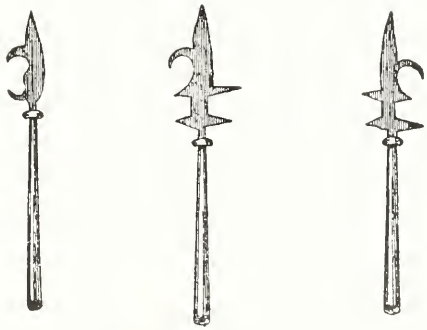
Harry Vaughan came
With little fear,
And six of his relations equally undaunted;
He was another Hector,
He cared not for their arms
But sent them bootless home.

They whispered to one another,
As they climbed the hills,
We've returned with shame my dear Christians:
Vaughan of what place do they call this man?
He's a rough one,
God preserve us poor ignorant men from him.

Poet.—Mr. Harry's mother
Was a daughter of Miles Parry,
Quite a notable heiress, we've heard
Of the land of Scudamore and Ewyas,
From the Millbourns she brought them.
Isn't that the marriage from whence they came?

"The song then proceeds to give us more of the lieutenant's pedigree, and the names of his companions, in vile spelling and worse poetry; the author does not mean (however strong the likeness between Harry and Hector) to assert that seven men beat twelve hundred, but that Vaughan and his associates by the assistance they rendered to the garrison, both by their talents and their bravery, enabled them to drive the enemy back without their errand.

"However despicable this ballad may be as a composition, it contains much curious information; from it we learn that the weapon used at this time in Wales, as well as in England, was a bill or billhook with a pike at the end.



Bilwg a pig yn ei bôn.

"This instrument, says Sir William Temple, gave the most ghastly and deplorable wounds, and it certainly is of a very destructive construction, but it is by no means calculated for the attack of a castle, and therefore it is not difficult to account for the assailants' want of success; indeed they seem to have expected to obtain a victory by surprise, but the governor or steward, being by some means or other apprised of their intentions, threw himself and a few select friends into the fortress, and the gates being secured, the fire of a few pieces of artillery and musketry must have dispersed them in a few minutes, and compelled them to take to their heels as fast as they could scamper; from this song likewise it appears that the English garrisons or the forces and adherents of that country, then in Brecknockshire, were computed at fifteen hundred men.

THE LORDSHIP OF BRECON.

"The lordship or manor of Brecon is that part of the county which since the erection of the castle of Brecon, continually has been appendant and appurtenant to that fortress; it consisted of nearly the whole of the hundred of Merthyr Cynog, of that part of Llywel which is Northward of the Usk, and of the parishes of Llanspyddid, St. David's, and Cantreff to the river Cynrig. The lordship of the great forest, or at least a great part of it, being acquired by the successors of Bernard Newmarch, subsequent to the conquest of Wales by Edward I. was not part of the lordship marcher, but was held by the lords of Brecon, like all other territories in Wales, (except the marches) as a fief under the Crown of England. While both these possessions continued in the same hands and under the same tenures, they were properly called the great lordship of Brecon; but since the attainder of the last Stafford duke of Buckingham, when they were dissevered, this term is erroneous.

THE GREAT FOREST OF BRECKNOCK.

King Charles II. granted to Mr. Rice the agistment of the Great Forest of Brecon (under date 1661), late parcel of the lands of Edward late Duke of Buckingham, attainted of high treason, the profits, &c., having been before demised to William Jones, gentleman, by the late Queen Elizabeth, 17 March, 1581 for the term of 21 years, except reserved all wild animals and deer within the said Forest of Brecon and the herbage and feeding for them; to have and to hold for the term of 31 years paying yearly for the agistment of the said forest £20 6s. 8d. Mr. Rice Jones undertook to collect all dues and to deliver every third year a perfect terrier of the forest.

"The lordship of the forest, which contains the most extensive part of the district, now (1805), held under a lease by Sir Charles Morgan, should be called the manor of the great forest, or the great forest of Devynnock, within the county of Brecon; and the remainder of which he holds in fee, when compared with this, will almost sink into the *little* lordship of Brecon. The boundary of the great forest commences on the North East with the fall of the river Camlais into the Usk; it proceeds up this latter river to its source, being intersected opposite Rhyd y briw, by the manor of the little forest; it then follows the boundary between Glamorganshire and Breconshire to the Taaf Vawr; here it proceeds upwards to the bridge which crosses the turnpike road from Brecon to Merthyr near the eighth mile stone, the boundary here is upon the North side of the Taaf upwards to the source of a brook called Podagau, leaving the Western van or beacon close upon the right; down this brook to the Tarell, which it crosses, and then proceeds in nearly a straight line to the source of the Camlais, the boundary to the fall, where it commenced. In 10 Geo. I. this manor was demised by the Prince of Wales to William Morgan of Tredegar, esq., to hold for twenty-one years after the expiration of a term then in existence, at the yearly rent of 20l. 6d. 8d. This term has been frequently since renewed, and under a late grant from the crown, Sir Charles Morgan now (1805) holds it for a certain number of years yet to come.

"The lordship of Brecknock remained entirely in the Crown until 1617, when it was granted to Sir Francis Bacon, Sir John Daccombe and other trustees, for ninety-nine years, for the use of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the First. This term after several assignments became vested in 1639 in Thomas Morgan of Machan, in the county of Monmouth, esquire, Robert Williams, esquire, and Robert Stafford, gentleman; the two latter in 1662 released their interest to Mr. Morgan of Machan, and in the meantime the fee was conveyed by Charles the First, in the seventh year of his reign, to trustees for the use of Sir William Russel, reserving to the Crown an annual fee farm rent of forty-four pounds and one half-penny. Sir William Russel, in the following year, parted with his interest to Phillip Earl of Pembroke, from whom it was purchased in 1639 by William Morgan of Dderw or Therw in Breconshire, esquire, whose daughter and heiress, Blanch, intermarrying with William Morgan of Tredegar, esquire, son of the above named Thomas Morgan of Machan, brought this and other property in Brecknockshire to that family, in which it still continues.

LLOYD'S HISTORY OF THE FOREST.

In the year 1905, Mr. John Lloyd, J.P., Barrister-at-law, of London, a son of the late John Lloyd,

HAY CASTLE IN 1805

Esq., J.P., of Dinas, Brecknock, compiled from orginal documents and published a "History of the Forest from the Conquest of England to the Present Time." The scope of the work may be judged from the following table of contents:—The Early History of the Great Forest; The Hill Causes (Trials 1786); The 1813 Trial with the Crown—the compromise; The First Settlement; Inclosure and Award; Sale of the Crown Allotment; The Waun Tinker lawsuit—Morgan v. Lloyd, right of shooting, 1846; The Public Limestone Quarries—various lawsuits, 1878 and 1886; The Commoners' Allotment-Owners Bill in Parliament in 1893, and its failure. To which are annexed (1) Lord Hobhouse on the Legal Position of the Great Forest, 1890; Lease of Minerals of Part of Great Forest to Mr. Johnes in 1804; Copy of the Forest Award of 1819, with schedule of Allotment-Holders; A Bill for Constituting the Commoners of the Great Forest of Brecknock a Body Corporate. In the preface to this most useful contribution to County History, the Author says: "The following pages are written with the object of placing fully before those interested the history of the Forest lands; and the Author hopes that a clear knowledge of the events of the past may assist in bringing a peaceful and lasting settlement of the Forest difficulties.....Nearly all the documents referred to are to be found among the *Maybery Papers*,[1] and are authentic and trustworthy, many of them being the original documents." There is a large coloured map of the Forest, dated 1819, attached to the work, and readers interested in this subject cannot do better than consult its pages. The present solicitors to the Commoners are Messrs. Jeffreys and Powell, of Brecon.

OWNERS OF MANORS IN 1805.

Builth, as well as Dinas and Blaenllyfni, were alienated in the reign of James the First. The former was purchased by Sir Edmund Sawyer, from whom by the marriage of his daughter it came to Sir Thomas Williams, the paternal ancestor of the Langoed baronets, who sold it to Judge Gwynne of Garth; in whose family it is at present (1805); a moiety of Cantreff-selyff was granted by the Crown about the same period, to the Williamses of Gwernyved, who uniting with the other line, the baronets, Williams of Tallyn and the Lodge, possessed it until it was sold about 1800 to John Macnamara, esquire, whose lady being descended from the Wogans of Wiston in Pembrokeshire, and consequently from Gwrgan ap Bleddin ap Maenarch, by a singular train of events, was seized of part of the property her ancestors enjoyed eight hundred years previously. The other moiety was granted by the Crown in the reign of Elizabeth, to Vaughan of Porthamal, from whom it has descended to the Earls of Ashburnham. The manor of Hay was illegally possessed in the reign of Henry the Eighth by James Boyle, as part of the possessions of the priory of Hereford, of which it certainly never was parcel; however, in the reign of James the First, Howel Gwyn of Trecastle, marrying his grand-daughter and coheir Mary, obtained a grant of it as well as several possessions in the neighbourhood; from him it descended to the Vaughans of Trebarried, whose representative, the widow of the Honourable John Harley, D.D., late bishop of Hereford, possessed it in 1805: and Penkelly after several conveyances, which will be more minutely mentioned hereafter, became the estate of the Games' and Jones' of Buckland, and afterwards of the Jeffreys', from the latter of whom it was purchased by Thynne Howe Gwynne, esquire.

ACCESSION OF KING CHARLES I.

On the 27th March, 1625, King Charles I. ascended the throne of England. His accession was an event of unalloyed pleasure to the great majority of the nation; his virtuous and pure life pleased all men. No King ever ascended the throne with better prospects of a peaceful reign. Unfortunately he had been brought up in a bad school, imbued from childhood with lofty ideas of kingly power, surrounded by servile flatterers. Charles immediately found himself at variance with his Parliament. Amongst the Commons were a party strongly possessed with Puritan feeling, a dislike to hierarchy, and a dread of incroachment from the Church of Rome. To maintain a hold over the King, they limited the supplies, granting a sum insufficient for the needs of the Crown in view of probable war with Spain. King Charles dissolved Parliament. On the very same day he ordered the Lords Lieutenants to borrow from the rich in their respective counties. The so called loan was practically compulsory, as the names of those refusing were to be sent to the Council. The amount collected was small, but the dissatisfaction was intense. In the county of Brecon one hundred and five pounds only were lent by seven persons. Letters had been sent to seventeen; seven only paid, and the rest sent excuses.

LEVY OF SHIP MONEY IN BRECONSHIRE.

The necessities of the King became more urgent. A new Parliament was assembled in February, 1626, but dissolved in the following June without supply being granted. Vessels were

[1] When the late Mr. H. O. A. Maybery ceased to practice as a solicitor (1905), a large number of very valuable documents relating to property in the County, and to the Iron and Coal Works of South Wales, were discovered by Mr. Lloyd, who, jointly with Sir W. T. Lewis, Bart., went to the expense of having them tabulated and copied. Some of those documents have been published in book form under the editorship of Mr. John Lloyd.

wanted to carry on the war. In 1627 the seaport towns were called upon to furnish them; this had not been unusual in times of emergency, but money being again wanted in 1635, ship money was again demanded. Now, however, it was levied on inland counties, and in a time of peace. In all, £200,000 was to be collected—Wales to pay £9,000, the proportion of Brecknockshire being £933. Little objection seems to have been raised to this impost; a further attempt to raise ship money was made in October, 1636, but this time it was not easy, even in Wales, to collect the money. At the 3rd November, 1640, Parliament again met, and its members were determined to check the Royal power and reform abuses. The Court of Marches in Wales, which had become an instrument of oppression, was abolished. Stafford, the favourite minister of the King, was impeached, and, deserted by his royal master, executed. Among the defenders of Stafford was Mr., afterwards Sir, Herbert Price, of the Priory, Brecon, and member for that borough, representing possibly the loyalists of his constituents. The breach between King and Parliament widened daily, and fearing violence, Charles quitted London on the 10th January, 1642.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF CIVIL WAR.

The Parliament now attempted to obtain command of the Militia, and appointed deputy lieutenants in every county, generally persons not inimical to the King, against whom they still professed no quarrel. In the beginning of August, King Charles appointed the Marquis of Hertford, lieutenant for the six counties of South Wales and the neighbouring districts of England, with power to levy forces against all enemies in any of the said counties. During the summer months the country was stirred to its very depths, and on both sides earnest preparations for war were being made. In South Wales the influence of the Marquis of Worcester was very great, and throughout the war he remained the most lavish supporter of the king. In Brecknockshire, Herbert Price of the Priory, was influential on the same side. Throughout the Principality the Royal cause predominated.

At the commencement of 1642, King Charles lay at York. In August he marched across the country, reaching Shrewsbury on September 20; here he was joined by his nephew, Prince Rupert of Bohemia. The town, being on the borders of Wales, where the Royalists were in a large majority, remained the headquarters for the Army during the war, and here the King stayed for a month. South Wales was free from the excitement which the Royal presence caused in the north, but Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester and others, were busy collecting arms and training men. Prince Charles of Wales visited Raglan Castle, where he was received with princely hospitality, and passing back through Radnor the people everywhere greeted him with affection.

BRECKNOCKSHIRE FIGHTS FOR THE KING.

On the 12th October, the King resolved to advance on London; he met the Parliamentary Army at Edgehill in Warwickshire, and in this battle a great many Welshmen were engaged; "clad in the same garments in which they left their native fields, with scythes, pitchforks, and even sickles in their hands, they cheerfully took the field, and literally, like reapers, descended to the harvest of death." The issue of the day was doubtful, but the King shortly after retreated to Oxford, where he spent the winter. In the meantime, Lord Herbert raised an army in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, and advanced into England; meeting with defeat, he re-crossed the Severn into South Wales. With Royal armies raised to the north and south of them, we may well imagine that men of Brecknockshire joined in the fighting for the King; yet the tide of war passed not up the Vale of Usk.

In the following year, 1643, Lord Herbert was appointed Lieutenant General of South Wales and Monmouthshire, and again he raised an army for the King, joining Prince Rupert at Cirencester, after taking that town, Herbert met with defeat at Gloucester, and Waller, the Parliamentary General, pursued the army into South Wales, when Monmouth, Chepstow, and Hereford fell in quick succession, the negotiations at the latter place being undertaken by Colonel Herbert Price of the Priory, Brecon, who now for the first time drew sword for the King. War was thus raging to the immediate west and south, yet the mountains of Brecknock still remained inviolate.

ROYALIST DEFEATS.

At the commencement of 1644 the King was at Oxford. Prince Rupert was appointed President of Wales, and on the 18th February he arrived at Shrewsbury, where throughout the year he defended the Royal cause with but moderate success. In South Wales the year opened badly for the Royalists. Colonel Laugharne, the Parliamentary leader, escaped from Pembroke and took the town of Tenby. Cardigan and Carmarthen were garrisoned for the King. Laugharne on April 10th and 11th mustered his troops, and the town of Carmarthen was "gotten by the sword by Pembroke men"; the help which had been expected from Brecknock came not. Colonel C. Gerard was now

placed in command of the Royal forces in South Wales, and he landed at Chepstow. Early in June he fell on the town of Carmarthen, which he presently mastered, and proceeded to subdue all Wales with such vigour that by the end of August Pembroke and Tenby were the only places remaining to the Parliament. In North Wales the Parliamentary army had in September taken Newtown, held only by a small garrison of Royalists, and Montgomery Castle had been surrendered. Powis Castle in Montgomeryshire had fallen and Monmouth had been taken by the Parliamentary forces. Gerard, who had been watching Laugharne at Pembroke, marched northward through Abergavenny to Worcester, hoping there to join the King. His Majesty had, however, met with defeat at Newbury, and retreated into winter quarters at Oxford. Massey, the Parliamentary general, started from Monmouth in pursuit of Gerard, and in his absence the Royalists re-captured the town. Thus for still another year did the clash of arms resound through the neighbouring counties, while the county of Brecknock was spared the horrors of battle.

On April 23rd, 1645, Gerard was again ordered into South Wales, where Col. Laugharne had resumed activity. Meeting with him at Newcastle Emlyn, Gerard defeated him with great loss, and Haverfordwest yielded the next day. Once more the Parliamentary forces were enclosed in Tenby and Pembroke, and the tide seemed turning in favour of royalty, so much so that when, on the 7th of May, the King left Oxford, he wrote to the Queen under date 9th of May, "Never since the beginning of the rebellion have my affairs been in so good a position." But on the 13th was fought the battle of Naseby, and here the forces of the King were utterly routed. Charles determined to go to Hereford, and thence into Wales, where he thought the people still true to him. He reached Hereford on the 19th June, and here Gerard joined him with 2,000 horse and foot; but on the 1st July His Majesty left Hereford for Abergavenny, on the 3rd proceeded to Raglan, where he was certain of hearty welcome, and so spent nearly a fortnight in inactivity while the Parliamentary forces were closing round. On the 16th the King visited Sir William Morgan at Tredegar, returning on the 18th to Raglan, and on the 24th His Majesty essayed to fly to Bristol, but abandoned the design.

KING CHARLES I. AT RUPERRA.

Bridgewater had fallen, Hereford was in need of relief, and it was hoped that a Welsh army might be raised, but the ardour of Wales was gone. Sir Charles Gerard was a brave soldier, but a tyrannical ruler, and he had alienated the hearts of the people. From the 25th to the 29th July, the King was at Ruperra, the guest of Sir Philip Morgan, and on the 29th he was at Cardiff At the instance of the Welsh, Sir C. Gerard was removed from command, and Sir Jacob Astley put in his place. Col. Laugharne, hearing how things were going with the Royalists, determined to try once more the issue of battle, and on Friday, August 1st, he met the King's forces at Colby, Mon., and utterly routed them, so that on Saturday the town of Haverfordwest again fell into his hands.

THE KING AT BRECON: LETTER TO HIS SON.

The country now cried loudly for peace. The King's prospects were very sad, and Prince Rupert, from Bristol, counselled his sovereign to seek peace. Let Charles's reply speak for itself: "Speaking as a mere soldier and statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; yet as a Christian I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels and traitors to prosper nor this cause to be overthrown, and whatever personal punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon me must not make me repine.....Composition with them is nothing else but a submission, which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against whatsoever it cost me, for I know my obligation to be, both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my friends....." It was, however, high time for the King to study his own safety, as he was in the midst of danger. The Scots were at Hereford, and Laugharne, victorious in Pembroke, was said to be marching eastward; accordingly the King, on the night of the 4th of August, set forth from Cardiff at the head of a small force, and marched over the mountains to Brecknock, where he rested for the night at the Priory, the house of his faithful friend Sir Herbert Price, then governor of the town.

At Brecon, dated 5th August, 1645, he wrote to his son a most pathetic letter, from which we extract the following:—"Charles.—It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst, in order to which I spoke with Colepepper this morning concerning you, judging fit to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readiest obedience to it. Wherefore know that my pleasure is, whensoever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the rebels' hands, that you convey yourself into France, and there to be under your mother's care, who is to have the absolute full power of your education in all things except religion and in that not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your tutor, the Bishop of Salisbury....Your Loving Father, CHARLES, R." The next day,

Wednesday the 6th, the King passed out of Brecknock into Radnor, and on his way he dined at Sir Henry Williams's seat at Gwernyfed, reaching Old Radnor the same evening. Thence he fled to Yorkshire and then to Oxford on the 28th, knowing possibly not where to go. From Newport, Sir Joseph Astley wrote that "the gentry of Brecknock were inclined to be neutral and to join with the strongest party," nor could he get help from Monmouth or Glamorgan.

PROMINENT ROYALISTS IN BRECONSHIRE.

Elated by some successes in the north, the King returned to Hereford, the seige of which was raised on his approach. Once more the King was seduced by the pleasures of Raglan, where he wasted a fortnight, and Langdale, his lieutenant, marched to Brecon, with what purpose is not clear. Laugharne, major general in the Parliamentary army, was busy in Pembrokeshire, and Carew and Manorbier Castles were taken early in September; Picton yielded on the 20th, and Pembroke was cleared of Royalists. Carmarthen negotiated a treaty. In Glamorganshire, the people were now unanimous for the Parliament; and having little to do in that county, Major General Laugharne pushed his way into Brecknock, a county which had hitherto escaped wonderfully from the ravages of war. The majority of the gentry in Brecknock were favourable to the King. Herbert Price of the Priory, member for the borough, took up arms for the King, and was disabled from sitting in Parliament. John Jeffreys of Abercynrig, Lewis Lloyd of Wernos, and Edward Games of Buckland, were conspicuous Royalists; but resistance was hopeless, and they may not have been loth, from motives of expediency, to propitiate the victorious party. Laugharne reached Brecon and was well received. For a short time the Castle, under Colonel Turberville Morgan, held out, but it fell, and the entire county was subdued. On the 17th November the county was assessed in £120 weekly; and on the 23rd, thirty-four of the leading men of the county signed a declaration offering to submit their lives and fortunes to the service of Parliament. Herbert Price and John Jeffreys were absent. Laugharne sent the declaration to Parliament, where it was read on the 5th of December "with satisfaction."

At the close of the year the people of Brecon must have heard with less satisfaction of further Royalists' defeats, of a host of cavaliers taken prisoners at Hereford, amongst them Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, chief justice of the great sessions for Brecon, Radnor, and Glamorgan; Lieutenant-col. Herbert Price of Brecknock; and Lieutenant-Col. Jeffreys of Abercynrig, Brecon. This happened on the 18th December. In 1646, South Wales was reduced to obedienee to the Parliament; the county of Brecon had made submission; and the King yielded himself to the Scotch. In August, Raglan Castle, after a most brave defence, was forced to capitulate. The civil war was at an end.

SIR WILLIAM LEWIS OF LLANGORSE.

The year 1647 marks the commencement of disagreements between the victors—the Army and Parliament. The Presbyterians in Parliament voted the disbandment of the Army, and the Army insisted on being paid all arrears, granted an indemnity for acts done during the war, and other advantages. A meeting with Parliamentary Commissioners only led to further demands, that eleven members of the House, the chief enemies of the Army, should be impeached and in the meantime expelled the House. Of these eleven members, Sir William Lewis of Llangorse, in the county of Brecknock, member for Peterfield, was one. He and John Glyn of Carmarthen, Recorder of London, were charged with having acted in excess of their powers on a committee for the settling of Wales; Sir W. Lewis was also charged with protecting delinquents,[1] amongst them Mr. Morgan, late knight of the shire, Mr. John Herbert, and others in Brecknock, freeing them from composition, and urging them to continue true to the King; that many faithful to the Parliament had been unrewarded; that he had caused the personal estate of Colonel Herbert Price (Governor of Brecon for the King) to be restored to him; and had caused his real estate, worth £300 a year, to be let to a friend for £50 for the benefit of Price's wife. All these allegations were denied, but the charges were not investigated, the accused members going across seas.

BADGE OF BRECONSHIRE ROYALISTS.

The first of March, 1648, was the day fixed for the disbanding of some of the forces in Wales. Poyer, an officer of the Parliamentary army, declined either to disband or to deliver up the castle of Pembroke, and the Parliament's Commissioners were set at defiance. Colonel Horton was sent to quell the insurrection, and to carry out the disbandment of the troops. Early in April he established himself at Brecon, having dispersed a small garrison brought together by some of the gentry. Mr. Games appears to have been the leader of the movement, and he and some ten others were made

[1] Only four persons compounded for their estates in Brecknockshire, in consequence of their attachment to the royal cause, these were John Herbert, of Crickhowel, esq. for £397; John Jeffreys of Abercynrig, esq. for £380; Lewis Morgan, of Llangeney, gent, for £9; and John Williams, of Park in Builth, for £50 18s 0d.

prisoners. The Royalists of Brecon, thus deprived of their leading men, were by no means put down, but joining with some from Radnorshire endeavoured to raise troops to harass Horton. An anonymous writer of the period makes this comment, dated from "Brecknock, April 29, 1648":—"Colonel Horton since his first coming here hath deported himself well. There were divers gentlemen of the county, Mr. Games and others, had drawn in same to garrison this town [Brecon] for the King, who do daily increase their strength. It is reported that they are about 5,000 and mostly armed, the malignant gentlemen wear blue ribbons in their hats with this motto:

"I long to see { a crown / a rose } R"

Whilst Colonel Horton, writing to General Fairfax from St. Fagan's under date May 6, 1648, says:—"In my last I made mention of sundry gentlemen of the counties of Brecknock and Radnor met in Builth to consult about the raising of the counties.....and my sending a party to apprehend them, the success whereof was the taking of one Mr. Hugh Lloyd (one of the excepted persons, Lewis Lloyd, late Sheriff of Brecon, and one of his sons Marmaduke Lloyd, and some others..... Captain Creed with three troops of Thornhaugh's regiment doth very good service, being now quartered about Glasbury Bridge, which is a great pass near the junction of the counties of Hereford, Radnor, and Brecon....."

In the month of January, 1649, King Charles I. was beheaded at Whitehall.

COLONEL JENKIN JONES OF LLANDDETTY.

"It has been seen that in 1648, the tide of popular opinion was in favour of royalty: to the change of sentiments, which afterwards prevailed, several causes contributed. Hugh Peters having been sent by Cromwell to raise a regiment in South Wales, instead of recruiting, employed his time in Swansea, in drinking and dissipation, and fearing he might be called to account for his negligence and inattention, he pretended he had been engaged in forming, what he called a "congregational church."[1] In this he was assisted by a Colonel Phillip Jones[2] of Penywain in Llangevelach (a parish in the neighbourhood of Swansea), a zealous and active partizan of Cromwell's, who in 1656 became *one* of the members for the county of Brecknock, both having been then chosen for the county, and not one for the borough; he was also at that time one of his highness's council. In conjunction with this associate and a Mr. Samson Lort, they ventured to suggest what was afterwards called, the root and branch scheme; this was no other than the sequestration of all ecclesiastical benefices and revenues without exception, and bringing them into one public treasury, out which six itinerant (puritanical) ministers in every county were to be allowed one hundred a year each. To establish this godly reformation, an act was obtained, entitled 'an act for the propagation of the gospel in Wales;' under this law, needy and rapacious commissioners were appointed, who seized upon the property of the church, and ousted her most respectable ministers under the most trivial pretences and at the same time that they decried tythes, they enforced their payment with the utmost rigour, though no clear account could ever be procured how they were applied[3]. The infamous character and conduct of the inventors of this scheme, as well as the extortion and injustice with which it was attended and executed, alienated the minds of the generality of the inhabitants of Breconshire, and the distike to the power of parliament which appeared there in 1648, was also greatly augmented by the knowledge of the harsh treatment of their captive monarch, as well as by the development of the interested views of the popular leaders, now become evident to all thinking men; but notwithstanding this general disinclination to obey the powers of the day, such was the activity and courage of the troops employed to crush the rising spirit of disaffection (as it was called) aided by the bravery and conduct, as well as the forces of a Colonel Jenkin[4] Jones or Jenkin John Howel of Llanddetty in Breconshire, that they were obliged reluctantly to submit to the government of the commonwealth, and afterwards to the usurpation of Cromwell, though not without considerable struggles and frequent heart burnings, which occasionally broke out in complaints of the injuries and oppressions exercised over the country by the propagators of the gospel, and their agents and servants. A very strong memorial of this nature was presented by Mr. Edward[5] Williams, sheriff of Breconshire in 1659, in answer to the queries from a committee of parliament to inquire how Wales was supplied with a ministry. It is much to be lamented that this curious

[1] Walker's sufferings of the clergy, vol I. p. 147.

[2] Ancestor of the present family of Jones, of Fonmon castle, in Glamorganshire.

[3] It is remarkable that the act for the propagation of the gospel in Wales is not to be found in Scobel's collection of statutes, &c.

[4] We shall have occasion to introduce this Mr. Jenkin Jones to the acquaintance of our readers and to say a good deal more of him when we come to treat of the parochial history of the parish of Llanddetty.

[5] He was one of the descendants of the Bullens and lived at Gwern-y-vigin, in the parish of Trallong, in Breconshire; he will be seen hereafter in the Abercamlais pedigree.

document is not now to be found; from several extracts from it in Walker, it appears that this truly patriotic officer reprobated in very strong terms the conduct of the commissioners appointed under the act just mentioned, charging them with having ejected and dispossessed those clergymen who were most eminent for the purity of their lives, or for their literary abilities, and suffering those only to hold benefices or preferments, who were ignorant, but ready to farm the tithes, or to take small stipends from the reformers. For the boldness of his language, Mr. Williams was removed from his office, and Lewis Jones of Trebinshun, son of the fighting and praying Colonel Jenkin Jones, substituted in his room, but Williams was replaced the following year (A.D. 1660) upon the restoration of Charles the Second, whose return was hailed with acclamations by his Welsh subjects, which were repaid in the same manner as he rewarded the majority of his English friends.

In the reign of his brother and successor, who was engaged in the absurd attempt to convert and convince his subjects against their will, some of his partizans in the neighbouring counties, who were induced to support him from political or religious motives, endeavoured to avail themselves of the loyalty of the county of Brecknock, and similar efforts were made when his descendent landed in this kingdom; but they were soon convinced that we were enemies alike to abitrary power and popular outrages, that the despotism of an individual who claimed a right to dispense with the laws at his pleasure was equally odious to us, with the fluctuating and unstable government of the many, and that the inhabitants of this part of Wales were determined to support that constitution to which we have now been so long habituated and endeared, and to which no portion of his majesty's subjects feel more warmly attached than we do, while it preserves the renovating and sanative power of amending its defects (a power, neither too frequent or too hastily to be exercised), while it accommodates our wants, encourages our arts, our commerce and our manufactures, as far as it can be done without prejudice to the general weal of the kingdom, and while under it we enjoy *rational* liberty and the protection of our persons and properties, by the operation of laws, dictated by wisdom and the light of experience, and administered to all ranks and conditions in life with equal justice and impartiality.

DESCRIPTION OF COUNTY ROADS AND PLACES IN 1765.

The following description of towns, villages, and roads in the county of Brecknock in the year 1675, is taken from John Ogilby's *Roads of England and Wales*. Road from Chester to Cardiff so far as it passes through Brecknock:—"From Radnorshire you cross Wye over a wooden bridg, where you at once enter Brecknockshire and the town of Bealt, a small town seated amongst woods contains about 80 houses; hath a grand market on Monday's for live cattel, and two petty on Thursdays and Saturdays for provisions, with 3 fairs yearly, viz., 16th of June, the 21st of September, and St. Katherin's Day." [The description of the 16-mile road to Brecon is here described.] "Enter Brecknock seated at the confluence of the Usk and Hondy, called by the 'Britains' Aberhondy. It is a large town corporate, containing three parish churches, viz., St. Maries, St. John Evangelist, and the College, and is divided into 11 wards, was formerly strengthened with a wall and castle, is *at present the residence of the Bishop of St. David's*, and is governed by a bailiff, 2 aldermen, and 12 common council, hath the privilege of sending a burgess to Parliament, and enjoys three markets weekly, on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, and 3 fairs annually, viz., Midsomer day, 29th of August, and the 5th of November, is honoured by giving title of Earl to his grace James, Duke of Ormonde, and hath several good inns, as the Deer, Ragged Staff, King's Head, &c. [The road south is then described past Capel Taff Vechan to Ponstucketh Bridge] and enter Glamorganshire leaving Morlesh Castle on your right crossing the Tavy again, whence little occurs but passing over several great hills and large vales and by several dispersed houses [meaning perhaps Merthyr Tydfil and Dowlais] and so by Carfilly Castle to Cardiff.

"The road from Monmouth to Llanbeder in Cardiganshire, [described from Monmouth to Abergaveny (vulgo Abergeny)]" enter Brecknockshire passing through a village called Llangrenay (Llangroyne) where over a wooden bridg you cross the river Grenay and enter Crecowel a small town yet hath for its government a bailif and two burgesses, enjoys a small market on Mondays and three fairs annually, viz., May Day, St, Thomas, and St. Laurence. Numbers about 100 houses and hath an indifferent inn The White Lyon [Crickhowell bridge is not marked on the plate, but there is a wooden bridge over a brook probably Pont bryn hust over the Rhiangolch], you pass by some scattering houses on the road and leave Llanihangle y combdy [Cwmdu] on the right and by some houses on the road belonging to it called Tretowre, pass through a disunited village seated on an eminence called Bwlch in which is the Port Cullice Inn of good accommodation, whence a straight way leads through Llansaintfraed, Castro, [Penkelly] and Llanhamich all small villages to Brecon.

"At the end of the town over a stone bridg of 7 arches you cross the river Usk and pass by several discontinued houses leaving St. David's Church on the left [the Tarell bridge is marked stone] and are conveyed to a stone bridge of 5 arches over the Usk where you enter Redbrue [Rhyd y briw], a small village, and leave Defynock Church about a mile on the left, you a third time cross the Usk [wood bridge over Usk] and cross it again when you pass through Trecastle, a small village with an inn in it, then ascending Castle Fluch hill a straight and open way [heath on both sides] leads you to Carmarthenshire.

"The road from 'Prestaine to Carmarthen,' plate 84 (Builth to Llandovery) after Builth "over a wooden bridg you cross the river Verrar [Irfon] pass through Cavenabeth a small village [Cefn y bydd] whence by several disperst houses and by Mr. Price's house on the right [? Cilmery] you come to Llanavar [Llanavan fechan] and to a wooden bridge called Ponteridgley over a brook, then passing again by some houses you descend and [6m. and 2f. from Builth] leave Mr. Lloyd's house on the right and crossing two or three small brooks by some houses on the left ascend a hill of 9 furlongs, whence a straight open way sprinkled with houses brings you [12 miles from Builth] to a house on the right called Ludlou Vaugh where you enter Carmarthenshire."

Distances seem to have been vague. Presteign to Carmarthen, the vulgar computation 46 miles; the dimensuration 61 miles. These three roads are the only ones in Brecknockshire planned by Ogilby, the main interest of this narrative being the description of towns at the date. The antiquity of bridges, chiefly in those days built of wood, while the want of record of Merthyr Tydfil and Dowlais in the south, and of Llangammarch and Llanwrtyd in the north indicates the advance of prosperity in the three centuries which have passed since Ogilby compiled his interesting book.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Duke of Beaufort's Royal Progress—Extracts from Books of Orders of the Court of Quarter Sessions, Vol. 1—1686-1713; Vol. 2—1714-1742; Vol. 3—1742-1762; Vol. 4—1762-1787; Vol. 5—1787-1815.—Ironmasters.—Crawshay Pedigree.

AS early as the reign of King Edward IV., a few years after the eldest son had been created Prince of Wales, a Council was appointed who exercised authority in the Prince's name for the better government of Wales and the Marches. The Statutes relating to Wales in the reign of Henry VIII. were passed at the instigation of Lee, Bishop of Litchfield, at that time president of the Council. The institution of the Courts of Great Sessions relieved the Council of much of its business, civil and criminal, but it continued to sit at Ludlow, exercising a concurrent jurisdiction. The breaking out of the Civil War suspended its functions, and with the surrender at Ludlow Castle to the forces of Parliament on the 6th June, 1646, the Court of Council was virtually abolished. After the Restoration the Council was re-established under Lord Carbery as president, and on the 19th March, 1672, Henry, third Marquis of Worcester, was appointed Lord Carbery's successor. He was already Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and now became Lord President of the Council and Lord Lieutenant of the Counties in Wales. On the 2nd December, 1682, he was advanced for his eminent services to the King since his restoration to the title of Duke of Beaufort.

PROGRESS OF THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT THROUGH WALES.

Of this nobleman, Lord Macaulay writes: "His official tours through the extensive regions in which he represented the Majesty of the throne were scarcely inferior in pomp to royal progresses. His household at Badminton was regulated after the fashion of an earlier generation. The land to a great extent round his pleasure grounds was in his own hands; and the labourers who cultivated it formed part of his family. Nine tables were every day spread under his roof for two hundred persons. A crowd of gentlemen and pages were under the orders of the steward. The fame of the kitchen, the cellar, the kennel, and the stables was spread over all England. The gentry many miles round were proud of the magnificence of their great neighbour, and were at the same time charmed by his affability and good nature. He was a zealous Cavalier of the old school." The progress of such a man through Brecknock would no doubt be the great event within the county during the year 1684. In the train of the Duke travelled Thomas Dineley, who has left an interesting account of the progress.

"MONDAY, JULY 14, 1684.—The most noble and illustrious Prince Henry Duke of Beaufort, Marquis and Earl of Worcester, Baron Herbert of Raglan, Chepstow, and Gower, Lord President of Wales, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Gloucester, Hereford, and Monmouth, etc., Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, began his progress towards the general visitation of his commands in the Principality of Wales."

On THURSDAY, JULY 17, the Duke arrived at Ludlow, where an account is given of his cavalcade: "Towards the evening of July 17, His Grace was met about a mile short of Ludlow by the Ludlow officers of his presidency. On his approach the mace was shouldered, upon which all the officers with those others belonging to Ludlow Castle and of his Grace's retinue and family became uncovered and fell into their places two and two. The inhabitants of Ludlow lining the road and avenue to the town on both sides. The order wherein his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, Lord President of Wales, in solemn manner, made his entry into Ludlow was thus—

"First. The Quarter-master for the Progress.

2. Four sumpture men in livery well mounted and leading their bagge covered with fair sumpture cloaths of fine blue cloth diversified and embroidered with the coat of arms of his Grace.
3. Three helpers belonging to the stables, in livery, leading horses to supply accidents and defect of the 'coach cavalry.'
4. His Grace's Gentleman of the Horse, well mounted and equipped.

5. Six pages in rich liveries following him two and two.
6. Seven grooms in livery, each with a led horse comparisoned.
7. His Graee's four trumpeters in very rich coats, having for body his Grace's cypher in gold under a ducal crown on their backs and breasts, each with a silver trumpet with gold and silver strings and tassels, and crimsoned flowered damask banners embroidered with the coat of arms of his Grace, etc.
8. The Lieutenant Colonel of the Militia of the County of Wilts, who led the cavalcade of his Grace's gentlemen, officers, and servants of his family.
9. Two gentlemen at large (one of whom we may expect was Mr Thomas Dineley).
10. The Yeomen of his Grace's wine cellar, and the Groom of the Chamber, 'in a breast.'
11. The Cooks.
12. The Master of Music, and the Harper to his Graee.
13. The Mareschall or Farrier of the Progress.
14. The Clerk of the Kitchen and another.
15. Captain Spalding and the Rev. his Grace's Chaplain.
16. The Steward of the House and Steward outward
17. The Secretary and Solicitor.
18. Mr Lockwood and Mons. Claud of his Grace's Chamber.
19. Muster Master of Gloucester and the Governor of Chepstow Castle.
20. The Sergeant with the Mace.
21. Officers White Rod and Pursuivants.
22. His Grace the Duke of Beaufort and Lord President of Wales himself in glorious equippage.
23. The Right Hon. Charles Earl of Worcester, the High Sheriff of Salop, and a great number of gentlemen.

These were followed by his Grace's chariot and two coaches and six horses, wherein was her Grace the Lady Duchess of Beaufort, the Countess of Worcester, the most noble ladies her daughters, their women, and a great retinue.

How they were nobly entertained at Ludlow, and the progress made through North Wales is beyond our purpose, until on Tuesday, August 5th, having crossed the Wye at Whitney Ford (no bridge then) in his ehariot, His Grace was received by the High Sheriff, gentlemen, and county troop of Brecon, who first conducted him to the Haye, a market and eastle town in Brecknockshire, where his Grace and company dined, a very handsome entertainment having been provided at the Castle.

Tuesday, August 5, in the evening, the Duke of Beaufort eame to Brecknock, accompanied by a great number of gentlemen besides his own attendants, and the Militia horse of this county, finding a guard made by the foot on both sides of the way from the town gate, where the Bayley, Colonel Jefferies, the Town Clerk, the rest of the Town Council, magistrates, and officers of the Town, were ready in their robes of magistracy to receive him to the house of the said Colonel Jefferies, called the Priory at Brecknock, at which place his Grace lay two nights, both himself and company and retinue being delicately entertained. At the following day, August 6th, the Earl of Worcester arrived from Troy, his seat in Monmouthshire; again there is a fnnction and feasting as before, and the company are led to the Town Hall, where his Grace, the Earl of Worcester, Sir John Talbot, and other persons of quality were made Freemen.

On Wednesday, August 6th, His Grace the Duke of Beaufort accompanied by the Earl of Worcester and other persons of quality, took a view of the Militia of this county in a meadow near the Town, where they were drawn up to exercise, 'and made severall close and laudable fireing.' It consisted of one troop, and five companies of foot with green colours flying. The foot were clad with new hatts, blew eassacks, white sashes edged with blew worsted fringe, broad buff coloured shoulder belts, and red yarn stockins. The horse appeared well mounted, with buff coats, carbines, pistolls; back, breast, and pott (steel armour and helmet perhaps), bridles, and collars, huisses with their cloaks strapped behind them. With officers at the head of both in good equippage.

Thursday, August 7, 1684, the Duke of Beaufort parted from Colonel Jefferies, well satisfied with the good order he found the Militia in, both horse and foot of this county; and with his reception, not only there but in the Town of Brecknock, "which were very noble." He was conducted to the confines of the county by the High Sheriff and gentry and Militia troop, and in ye road two miles from hence in the highway His Grace's coach was stayed with a neat banquet of sweetmeats and wine presented by Daniel Williams, of Penpont, Esquire, after which his Grace being come to

the edge of Carmarthenshire the Brecknockshire troop was relieved by the High Sheriff, gentry, and Militia troop of that county; and with the Brecknock troop we too returned into our own county.

Farewell, Your Grace! And as we ride back to Brecon we doubtless tell each other how well we should like to serve under so noble a commander, as indeed we do serve before a year is out, when occasion arises for His Grace to do once more loyal service to his Sovereign.

BOOK OF ORDERS OF QUARTER SESSIONS.—VOL. 1: 1686—1713.

The first volume of the Orders of Quarter Sessions covers the period from A.D. 1686 to October, 1713 (from the second year of King James II. to the 12th of the reign of Queen Anne). The headings are in Latin with abbrevations difficult to read. The year is given as that of the Sovereign with these exceptions: the date at commencement being given as 1686, the date 1702 and 1710 are written in figures, but the number of Sessions between do not seem to tally. From this cause the present chapter may be in error as much as a year in some statements. There were few adjournments of the Court ("adjournamentum" is the word used, which speaks well for the inventive genius of the clerk).

The year before the commencement of the Record, 1685, is the date of the accession of King James II. He had not ascended the throne without opposition; the Duke of Monmouth endeavoured to raise the South Western counties of England in support of his own pretensions to the Crown. While a wanderer on the Continent in early life, Charles II. had met at the Hague, Lucy Walters, a Welsh girl of great beauty; she became his mistress, and in 1649 gave birth to a son. After the Restoration, this son, now grown to man's estate, appeared at Whitehall, where he was acknowledged by the King, with whom he became a great favourite; amongst other honours he had the Dukedom of Monmouth conferred upon him. Many thought that Charles had been married to Lucy Walters, and that, if all had their rights, Monmouth would have been Prince of Wales and heir to the throne of England.

On the accession of James II. Monmouth landed at Lyme on the 11th June with a small following; the populace accepting him as the champion of the Protestant religion and the heir of England, and flocked to his standard. At Taunton he was received with transports of joy, the people of Bridgwater furnished him with money, and he assumed the royal title and marched upon Bristol. At Bristol, Henry Duke of Beaufort was in arms. He had, as we have seen, inspected the Militia of the district under his command in 1684, and at this crisis he used his whole influence in support of the Crown; with the trained bands of Gloucester and other levies he occupied Bristol.

Monmouth was encamped only five miles from the town, when the garrison was reinforced by the King's life guards and the siege was abandoned. On the 20th of June the forces of the King gained a decisive victory at Sedgmoor near Bridgwater; on the 6th July Monmouth was captured and beheaded on Tower Hill.

BRECONSHIRE MILITIA, AND WORK OF JUSTICES.

In the Army of the Duke of Beaufort there fought at Bristol, and probably at Sedgmoor, some of the Militia he had reviewed at Brecon in the preceding August; for in April, 1686, the justices ordered that the maimed soldiers for this county should at the next Sessions appear and give in their several certificates whereby they are qualified to receive pensions; and that no person should be added to the list of maimed soldiers until his certificate be examined. In January, 1687, it was further ordered that the moneys raised upon the inhabitants of this county towards the charge of the soldiers who went to Bristol in order to suppress the late rebellion be forthwith accounted for. It would appear from this that we may conclude the character of the old soldier was much the same then as in other ages, and that the certificate of identity was a not unnecessary precaution.

The chief work of the justices would appear to have been of a character now performed in Petty Sessions or by Boards of Guardians. Paupers were then, and till within the memory of man, maintained by the parishes, but by reason of defect in the law, poor people were not restrained from going from one parish to another, and thus endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there was the best stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods to burn and destroy, and when they had consumed it, then to another parish. We thus find it stated, "It shall be lawful by Justices warrant to remove such persons to the parish where they were last legally settled." This Act was passed in 1662, twenty-four years before the Record of Quarter Sessions opened, and marks the commencement of the law of settlement. Orders to a certain parish to maintain this or that pauper, and appeals arising out of these orders, formed no inconsiderable part of the work of Justices in Sessions.

Orders in bastardy, now for a long time relegated to Petty Sessions, were then and till the 4th year of King William IV., issued at the Quarter Sessions. The Act 18 Elizabeth, ch. 3, "Concerning bastards, born out of lawful matrimony (an offence against God's law and man's law), the said bastards being now left at the charges of the parish where they be born, to the great burden of the said parish," indicates pretty clearly that the enactment that these unwelcome strangers shall be supported by the putative father, and for the punishment of the erring parents, was dictated as much by desire for the economic welfare of the parish as with the object of improvement in morals. It is a little startling to find it "ordered that Margaret Rods now in the house of correction and mother of a bastard child be publicly whipt on Saturday next at Brecon in the market time," but this is the first year of the Record, and as it does not recur, let us hope that public opinion considered the chastisement over-severe.

Whipping was a punishment frequently awarded. An offender found guilty of sheep-stealing is ordered to be whipped; for a like offence a woman is condemned to be whipped next market day from the Gaol to the East Gate at Brecon, much to the delight probably of the younger inhabitants of the borough. John and Ann Thomas, found guilty of stealing one sheep value 12d. are ordered to be whipped at Brecon and Crickhowell. There is an order, too, that forty shillings be raised for an instrument for "branding felons on the cheeke."

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE.

During the Reformation and the revolution that followed it, religious intolerance was rife. Roman persecuted Protestant and Protestant persecuted Roman; Puritan ousted Churchman, and Churchman was embittered against Nonconformist. After the Restoration, King Charles II. made several attempts to grant toleration, but as these endeavours were supposed by Parliament to spring from a desire to favour Roman Catholics, they uniformly failed. In Brecknockshire in 1686, Maud Howel and Eleanor Morgan were cited as Dissenters in absenting themselves from Church for three Sundays; a somewhat rigorous definition of conformity which might convict many good Churchmen at the present day. No harm, however, seems to have happened to Maud and Eleanor. "Here endeth the reign of King James the Second," a note which helps us with our dates.

When King James the Second, partly for political and partly for religious causes, was in 1688 expelled the throne, the claim of Dissenters to a milder treatment could not well be disregarded by the monarch they had helped to elevate. Accordingly the Toleration Act bestowed on all but Roman Catholics and Unitarians, full liberty of worship upon taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and certifying their places of worship to the Justices of the Peace.

In 1692 the dwelling house of Rees Haidd, in the parish of Llanddew, was presented as a meeting house wherein Protestant Dissenters may exercise their religion. Similar entries become frequent as the Volume proceeds. In 1695, H. Powell, a Protestant Dissenting minister, in open Court took the oaths and declarations prescribed to exempt him from the penalty of the costume laws.

SALMON LAWS.

It may be worth mentioning that Henry Jasper having been imprisoned by the Crickhowell magistrates for taking twenty young salmon out of season, was discharged by Quarter Sessions, his conviction being erroneous and contrary to law.

HIGH SHERIFF FINED.

A more grievous offender was Sir Rowland Gwynne, High Sheriff, for non-return of the writ to him delivered for holding the Sessions in July, 1688. He was fined £300, being thrice called to give his attendance to the Court, and not appearing by himself or deputy, he was further fined £700.

BRIDGES.

The repair of bridges has ever been a serious cost in this county of mountain torrents. Towards the end of the 17th century many bridges needed repair at every Quarter Sessions. They were constantly referred to as being in a ruinous condition; and were repaired chiefly at the cost of the various districts, the custom being to contract with a carpenter to keep the bridge in repair for a number of years. The bridges were almost universally constructed of wood. In October, 1703, it was ordered that all public bridges on common roads (which seems to mean main roads) be in future repaired by the inhabitants of the whole county, and that the justices at the next Sessions do bring in a list of bridges in their respective hundreds, a list of which would be of interest if still in existence. Bridges over smaller streams continued to be repaired by the localities. As a first fruit of the new legislation, Crickhowell bridge, then ruinous, was ordered to be rebuilt with stone piers

and arches for £400 at the expense of the county, January, 1706. The finger posts, which some of us may remember in a decayed condition, were in 1707 erected at the cost of the parishes.

A NEW HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

This was built in the year 1687 at a cost of £200 "within the walls of the town of Brecon," the old building being sold to the best advantage. In 1693 the Burgesses of Brecon, having no house of correction, the justices of the county arranged for the borough prisoners to be sent to the county prison; the Borough apparently contributing one twenty-fifth part of the cost of construction and annual maintenance.

SHIRE HALL.

The inhabitants of the county on the other hand used as Shire Hall a building belonging to the Borough, and there held the Quarter Sessions. The County contributed a sum of ten pounds thereto in July, 1706.

ORDERS OF QUARTER SESSIONS.—VOL. 2: 1714 (JAN.)—1742.

The Second Volume of the Orders of Quarter Sessions commences with October, 1714 (not 1713 as the book is labelled). There seems to be a year missing. During that time Queen Anne had passed away on August 1, 1714, and George First, Elector of Hanover, great grandson of James First of England, ascended the throne. The greater affairs of the nation had left but little trace in the county annals, the Justices pursued the even tenor of their way, concerning themselves with roads and bridges, poor law appeals, and the like, the bulk of which became uninteresting, even to those most concerned with the county.

Bridges were still generally built of wood, liable to overthrow and ruin. In 1716 a hundred pounds was levied on the inhabitants of the county for the repair of that part of Builth bridge which lies within the county, and a contract was entered into with Marmaduke Prothero, who was to keep it in repair for seven years, unless it be carried away by the violence of flakes of ice. A committee was appointed in October, 1716, to consider the methods proper for securing "such part of this bridge as lies in this county" against the violence of any flakes of ice.

It will be clear from this and similar entries, that, the centre of the Wye being the boundary between the counties of Brecknock and Radnor, the responsibility of either county ends at the "middle of the thread of water." To anyone of sense it will be further apparent that it was but little use to protect the Brecknock half only from disaster, the one half being of little good to either county if the other half be carried away. A more reasonable course was adopted at Newbridge, where a committee of Brecknock justices met a committee from Radnor as to the repairs of the bridge; the Court having ordered that the cost of repairing that part of the bridge which lies within this county shall be raised by rate, the Committees agree that the repairs shall be put into the hands of one man, a moiety of his expenses being paid by either county. When a whole bridge was ruinous this device answered, but it required careful supervision; and in April, 1731—a presentment having been made that New-bridge over Wye "requires repair"—it is quashed as too general. The presentment did not state which end of the bridge needed repair, and the responsibility of this county extended only so far as "the end of the bridge which lies in this county, that is, to the middle thereof." As to bridges within the county, and wholly repairable by it, inconveniences arose by reason of delay, and it was therefore ordered in April, 1728, "that it shall be lawful for any two justices to employ workmen to cure the defects and account to Sessions."

INTRODUCTION OF GUNS FOR SPORT.

Guns, applied to sport, originated in the last part of the 17th century. Flint locks were brought into England in the reign of King William the Third, and became popular. This may have been the reason why lords of the various manors appointed as gamekeepers gentlemen anxious to enjoy the privilege of sporting. In Builth Manor, 1722, David Evans of Llanlleonfel, gentleman, procured a deputation under the hand of Marmaduke Gwynne, Esquire, lord of the manor, for hunting within the said manor, and appointing him gamekeeper. William Vaughan was appointed for the Manor of Dinas. Similar appointments were made for Gwenddwr, Crickhowell, and Tretower, and for various manors throughout the county.

Servants' wages seemed to have been limited by law. In 1733 an assessment was ordered for the better regulating the wages of servants, artificers, workmen, and labourers in husbandry, to be filed in the Court; and further ordered that a competent number be printed and distributed throughout the county, that all persons concerned therein may the better know and observe the contents.

THE CRIMINAL LAW.

Criminal law was still administered with great severity. In 1619 King James I. had directed that a hundred dissolute persons should be sent to Virginia. A more systematic development of

transportation took place in 1718, when an Act was passed by which offenders who had escaped the death penalty were handed over to contractors, who engaged to transport them to the American Colonies. These contractors were invested with a property in the labour of convicts for a term of years, which right they frequently sold.

On the prosecution of the County of Brecknock in 1735, Stephen Perry and Cecil Henniger, "gentlemen," were to be tried in the Court of Exchequer at Westminster, for breaking their bond, and not transporting the bodies of certain felons as they had contracted to do. Two years later Stephen Perry, of Bristol, was again in default, for not transporting Elizabeth Watkins and two other felons "to merchant, some part of His Majesty's plantations in America." He made proposals for accommodating the affair in an amicable manner; proceedings were stopped, and the bond cancelled, Stephen to pay all costs. He undertook to transport the felons named in the bond at his own expense; or prosecute them for their escapes, so as they or any of them shall hereafter be apprehended. Likewise he would receive from the county all such felons as should hereafter be ordered for transportation for the space of seven years, the inhabitants of the said county paying three pounds and three shillings for each felon, and delivering them at the city of Bristol without any charge or expense whatever to the said Stephen Perry. From which we gather that Stephen Perry was learning the value of convict labour, and may perhaps surmise that Elizabeth Watkins, or one of her two friends, had made it better worth Perry's while to connive at their escape than to transport them beyond the seas. For what offences was this tremendous punishment of seven years' slavery, at some place unspecified in America, awarded in the year 1738? Here is an instance: John Jones and Thomas Jones, indicted for stealing one black cock and three hens, were ordered to be severally transported for the space of seven years; and to carry this sentence out, it was further ordered that the sum of forty pounds be levied upon the inhabitants of the county for the charges and expenses of removing the several bodies of John and Thomas Jones, and two others, from the gaol to Bristol, and thence transporting them. Truly this cock and three hens were most costly!

In 1734, and afterwards, the headings of the Record are in English; hitherto they are in Latin. In 1738 the Records were kept in presses lying in the outward room of the Guildhall at Brecon.

Houses were still licensed for the worship of Nonconformist bodies: Notably three houses at Hay for Quakers. The Community of Friends still had a place of worship at Hay in 1851, with sittings for 40 persons, but on Test Sunday only three persons attended.

Ministers still appeared in Court to take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy and to sign the articles of religion, except half of No. 20, 24, 25, 26, as by law required.

RECORDS OF QUARTER SESSIONS.—VOL. 3: 1742—1762.

During the period covered by the third volume of Quarter Sessions, the years are noted in plain characters at the Easter Sessions each year; that being probably then as now the commencement of the financial year. Later in the book, the numbering commences with January. Vol. 3 has less of interest than the preceding volumes. Appeals against rating and removals, and the ordinary routine work, of which the interest has long passed away, fills much of the book. King George the Second was in the second year of his reign.

Crime consisted of assaults and thieving; assaults were lightly punished with a fine of at most a few shillings, but petty larceny was visited with savage severity. In 1751 Mary Havard, guilty of petty larceny, was ordered by the Court "that she be stript naked from the waist upward, and then tyed to and whipped so naked at a cart's tail from the goal (this is how the word is always spelled) to Usk Bridge within the town of Brecon, and from thence back again to the goal on Saturday next between the hours of twelve and one." In 1756 Rachel Richards was treated in the same way "at the rising of the Court," possibly that their worships might see the fun!

DEBTORS IN PRISON.

In 1744, the Sexton of the Parish Church of St. John the Evangelist produced his account of fees due "for the buriall of the corps of several poor debtors, who lately died of a malignant fever in the goal." He was paid eight shillings due to him and the minister. Doubts, let us hope, were creeping into the public mind whether there was much use in imprisoning a poor debtor till he died of malignant fever, for we find under the head of "Discharge of insolvent debtors out of ye goal pursuant to ye late Act," that Roger Prosser, a poor prisoner for debt, was brought into Court by the "Goaler" in order to have the benefit of an Act of Parliament for the relief of insolvent debtors: and as he had given due notice to his creditors, with a schedule of his effects, and owes no one creditor more than two hundred pounds, he was discharged. And so he and others again breathed the air free men, just about the time that the Sexton was being paid eight shillings on account of the effect of the fever.

The old wooden bridges continued to give trouble. In 1744, the overseer of the repairs of Builth Bridge undertook to pay thirty shillings to certain helpful people for their assistance in saving many pieces of the old timber of Wye Bridge from being carried away by the late floods. Crickhowell Bridge had been rebuilt of stone, for two masons were employed to repair it. Even stone bridges had their inconveniences, as we find it recorded that the coping stones of the side walls (in 1748) "had been thrown down by idle and disorderly persons for want of the said stones being crampt with iron," which it was thought would prevent the mischief, and the stones were forthwith crampt with substantial iron crampts, as may be seen to this day. A weir, too, had been constructed under the bridge to protect the work.

THE CATTLE PLAGUE.

In the spring of 1750 an outbreak of cattle distemper seemed to have been warded off by the wise action of the Court. The complaint, which had raged amongst the horned cattle in divers parts of the kingdom, had also broken out in the counties of Salop and Montgomery: the Court therefore ordered that "no person whatsoever shall presume to drive cattle from Salop, Montgomery, or Radnor into the county, and that no fair or market for the sale of cattle shall be held within the county without proper certificate as to the health of the cattle." Further, "that the constables of the parishes adjoining the River Wye do hinder the driving of cattle over the bridges and fords," which the parish officers were required to watch. Before the rising of the Court additional inspectors were appointed to aid the constables, and the justices adjourned to an early date to take further counsel on the matter. The stopping of the fairs was probably necessary, but was certainly unpopular, so at the adjourned meeting in February, the Court considered that fairs held under proper restrictions would not be attended with ill effects, and the order was rescinded, so that Talgarth fair on the 1st of March may be held, only for the sale of cattle from within the county; the order against the importation from the northern counties remained in force. The relaxed order as to fairs was not viewed with favour in Monmouth. On the 11th June the Court observed with much concern an order of the Monmouth Justices prohibiting the importation of horned cattle from Gloucester, Hereford, or Brecknock, which, so far as Brecknock was concerned, seemed founded on an idle rumour of infectious disease amongst the horned cattle. So the Court thought it well to certify and declare that there was no such disease in the county, nor within forty miles of it. This is the last item dealing with the matter, so that it is hoped our ancestors were saved from the ravages of cattle plague, and that concord was restored between them and their neighbours in Monmouth.

ORDERS OF QUARTER SESSIONS.—VOL. 4: 1762–1787.

The Fourth Volume of the Orders of Quarter Sessions commences in the second year of the reign of King George III. Appeals against rating and orders of removal were far more common than in subsequent times, when the work of Quarter Sessions had been eased by Petty Sessions and Boards of Guardians. The management of roads and bridges, the authorisation of various houses for Protestant Dissenters to hold their religious worship in, the release of poor debtors under a recent Act, and criminal justice constituted the main work of the Court.

In 1769, the highways near Builth were in a state of great dilapidation [from which, it may also be added, some of them have not yet recovered]. Howell Gwynne, Esq., a justice, reported from his own view, that the high roads from Rhayader to Brecon, through the parish of Gwarafog and Llanfechan, and from Merthyr Cynog to Upper Chapel, and other roads in the neighbourhood, "be founderous," and too narrow, and not safe for carriages to pass and repass, and should be amended by the inhabitants of the parishes in which they were situated.

ANDREW MAUND, BUILDER.

The rebuilding of bridges with stone continued. The "new" bridge, Llangynider, (now considered a most ancient and inconvenient structure), was repaired in 1767. Even then it was a stone fabric with a cobble roadway, in that year replaced with gravel. Usk Bridge in the town of Brecknock, was in 1772 reported to be ruinous, and to be repaired by the Town and County. The following year, Llangrwyne Bridge was to be rebuilt under the inspection of Andrew Maund, *carpenter*, who was to have twenty guineas for his trouble. Andrew Maund was an enterprising man; he will be frequently heard of, and his descendant in our own time has been High Sheriff of the County. The Grwyne Bridge, apparently of stone abutments, with a wooden framework between the pillars to support the road, was entrusted to Joshua Morgan; but as he failed to give security for the completion of the contract, Andrew Maund of Brecon undertook the work. This was an important work of stone, and it was directed that the foundations should, if possible, be sunk to the rock. The bridge was to be of three arches, with eighteen feet of roadway, protected by parapets of four

feet; the middle arch to be thirty-five feet in span, the two others twenty-five. Before this, no such careful specification is to be found in the records. The cost was to be £185. In 1767 the bridges generally were placed in charge of the justices acting within the limits of the several bridges, who were to contract with workmen for repairs.

CLERKS OF MARKETS APPOINTED.

In 1770, a Clerk of the Markets was appointed in each of the towns of Brecon, Builth, and Hay; the clerk of Hay being Dougall MacGibbon, who hardly sounds a native of the county. Their duty was to take the price of corn and grain and make returns to His Majesty's treasury, "agreeable" to the late Act of Parliament. For this it was agreed to pay them two shillings for each return, but of this the county repented, and finally agreed to pay them one shilling a week and one and sixpence for each return. In 1717, the Court ordered that the Winchester measure of eight gallons to the bushel, and no other, be used in the selling and buying of corn. We notice that it was established to the satisfaction of the Court that Sophia Jones, widow, accidentally lost 650 bushels of malt for which she had paid duty. She asked for and received back £32 10s. 0d. from His Majesty's Officer of Excise. We cannot help wondering how she could manage to lose so bulky a property.

In 1771, the Shire Hall being shortly to be taken down and rebuilt, the Clerk of the Peace was to fit up the hall at the College for the Great Sessions of the County. In 1779, twenty guineas were paid to Thomas Longfellow, innkeeper, for the use of the College Hall for four Sessions, so the work may then have been in progress; and as in the same year John Williams was paid thirty-five shillings for repairing windows of the hall during the time the Great Sessions were there held, it may be concluded that the work was then completed and the Justices back in their old Court.

In the autumn of 1778, it was decided to rebuild the County Gaol and house of correction. The plans and estimates were prepared by Mr Andrew Maund, and a contractor advertised for in the Hereford and Gloucester Journals (no Brecon paper being then in existence), apparently without success, as in January of the following year the building of the new gaol near Tarrall Bridge was undertaken by Mr Maund for £500 and the old gaol, which was conveyed to him. The work was to be finished by September, 1780. The work was duly completed, and in May, 1781, the prisoners were moved into the new Gaol.

REBELLION IN THE PRISON.

The deficiencies of the old Gaol seem to have given rise to great laxity of discipline. In 1769, Rees Davies, confined for several felonies and burglaries, was in "great danger of his life from the other prisoners of the said gaol," and in consequence removed to other custody. Even in the new building the arrangements were very different from those which would have been tolerated a century later. In 1785 it was ordered that the iron frames be taken down from the walls of the gaol, put up for public sale, and that the money arising therefrom be laid out in purchasing strong iron chains for fixing to the bedsteads in the cells of the gaol for the better securing the prisoners at night. In 1775 it is curious to notice that a woman, Mrs Magdalen Williams, acted as gaoler.

SEVERE PUNISHMENT FOR CRIMINALS.

Criminal sentences continued to be entirely out of harmony with the sentiments which prevail in the 19th century. Assaults were common, but were leniently treated, the common entry being "the parties having made up matters, the defendant was discharged on payment of a sixpence fine." Vagrancy was more seriously dealt with; "James Tompkyns, a vagrant, is ordered to be whipped and carried to the next county on his way to Ledbury." Flogging was still the ordinary punishment for larceny, the sentences culminating in ferocious brutality during the Epiphany Sessions, 1787, when it was ordered "that David Howell be whipped at the cart's tail, to receive sixty lashes, and one minute to expire between every lash, on Saturday next at noon day before the Shire Hall, and to be confined to hard labour in the house of correction for twelve months, and to be whipped in like manner the Saturday se'nnight before the expiration of his confinement." It should be noted that the first whipping was on January 13, when he was in the depth of winter to be kept naked in the street and tortured for an hour! David Charles was awarded a like punishment, except that he was to be whipped the Saturday before and after David Howell. Margaret Thomas was to be publicly whipped in like manner on Saturday three weeks, with a like term of imprisonment. Joan Richards was to be publicly whipped on Saturday month, to be confined to hard labour for twelve months, and to be whipped again the Saturday month before the expiration of her sentence. Elizabeth Hughes was sent to hard labour for six months, and to be publicly whipped the Saturday before her release. By a careful arrangement of dates it is managed that in this one batch of cases this disgusting spectacle was given to the people of Brecon on eight several

market-days within a period of twelve months. Perhaps some feeling of commisseration erept into the heart of the executioner, for on one occasion he was enjoined that the criminal who had been condemned for a paltry theft was to be whipped for half an hour "until his baek be bloody." At the Easter Sessions immediately following the bloody assize just quoted, Anne Stole, convicted of stealing a surplice, was condemned to be transported for seven years to one of His Majesty's Settlements abroad. Esther, the wife of John Jones, for stealing a sheepskin; Magdalen, wife of Randal Lewis, for stealing mutton; and David Lewis, for stealing a ploughshare, were each and all of them sent from their kin into slavery in like manner! "That it may please Thee to bless and keep the magistrates, giving them grace to execute justiee——We beseech Thee to hear us—Good Lord!"

RECORDS OF QUARTER SESSIONS.—VOL. 5: 1787—1815.

During the earlier years of the period contained in this Volume savage punishments were still, though not so frequently, inflicted. Joseph Towers, for an aet of vagraney, was flogged in gaol, and passed to the town of Howdon in Yorkshire. Richard Rees, for lareeny, was flogged at the cart's tail, receiving 60 strokes with the *cat o'nine tails*; this is the first notiee in the Records of sueh an instrument. Daniel James for pretending to exercise conjuration, was to be imprisoned for twelve months, and within that time was to stand four times for an hour in the pillory before the Shire Hall. At the same Sessions, Jane Griffiths, for petty lareeny, was eondemned to solitary confinement with hard labour for a term of three years (a punishment so severe that it is now never inflicted, as endangering life). All these sentenees were in 1787–8–9; but the people of Brecon were no longer treated to the brutal speetacle of women publicly flogged, and the occasions on which they were sentenced to private whipping in gaol were now eomparatively few. The mode of providing for the safety of prisoners was by chaining together. Mr Thomas Powell, ironmonger, was ordered to send to Birmingham for twelve handeuffs for the use of the gaol, and to make a large iron chain to link the prisoners together upon oceasion; another worker in iron was bidden to make six pairs of irons for the gaol. Transportation was still an ordinary punishment. The conviet's destination was, however, settled by the King in Counеil, not it is feared out of any consideration for the unfortunate offenders, but because, on the revolt of the American Colonies, conviet establishments in America were no longer available. Margaret Jenkins was sentenced at Brecon in 1795 to seven years' transportation to Botany Bay (discovered in 1770 by Captain Cook), where Commodore Phillips, on the American revolt in 1787, had been commissioned to form a penal settlement. Finding on his arrival that the locality was ill suited for the purpose, the Commodore removed northwards towards the site of the present city of Sydney, Australia, transportation to which Colony was abolished in 1840.

THE COST OF TRANSPORTATION.

Transportation was an expensive punishment, and we gather from the Records that Thomas Longfellow, the innkeeper, was paid £37 16s. 0d. for his coach: the gaoler presented a bill for £26 13s. 0d. for expenses on the road, and a further £2 10s. 0d. for firearms to guard them. Such reasons, and the increasing difficulty of transportation, may have caused the justices to seek other modes for disposing of the prisoners. In 1790 the Clerk of the Peace is ordered to write to the regulating Captain at Haverfordwest informing him that there are now in the gaol four able bodied men fit to serve His Majesty (presumably in the Navy). Prison discipline was still unsatisfaetory, and we find that in 1791 the grate of the outer door of the gaol is stopped up because the prisoners are abusive to travellers passing by. Some years later, in 1805, the gaol was presented by the Grand Jury as insecure, and a wall was erected to surround the gaol and the courts thereof. More eare than aforetime was taken for the prisoners, and in 1812 Visiting Justices were appointed, apparently for the first time, and orders now and again appear on the Records as to improved diet for them, and an entry, where thirty horse loads of coal were ordered for their use during the inclemency of the weather, indicates the difficulties of transit before the days of eanal and railroad.

The times being dealt with were exciting, for 1789 is the date of the French Revolution. Nelson's victory on the Nile was in 1798. Malta was acquired by conquest in the following year. In 1804 Buonaparte became Emperor of the French; in 1805 Nelson fell at Trafalgar, and the wars against Buonaparte lasted from 1803 till the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. The glare of battle shone even so far as Breeon, and may accounit for the letter, already quoted, addressed to the Captain at Haverfordwest. The duty of supplying men for the Navy had been thrown upon the counties and parishes; and in 1795 the Justices ordered that eight able bodied men be forthwith raised to supply the deficiencies of men directed by Parliament to be enrolled. The sum of twenty guineas was to be paid to eaeh Volunteer out of the two hundred and twenty-three pounds then in the

hands of the Treasurer, being the amount of the fines paid by the several parish officers under the said Act. A similar obligation had by Act of Parliament been laid on the parishes to supply Militia men, and in 1803, now that we were at war with Buonaparte, the law was strictly enforced. Twelve pounds were paid to the churchwardens of Traianglas who had provided a man to serve as a private in place of David Watkins, promoted to be corporal. Other parishes received similar sums, which however did not amount to half the money usually paid for a substitute. The Militia was far from popular. Some of our men had enlisted in Anstruther's Regiment, as they thought under a guarantee that they were not to serve out of Britain, but they had been sent abroad; but the county determined that this was not to happen again, if it were possible to prevent it.

THE RECRUITING LAWS.

Twenty pounds were levied on the parish of Llanfair in Builth for one private deficient for the said parish; on Llanafan the same; £40 on the parish of Llanwrthwl; £20 on Maesmynis, on Llanwrtyd, and Tyrabot; £40 on Llangammarch, which was two men short. Other amounts in the hundred of Builth. Similar sums in the hundreds of Penceily and Devynock, Talgarth, Crickhowell, Merthyr, and Brecon. These orders are repeated again and again for many Sessions, and every parish in the county was repeatedly fined—a very grievous burden. But this was not all. The traders' carts were impressed for the carriage of baggage for the various regiments marching through the county: the Renfrew Militia from Builth to Llandovery, and on through Brecon to Abergavenny; the East Middlesex through the county via Brecon to Crickhowell; the Pembroke Militia from Brecon to Llandovery. The customary rate varied from sixpence to one shilling for carts of different sizes; but on account of the high prices of hay and oats, which had risen to war rates, an additional charge of 2d. to 4d. was allowed, the higher allowance being for a waggon with four horses, or a wain with six oxen, or four oxen and two horses. Incidentally we learn from these Records that a cart drawn by four horses would carry only fifteen hundred weight, from which may be guessed the state of the roads, and perhaps the size of the horses in use in the county in 1815.

IMPROVEMENT OF COUNTY BRIDGES.

The improvement in county bridges goes on steadily, and we find that Usk Bridge was reported as far too narrow and incommodious for travellers. In the spring of 1793, Thomas Edwards undertakes its improvement for £1,000, which the Justices considered fair; ultimately two small arches are added on the Llanfaes approach to render the ascent easier. A smith's shop near the west end of the bridge was removed, because it prevented the water running under the new arches, the smith, Richard Balcot by name, being compensated with four guineas. Edwards, as part of his contract, undertook to keep the bridge in repair for seven years, and in 1801 the bridge was again sadly in need of repair. Edwards was dead, and his widow raised a doubt whether the seven years had not ended also; but she finally pays £150 to conclude the contract. She appears to have been a shrewd lady, as the Justices at the next Sessions gave the contract to John Maund for £423. Crickhowell Bridge was widened and repaired in 1809, at a cost, including assumed maintenance for seven years, of £2,300, the work being undertaken by Mr Benjamin James, of Llangattock. The bridge had been destroyed by a great flood during the previous winter, and a temporary bridge erected. To complete the account of County Buildings during this period it should be noted that in 1813 Hay lock-up was built, and in the following year the old lock-up at Crickhowell.

During the eighteenth century the Government made strenuous efforts to promote the cultivation of flax. They were not successful, and in 1787 there were but 28 acres under cultivation throughout the whole of Wales. From 1788 onwards the experiment was tried on some farms in the neighbourhood of Hay. Mr Thomas Lloyd, flax-dresser, of Hay, exhibited his claim to the bounty on flax as provided by several Acts of Parliament: he received £9, which was duly refunded to the county from Imperial sources. The industry extended to Glasbury and Llanelieu, both in the neighbourhood of Hay. Entries were made till 1795, when the industry may have died out.

INTRODUCTION OF FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Friendly Societies commenced in the middle of the 17th century. They did not become general until an Act of Parliament in 1793 recognised their existence and provided encouragements in various ways. The benefits offered were readily accepted by the Societies, and the vast number which speedily became enrolled, showed that the Act supplied a real want. These Societies were generally held in public houses, good fellowship being perhaps as notable a feature as the desire for provident assurance in sickness and old age. In the year following the passing of the Act, there were approved by the Court of Quarter Sessions the rules of a Friendly Society of tradesmen and others intended to be established at the Plough and Harrow in the borough of Talgarth, for the mutual relief of sick members, and a duplicate was lodged with the Clerk of the Peace. Four Societies were

established at Brecon, and one at Builth; and they soon became general throughout the county. Among them were at least three female provident societies at Coed Cymmer, Talgarth, Ystradgunlais, and Brecon; and from the title of one, "The Cock and Hen," in which Lady Morgan of Ruperra House interested herself, it would appear there were also benefit societies open to males and females.

FREEMASONRY IN THE COUNTY.

On Oct. 20, 1789, the Cambrian No. 542 Lodge of Freemasons was formed at the Swan Hotel in Brecon, and was enrolled on the records of the County. Theophilus Jones, the historian, was the first installed Master, and he held this office for several years. In the Minute book of the Lodge (very neatly copied from an old book into a new one by J. D. Perrott, Esq., J.P., of Aberystwith, who was at the time Secretary of the Lodge), there are blanks between April 23, 1804 and August 16, 1813, (when the Lodge bears the number 451 since March 19, 1792); 18th March, 1816 and March 12, 1819, when the Minutes of 1816 were confirmed, "the Worshipful Master not having summoned us to attend since that time; on 19th Sept., 1819, the number of the Lodge was 510. In 1855 the Brecknock Lodge No. 936 was established, the first meeting being held at the Castle Hotel, Brecon, on July 28. Subsequent meetings were held at the Swan, and the members subsequently built a lodge room adjoining the Castle Hotel and continued to hold meetings there until the alterations to the Castle buildings in 1895–6, when the Lodge was removed to Ruperra House in Wheat Street. Since December 1863 the Lodge has borne the number 651. At this time, 1900, there are about 50 members of the Brecknock Lodge, and the Lodges at Builth and Hay are off-shoots from the old Lodge at Brecknock.

LICENSING NONCONFORMIST CHAPELS, &c.

In 1791 the Nonconformist bodies appeared to have gathered strength. Besides private houses licensed for worship we now read of "Chapels" in the Records, and Ebenezer at Builth was licensed in that year: and two years later a building called the Chapel near Hay turnpike was licensed. In 1808, the following curious entry is to be found in the Records: "Ordered that David Evans be appointed preacher of the Baptists Meeting House in the Watergate in the town of Brecon; it appearing to the Court no other preacher officiating in it at this time." In 1813 the Court ordered a list to be made of dissenting ministers licensed since the year 1790, and the Meeting Houses for which they were appointed, a document which might have historical interest if still in existence.

In the matter of County administration it should be noted that the Records state that in 1797, Blaen Glyn Tawr was separated from Devynock; and in 1804 from Llanspyddyd are detached the hamlets of Penpont and Modrydd.

THE IRON MASTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The revival of the iron trade during the 19th century has been the largest factor in the increased prosperity of the County of Brecknock. Its effects have spread far beyond the ironworkers themselves. High wages and an increased population have created demand for agricultural produce, and have necessitated the building of new towns, while the railway system, the original cause of the awakened industry, now adds to the comforts of life all through the county, and conveys thousands of visitors to the watering places of Builth, Llangammarch, and Llanwrtyd, towns always noted for their healing springs, but aforetime only approachable with difficulty. The prosperity, thus diffused throughout the county, is most notable in those southern parishes within the immediate vicinity of the iron and coal industries.

Lower Ystradgunlais had in 1801 a population of 709 persons. During the century this has increased five times and stands in 1891 at 3,752 souls; Penderyn has doubled (from 730 to 1433); Vaynor has trebled, from 1063 to 3,057. Between 1801 and 1861 the population of Llangattock multiplied five times, from 1046 to 5759. The parish then included the town of Beaufort and part of Brynmawr; while Llanelly, the only remaining parish immediately affected by the trade, multiplied within the same period ten times, from a population of 937 at the commencement of the century to 9603 in the year 1861.

Little mention is made of the iron trade by Theophilus Jones. A furnace was erected at Hirwain in 1758 by Messrs. Mayberry and Wilkins. It was used for the purpose of smelting iron, charcoal being first used, and afterwards coal, the blast being supplied by a water wheel. About 1806 Messrs. Bonzer, Overton, and Oliver, who were then the proprietors, erected forges, a rolling mill, and a second furnace with a steam engine to supply the blast, and in 1809 they could turn out 100 tons of bar iron per week. The forges were partly supplied with pig iron from Aberdare

and Abernant. The mines raised by the Hirwaun Company were held under a long lease from the Marquis of Bute. These works afterwards became the property of Mr. Crawshay of Cyfarthfa

THE CRAWSHAYS.

Richard Crawshay, known as the Iron King, was the son of William Crawshay of Normanton. He was at the beginning of the 19th century carrying on the iron of works of Cyfarthfa. His sister Susannah had married John Bailey of Wenham Priory, Suffolk. Richard Crawshay died on June 27th, 1810, leaving four children. William (afterwards of Caversham); Anne (who married in 1798 Mr. T. Franklen of Llanfihangel, Glamorgan); another daughter (who married a gentleman not connected with this district); and Charlotte (wife of Benjamin Hall of Hensall Castle, Glamorgan whose son was afterwards created a Baronet and finally Baron Llanover, and whose daughter is now the Hon. Mrs. Herbert of Llanover. Richard Crawshay connected with himself in business his son William, his son-in-law Benjamin Hall, and his nephew Joseph Bailey (son of his sister Susannah and John Bailey). On the death of the Iron King in 1811, he left the iron works at Cyfarthfa to his three above named relations. Shortly after, the partners separated, Cyfarthfa remaining with the Crawshay family, in whose occupation it has remained until the present day, the head of the family being William Crawshay, Esq., D.L., J.P., of Caversham Park, Reading, and Cyfarthfa Castle, Vaynor, the former being his residence.

THE BAILEYS.

Mr. Joseph Bailey took his brother Crawshay Bailey into partnership and entered upon the works of Nantyglo in the immediate neighbourhood of the County of Brecknock. These works were carried on by Joseph Bailey and Joseph Bailey, junior, of Easton Court, with varying but on the whole with great success until the death of Sir Joseph Bailey (who had been made a baronet). After his decease in 1858 they were continued by the surviving brother Crawshay Bailey and Mr. Henry Bailey until 1870, when they were sold to a limited company under the style of the Nantyglo and Blaina Iron and Coal Company. The Company have not continued the manufacture of iron, and have leased the coal to sub-tenents. The concern seems still to prosper, as the shares, with £62 paid, command a price of £95 in the market.

Beaufort Iron Works were founded by Jonathan Kendall and his brother Edward in 1779 with a 99 years' lease from the Duke of Beaufort of all the minerals in the parishes of Llangattock and Llanelly. They erected a furnace in Llangattock upon the borders of Monmouth, and called the place Beaufort, though the poor folk call it "Kendall" to this day. Mr. Joseph Latham joined the Kendalls as partner with one sixteenth share of the works. Jonathan Kendall died June 23, 1810, aged 39. In the year 1798 a second furnace was built, and soon after a forge. Jonathan Kendal married the aunt of Mr. W. H. West, to whom the writer is indebted for this information. On the death of Edward Kendall, the the works became the property of his son Edward of Danypark; he married the widow of Mr. Bevan of Glanant, and her son by her first marriage succeeded Mr. Latham as manager of Beaufort. The works at Beaufort were sold to Messrs. J. and C. Bailey of Nantyglo. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Bailey and Mr. Bevan the younger, each married a daughter of Mr. Joseph Latham.

SIR BARTLE FRERE'S FAMILY.

In 1793 Messrs. Kendal sub-leased the minerals in Llanelly parish to Messrs. Frere, Cooke and Co. Of the family of Frere, and born at Great House, Llanelly, was Sir Bartle Frere, one of the great Indian administrators of the 19th Century, and of whose career some notes appear, elsewhere in this work. The Llanelly works had been established on a small scale perhaps as early as 1600 by John or Richard Hanbury, son or grandson of the first Hanbury of Pontypool. The works of 1806 would manufacture about 100 tons of iron weekly and employed about 400 hands. The firm had then become Frere, Cooke, & Powell, and the brothers John and Launcelot Powell continued the works until the concern was wound up in the year 1861. Mr. Launcelot Powell resided at Brecon for many years, and died there at the age of 79, on the 4th of December, 1884; he lies buried in the Brecon Cemetery.

THE NANTYGLO AND BEAUFORT WORKS.

The works of Nantyglo and Beaufort, after passing into the hands of Messrs. J. and C. Bailey, gradually assumed very large proportions. in 1845 the railway system of England came into being, and the large iron properties in South Wales, where iron, coal, and lime were in close proximity, were well equipped for taking advantage of the moment, and for a time the iron trade was developed with marvellous rapidity. After the making of British railways, there followed the American, and companies in other parts of the world had to come to South Wales for the vast quantity of rails which had suddenly become a necessity. At Nantyglo and Beaufort were 5,000 acres of surface

property; 530 houses stood on the ground of the firm. There were 12 blast furnaces, seven at Nantyglo and five at Beaufort, with a full equipment of forges, rolling mills, and refineries. The minerals cropped out at the surface and could in places be dug out as potatoes from a garden; all could be reached by means of shallow pits varying from 40 to 200 yards in depth. Twelve seams of coal were worked, having a combined depth of 40 feet of mineral; and under the property was an estimated quantity of 150 million tons of coal, two veins being of the finest steam coal. The iron stone was in quantity unlimited.

Two private railways connected the works with the Great Western and the London and North Western systems, while a third, eight miles in length, brought lime stone (necessary in the manufacture) from the quarries at Llangattock. Eleven hundred tons of coal were raised in a day, and 68,000 tons of iron manufactured in a year. Above and underground were 300 miles of rail and tram road. There were shipping wharves at Newport connected by the works by a private railway, since replaced by the London and North Western Company. All the engineering works had been designed and carried out by members of the firm. At the sale of the works in 1870 it was necessary to procure a private Act of Parliament to enable arrangements to be made at the termination of the lease with the Marquess of Abergavenny, a time too remote for living man to see.

A description of one iron works, to the records of which the writer has had access, is here given. Similar details of Ebbw Vale, Tredegar, Rhymney, Dowlais, and Cyfarthfa, must be left to the imagination of the reader. The records of the iron trade have nearly all passed away, though the whole history is contained within the limits of one hundred years. Iron has given place to steel, and instead of the iron dug from our native hills, the ironmasters of to-day use the ore imported from foreign lands.

THE CRAWSHAY PEDIGREE.

William Crashaw of Woodhouse, co. York, married 22 Sept., 1706, Susannah Wandsworth, of Normanton, co. York (she married secondly 1723 Jonathan Ibbotson). William Crashaw was buried 6 June 1720. He had issue,

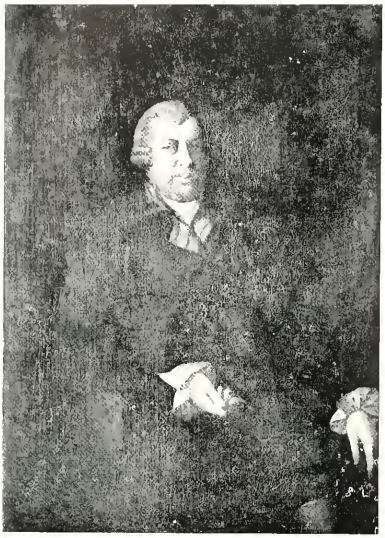
1. John Crashaw, bapt. 10 Sept., 1707, buried 12 Dec. 1707.
2. Richard Crashay, bapt. 6 Feb., 1709, buried 3 Feb., 1722.
3. William Crawshay, (of Normanton, co. York), bapt. 17 May, 1713.
4. Elizabeth Crawshay, bapt. 17 May, 1713, buried 3 Feb., 1722.

William Crawshay, who succeeded his father, married 29 June, 1738 Elizabeth Nicholson, dau. of Obadiah Nicholson, of Normanton, (bapt. 14 July 1714, died 2 April 1744); and had issue:

1. Richard Crawshay, born at Normanton 1739.
2. John Crawshay, bapt. 6 April, 1743, died in infancy.
3. William Crawshay, born 1744, died in infancy.
4. Susannah, who married John Bailey (died 1813), and had among other issue,
    1. Crawshay Bailey.
    2. Joseph Bailey, bapt. 9 March, 1783, married, 1st Oct. 10, 1810, Maria Latham (fourth daughter of Joseph Latham) and 2ndly Mary Anne Hopper (by whom he had a daughter Bertha, mar. 1855 Alexander Spearman Young and died 1860).
        (For further details of Joseph Bailey, see the Glanusk pedigree, and Parliamentary History.)
5. Elizabeth Crawshay, born 1747, who married — Thompson.
6. Sarah, who married — Moser.

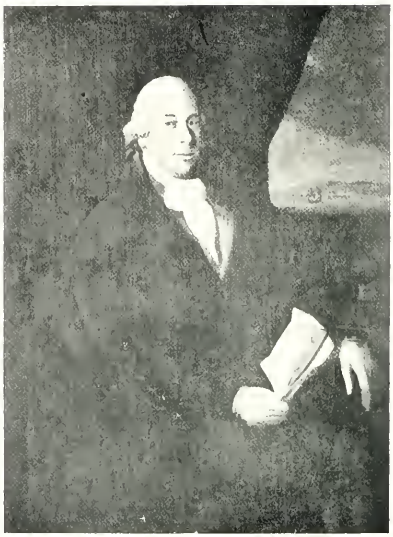
Richard Crawshay, of Cyfarthfa House, Glamorgan, in his youth came to London and was employed in the City in the cast-iron business of a Mr. Becklewith, who afterwards assigned it to him. In 1765 he carried on business at 3 Crane Stairs, Thames Street, London, E.C., under the style of Richard Crawshay & Co., and 1772 as Richard Crawshay, ironmaster, at 3, Bull Wharf Lane, Queenhithe, London, E.C. In 1780 he founded Cyfarthfa Iron Works. At his death, being sole owner, he bequeathed them as follows, to his son William a three-eighth share, his son-in-law Benjamin Hall a three-eighth share, and to his nephew Joseph Bailey a two-eighth share. He married Mary———, (born 1745, died 1811), and dying on 27th June, 1810, was buried at Llandaff Cathedral. He had issue,

1. William, born 1764, of Stoke Newington, married Elizabeth Cousens (born 1760, died 1825). He was owner of Cyfarthfa Works (by bequest, and purchase from J. Bailey and Benjamin Hall.)
2. Anne, who married Thomas Franklen (died 23 Feb., 1831) and by him had (beside others) issue,
    1. R. Franklen (of Clemenston, co. Glam.), born 1801, marr. 3rd Feb. 1830 Isabella Catherine, daughter of Thomas Mansel Talbot (she died 1874, aged 69) and he died 1883, aged 82. By this marriage, there were, among others,



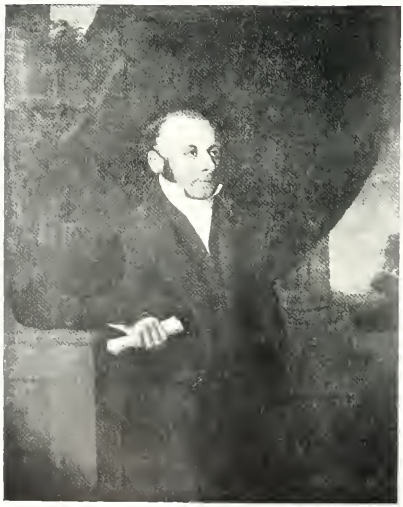
RICHARD CRAWSHAY.

Born 1739. Died 1810



WILLIAM CRAWSHAY.

Born 1764. Died 1834



WILLIAM CRAWSHAY

Born 1[illegible] Died 1897

ROBERT THOMPSON CRAWSHAY.

Born 1817. Died 1878.

1. Ch. Rd. Franklen, who married Hilda, dau. of A. D. Berrington, of Pantygoitre, Mon., and had issue a dau. Hilda Evelyn Gwendoline (born 1892).
2. T. H. Mansel Franklen, who mar. Florence, daughter of Thomas Allen, of Freestone, Pembroke.

3. Elizabeth, who married Wm. Thomas Williams.
4. CHARLOTTE, married 16 Dec. 1801, BENJAMIN HALL, having—
    1. Other issue.
    2. BENJAMIN HALL, born 1802, created a baronet 1838, made a Peer (taking the title of Lord Llanover) in 1859. He was lord lieutenant of Monmouthshire. He married 4 Dec. 1823, Augusta Waddington, of Llanover, and he died 27th April, 1867. He had (beside other issue),
        1. Augusta Charlotte Elizabeth, who married, 12th Nov. 1846, John Arthur Herbert of Llanarth, and has with others, issue—
            1. Ivor John Caradoc (Bart.) of Llanarth Court, Col. in Grenadier Guards, M.P. for one of the Monmouthshire divisions 1907, Created a baronet 1908; married 30th July, 1873, Hon. Albertina Agnes Mary daughter of Albert first Lord Londesborough, and has issue (1. Elidyr John Bernard, B.A., King's Coll. Camb., born 13 Jan. 1881; 2. Fflorens Mary Ursula).
            2. Arthur James (Sir) K.C.V.O., born 1855, in the Diplomatic Service, married 1892 Helen Louise, daughter and co-heiress of the late William Gammell, of Rhode Island, U.S.A., and has issue John Arthur, born 1895. Sir Arthur is M.A., Oxon, and D.L. Co. Mon.

William Crawshay died 11 August, 1834. He left issue,

1. RICHARD CRAWSHAY, of Ottershaw Park, co. Surrey (born 1st Sept. 1786, married 1808, died 1859). He married Mary Homfray, daughter of Francis Homfray, The Hyde, co. Stafford (born 1780, died 1863.) He had issue—
    1. Mary, married Rev. William Smith and left issue 11 children.
    2. Richard C., married Maria Elinor Fair, and left issue (1) Richard Crawshay, born 1862 (formerly Inniskillins, now B. So. African Co.); (2) Geo. Alfred C. (Rev.) of Melton Mowbray (born 1864); (3) Frederick William C. (born 1866), Bedford Regt.; (4) Lionel Routledge C. (born 1868).
    3. Laura, who married Francis Crawshay.
    4. Jane, married J. Thos. Tallent, M.R.C.S. of Wingham, co. Norfolk; he died 1877.
    5. Charles C. of Hingham, marr. Elizabeth Maria Jane Cubitt, dau. of B. Cubbitt, Bolton, C.E., and had issue
        1. Lucy, marr. F. W. Bush of Hanworth, Middlesex. They had 7 children.
        2. Charles Edward C., born 1862, marr. Marcella Mildred Thompson.
        3. Emily Jane.
        4. Gertrude Mary Matilda.
        5. Walter Cubitt C., born 1865, marr. 1893 Constance Esther Francis, dau. of Major T. C. Briggs.
    6. Caroline, marr. Rev. W. Frost, and left 6 children.
    7. Frederick Crawshay, of Scole, Norfolk, born 1818, mar. 1859, Eliza, widow of Capt. J. C. Remmington, R. Bengal Army, and had issue Richard Wood C., J.P., co. Norfolk, (born 1860, mar. 1894 Augusta Jane Boddam, dau. of General Boddam, Royal Bengal Army.)
    8. Clara, mar. Rev. B. Smith, 1861; he died 1876.
    9. Matilda (twin with 10) mar. F. J. Gant.
    10. Edward C. (twin with 9) of Clanston, Leicester, who marr. Marion dau. of William Proudfoot of Toronto, and had issue (1) Geoffrey Stratford C. born 1863, solicitor, who marr. 1891 Edith Alice, dau. of W. A. Robinson, solicitor (they had a daughter, Myfanwy Hltwyd), and (2) Silvia.
    11. Emily, mar. 1846, Francis Wiston Bradshaw, and left issue.
    12. Julia marr. F. S. Cole, and left issue Julia (mar. 1876—Slocombe, by whom she had issue J. Grace S., E. Ernest C. S., and A. Vere). She married secondly A. K. Maybury.

2. William Crawshay, of Caversham Park, Oxfordshire, and Cyfartha Castle, mar. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 1828 Elizabeth Homfray, dau. of Francis Homfray, The Hyde, co. Stafford, by whom he had issue,
    1. Eliza born 1809 (died 1886); by her marriage in 1832 with the Rev. G. Thomas of Ystrad Mynach, Glam. (d. 1860), she had issue (1) Jane, born 1834, died unm. 1861; (2) Eliza, born 1835, died unm. 1864; (3) Catharine, born 1837, died 1875, she married H. Martyn Kennard and had issue, Martyn Th. Kennard (born 1859) and Mary Elise (m. 1881 A. W. Leatham, and has issue) (4) Geo. W. G. Thomas, born 1843 (d. 1885), mar. 1864 Ellen Kennard, and left issue 6 children.
    2. Francis Crawshay of Broadbourne Hall, Kent, born 1811, (died 1878), mar. 1837 Laura Crawshay (see Richard Crawshay). They had issue,
        1. William C., of Southampton, born 1841, mar. 1869, Julia Annie Allen, and had issue, William C. (born 1871), mar. 1892,—Jenkins.
        2. Laura Julia, born 1844, mar. 1862 T. Rowland Fothergill of Taff Vale Iron-works, and has issue.
        3. Isabel Eliza, born 1845, died 1876; m. 1862 Geo. Fothergill, and has issue.
        4. Richard C., born 1847, died 1848.
        5. Francis Richard C., m. Isabel Hutton Vignoles, and had issue Francis Gwillim Crawshay (born 1876) and Laura Gwenllian.
        6. Tudor C., of Bonvilston, Glam. (born 1850) mar. 1877 Marie Augusta Hester Ayres, and had issue Owen Tudor Richard C. (born 1878) and Mervyn C.
        7. Helen Christine, m. 1873 Fred Wilmer Clarke, and has issue.
        8. Mary Stella, m. 1872 Thomas Alworth, and has issue.
        9. De Barri C., born 1857, mar 1878 Rose Mary Young and has issue Lionel H. de Barri C (born 1882) and Raymond Vaughan Edwin de Barri C. (born 1885).
    3. Edwin (twin with Henry C.) died in infancy.
    4. Henry C. of Oaklands, died 1879, married Eliza, and had issue,
        1. Henry C. died unm.
        2. Edwin C., born 1838, married Charlotte Hole, and had issue Henry C. (born 1873) and other issue.
        3. William C. of Riverdale, mar. 1871 Alice Maria Gordon Cumming, killed in the hunting field, and left a son Henry James C., born 1875.
        4. Herbert Henry C., born 1859, died 1892, mar. 1880 Maria C. Daniel and left issue three daughters.
        5. Eliza Lucretia, mar. C. J. Hall, The Broole, Abergavenny, (2ndly Cousins, 3rdly Whale).
        6. Sarah Louise (a twin with No. 5.), married William Batt, of Cae Kenfig, Abergavenny.
        7. Agnes, married J. Dennis and has issue.
        8. Emily, married 1857 John Heyworth, and has issue.
        9. Alice, mar. 1st Alfred Sterry, 2nd Ernest Jerdein.
        10. Isabel, died unm.
        11. Catherine Hermione, mar. K. A. A. B. Creagh, of Creagh Castle, co. Cork.
        12. Constance.
        13. Eva Juliette, mar. Hervey Arthur Talbot, and secondly Capt Fenwick.
3. Eliza, born 1790, died June 1, 1877, s.p., mar. Rev. Aug. Clissold.
4. Mary, born 1793, died 1881, s.p., mar. Capt. F. Wood, Life Guards, of The Sheet, Ludlow.
5. George Crawshay (*see next page.*)

William Crawshay married 2ndly Isabel Thompson, dau. of James Thompson, Lord Mayor, director of the Bank of England, M.P., &c., and by her had issue,

1. Isabel, born and died 1816.
2. Robert Thompson Crawshay of Cyfarthfa, born 1817 (died 1879), he married 1846 Rose Mary Yeates (deceased) and had issue,
    1. William Thompson Crawshay, of Caversham and of Cyfarthfa Castle, D.L. & J.P., born 1847, married 1870 Florentia Maria Wood, daughter of Col. Wood of Southall, co. Glam.
    2. Rose Harriet Thompson, married A. J. Williams, and has issue two sons.

3. Henrietta Louise, mar. W. Crawshay Ralston (by whom she had three sons), 2ndly Harvey Spiller, Major Hants Regt., deceased (by whom she had two daughters).
4. Robert Thompson Crawshay, born 1855, of Cyfarthfa and of Rome, married Mary, dau. of Sir John Leslie, and has one son, Jack.
5. Richard Frederic C. of Tymawr, co. Brecknock, born 1859, married 1880, Tempe Isabella Oakes, and has issue,
    1. Tempe Rose, born 1881.
    2. Richard Oakes Crawshay, born 1882.
    3. Leila, born 1885.
    4. Rhona, born 1888.

3. Isabel, born 1818 (died 1842) married, 1838, Gerald Ralston, and had issue,
    1. William Crawshay Ralston, born 1840, died 1878, married Henrietta Louise Crawshay (died 1883), and left issue
        1. W. R. Crawshay Ralston, of Pontywall, Brecknock (born 1872).
        2. Gerald Crawshay Ralston, born 1873.
        3. T. Crawshay Ralston, born 1876.
    2. G. E. Ralston, born 1842, died 1844.
4. Agnes, born 1820, died 1853, married James Dolphin, Capt. R. Brigade, left issue 5 children.
5. Amelia, marr. 1844 T. Fraser Sandeman, Capt. 42nd Highlanders, and had issue, of whom Robert Preston Sandeman (Capt. 10th Hussars), born 1852, married 1881, Jessy Crawshay of Danypark, co. Brecknock.
6. Jessy of Danypark, born 1822, (died 1889), mar. 1849 Alfred Crawshay, Capt. 17th Lancers, born 1823, died 1864; they had issue
    1. Alfred Thompson Crawshay, born 1850, married 1872 Mary Augusta Mathew Cornish, and had issue Madeline Isabel Flora Louisa.
    2. Codrington Fraser Crawshay, born 1851, married 1881 Emily Howard Cartland, Priory, King's Heath, and had issue Codrington Howard Rees Crawshay (born 1882), Alfred William Fraser Crawshay (born 1884), Geoffrey Cartland Hugh Crawshay (born 1892).
    3. Isabel Mary, married 1878, Hugh Backhouse Church, Col. 24th Regt.
    4. Jessy (see Sandeman), married R. P. Sandeman.
    5. Willoughby Sitwell Crawshay, died 1891.
7. Annette, born and died 1824.
8. James, born and died 1826 (twin).
9. Annette, born 1826, married Capt. Parland and left issue.

William Crawshay married thirdly Isabella Johnson, and had issue Sarah Louise who died unmarried.

5. George Crawshay of Gateshead, born 1794 (died 1878) married 1818 Josephe Louise Dufaud, of Fonchambault, France (born 1802, died 1883), and had issue
    1. Louise Constance, mar. 1st F. W. Stanley, 2ndly Rev. J. Graham, and had issue by both.
    2. George C., married Elizabeth, dau. of Sir John Fife, and had issue.
    3. Alfred Crawshay, married Jessy Crawshay (for issue see Jessy C.)
    4. Juliet, born 1824, died 1877, married 1848 James Sinclair and has issue.
    5. Edmund C., Bensham Hall, co. Durham, born 1826, mar. 1st, 1859, Mary Jane Matthison, by whom he has issue, and 2ndly 1886 Susannah Weslie.
    6. Herbert C., Stormer Hall, Hereford, born 1830, mar. 1859 Mary Lewis, and has issue.

    And five others.

CHAPTER IX.

Records of Quarter Sessions (continued).—Vol. 6; 1815 to 1826; Vol. 7. 1827—1838; Vol. 8, 1838—1849;—Joint Counties Lunatic Asylum at Abergavenny.—Records of Quarter Sessions, Vol. 9, 1850—1856; Vol. 10, 1856—1866; Vol. 11, 1866—1874.

THE sixth volume of the Records of Quarter Sessions covers twelve years from 1815 to 1826. It was the custom of the Court to adjourn from month to month, even when there was no business to transact, and this adjournment was usually to the second Wednesday in the month. It should be noted that this was the day of the monthly agricultural dinner, and we wonder what connection, if any, there was between the two events, and whether the work of the Justices was finished by two p.m., the dinner hour.

Justice had now assumed the more merciful form, which, happily, prevails at the present time. Visiting justices were appointed at each Session, not annually as has since been the custom. To modern ears it reads oddly that each justice on qualifying subscribed a declaration against the doctrine of Transubstantiation! The chief business of Sessions was rating appeals. In the days before Union chargeability a perpetual warfare went on between the various parishes as to the removal of paupers. An Act had been passed, too, for the relief of insolvent debtors having lain in prison for a certain time, and for a debt of small amount they may be discharged on application made to the Court.

Prison discipline continued to engage attention, a classified return of all prisoners being made to the Secretary of State in 1820, and an engineer sent to Haverfordwest to report on the Gaol of that town; in consequence a treadwheel was erected in Brecon at a cost of £180. The Borough shared with the County in this Gaol, and agreed to pay one-tenth of the cost of all improvements. It had been further enacted by Parliament that for the future no woman was to be keeper of any prison in which male prisoners were confined; so Mrs. Mary Gillins, gaoler, receives her dismissal, and William Gillins was appointed in her stead, which reads as if the dismissal had been made easy for the lady.

In 1822, to diminish the expenditure on prosecutions a County Solicitor was appointed at a fixed salary to conduct prosecutions, an office which was continued with intermissions until the appointment of the County Council in 1888, when the office was abolished.

THE FAGGOT VOTERS.

An Act had been passed to prevent "Fraudulent and Occasional Votes in the Election of Knights of the Shire so far as relates to the right of voting by virtue of an annuity or rent charge," and there were about the year 1816 memorials bearing date (say) the 15th of March instant whereby David Lloyd (let us say) "grants, bargains, and sells" to John Thomas of the town of Brecon "one annuity or yearly rent-charge of two pounds and ten shillings for the natural life of the said David Lloyd, &c. &c." This presentment was made presumably to show that the rent-charge was not "occasional," and let us hope not fraudulent, though as they were all for a similar amount, there can be little doubt that they were made for the construction of what were called "faggot votes," a practice which continued until a recent Reform Act enacted that no rent-charge created after a date now past shall confer the franchise unless the rent-charge was obtained by inheritance.

We learn from these Records, incidentally, that in 1826 the price of hay in Brecon was £5 a ton, and oats 4s. a bushel.

Applications for Amendments to the Rules of Friendly Societies had in 1816 become so frequent, that they were referred to the visiting justices. A set of pattern rules was drawn up, though not till ten years later, amongst which rules was one restricting Friendly Societies from holding their meetings in public houses. Neighbouring counties showed "little on no" disposition to adopt the rule, which thus became nugatory, and was abandoned.

Improvements to the Hall, for the accommodation of the Justices of Great Sessions were considered necessary, but the Corporation of Brecon thought the arrangements fully adequate, and the alterations were not made. These Great Sessions, instituted by King Henry VIII., took in Wales the place of Assize until they were abolished in 1830 (1st Will. IV. Cap. 70).

In 1820, Mr. E. Morgan, of Llangattock Place, retired from the office of Chairman of Quarter Sessions through ill-health, a decision much regretted by his colleagues, who, as a mark of their esteem, ordered that when able to attend at Sessions he should sit at the right of the Chairman. Henry Allen, Esq, attorney general for this circuit, was elected chairman.

By an Act of Parliament 55 Geo. 3, Ch. 14, the Great Forest of Brecknock was allotted and enclosed. The accounts of the Commissioners were audited by the Court of Quarter Sessions.

COUNTY BRIDGES.

A general Act of Parliament, under which county bridges have been since managed, was passed in the year 1803 [43 Geo. III., c 58). The inhabitants of counties had been aforetime bound to repair the public bridges known as county bridges and the roads at each end for limited distances, but the laws were defective and doubts had arisen how far the inhabitants were liable to improve bridges not sufficiently commodious for the public; therefore power was given to the Surveyor of Bridges appointed by Quarter Sessions, to search for and take gravel, stone, sand, and other materials, to which list was subsequently added stone in quarries, for the repair of bridges and the roads of their approaches, making due satisfaction for damage the said Surveyor might do. The principal Act gave powers to widen and improve a bridge and to make it more commodious for the public, and where a county bridge was in such decay as to make rebuilding necessary, then it was made lawful for the justices to order it to be rebuilt, either on the old site or on any new one more convenient to the public within two hundred yards of the former one; subsidiary powers were also given to purchase lands and buildings, and for other matters.

The fifth section declared what bridges to be erected after the passing of the principal Act, that is subsequent to the year 1803, the counties were liable to maintain, and it was enacted that "no bridge hereafter to be erected by any individual should be deemed a county bridge unless such bridge was erected in a substantial and commodious manner, under the direction or to the satisfaction of the County Surveyor. A subsequent Act made powers of obtaining materials compulsory, and gave further powers, but it is beyond our present purpose.

In the county of Brecon it remained the custom, even after the passing of these Acts of Parliament, for the inhabitants of the several hundreds, parishes, and districts within the county, by reason of prescription, usage, or from some other cause, to repair at their own expense the bridges situated within their districts, notwithstanding that the bridges had become of great public utility. Doubts had arisen as to the liability to repair these bridges. Some perhaps had been built after 1803, had not been erected by the County Surveyor, were perhaps of wood and by no means substantial, and it was desirable that all bridges of public utility within the county should be kept in more perfect repair; therefore in the year 1821 it was enacted that, notwithstanding any law or custom to the contrary, all bridges of public utility which are situated within the county of Brecon shall be deemed to be county bridges, and that all inhabitants of the county shall for ever hereafter be liable to the repairs of the bridges and of the roads at the ends thereof, save and except that all bridges to be built after the passing of this Act, that is to say, after the 28th May, 1821, must be built to the satisfaction of the County Surveyor as was laid down in the general Act.

Another section extended the powers of altering the site of building, whereas by the law already quoted no bridge could be removed more than one hundred yards from its former site, it was enacted for the county of Brecon that, where such bridge was composed of timber, or built on insufficient foundations, it should be lawful for the justices to direct the same to be taken down and a bridge to be built instead thereof on any new site within five hundred yards of the former bridge.

This statement of legislation is necessary for the understanding of the Records of Quarter Sessions. The local Act was the only one of the kind ever passed: the county had represented to Parliament that they were at great expenditure with reference to their bridges. Every little valley had its river or brook, and there were continual claims on the county, so the justices thought it expedient to obtain the local Act. The course of proceeding under it was: An application from the inhabitants of a district stating that their bridge was in bad repair, and that it was one of great public utility; that application was laid before the Justices at Quarter Sessions, and they directed the Surveyor to examine the bridge, and upon his report and the certificate of two Justices, the bridge, if of public utility and built prior to 1821, was placed under the Act as a county bridge. In giving evidence in 1844, twenty-three years after the passing of the Act, John Jones, Esq., chairman of Quarter Sessions, told the Commissioners in the South Wales Enquiry that the Act had not been attended with so much expense as had been expected, and that the Act was found beneficial and useful. The practice with reference to the building of new bridges was to build wherever there

was a bridge insufficient for its purpose. In this county it often happened that carriages had to pass brooks by means of a "sort of wooden bridge" that was always getting into bad repair; in these cases, when the Surveyor reported upon a good site for building a stone bridge, the old bridge was removed and a stone one built. A mere horse or foot-bridge had never been allowed to be thrown upon the county. Under the section, by throwing upon the county 100 yards of road at each end of the bridge, there was added to the liability of Brecknockshire eleven miles of turnpike (main) roads and thirteen miles on parish roads—twenty-four miles in all. There were in 1844 one hundred and thirteen county bridges on turnpike (main) roads and ninety-eight on the parish roads —in all two hundred and eleven. In 1893 the county bridges had further increased in number to two hundred and forty-two.

RECORDS OF QUARTER SESSIONS, VOLS. 7 AND 8.

"The seventh volume covers the time from 1827, the seventh year of George IV. to 1838, the first year of Queen Victoria (this is in duplicate and the paging here given is consequently incorrect so far as one copy is concerned). Hay, in 1827, was £5 per ton and oats 4s per bushel; an addition of fourpence in the shilling was therefore allowed on the price of carriages impressed within the County of Brecon for His Majesty's forces on the march. Later in the year prices again rise, hay being £6 per ton and oats 5s per bushel. Ten years later, in 1837, coal was delivered in Brecon at 16s per ton. In the year 1830, the term for which the Militia armoury had been taken had expired, and the storage was reported insufficient; a house was found in the town of Brecon, near the Priory Bridge, which would suit the purpose, and it was rented at the yearly cost of £20.

THE MERTHYR RIOTS.

In 1831 riots occurred at Merthyr, and the peace of Breconshire was threatened, The Court of Quarter Sessions called out the pensioners, Militia, and special constables, for the security of the arms; the expense was apportioned between county and borough. At the same time the prisoners in the gaol became turbulent and unruly and the Justices interdicted the offenders from seeing their friends weekly as had aforetime been the custom. Discipline in the gaol seems to have been lax, for in 1833 two prisoners escaped, and alterations in the structure became necessary; the expense being apportioned by the county paying nine-tenths and the borough one-tenth. In 1815 a Mrs. Collinson had left a legacy in favour of the county gaol for the benefit of discharged prisoners; and reference to the matter will be found in that portion of this work dealing with charities.

FLOODS AT NEW BRIDGE.

The central arch of the New Bridge over Wye having been carried away by flood, negotiations of permanent interest took place defining the responsibility of either county. A committee of justices from each county met, but Radnor desiring that the matter be referred to counsel, the Court of Quarter Sessions of Brecknock decided that there was no necessity for a case, as that county was ready to repair their part of the bridge namely, the three arches on the Breconshire side and half the central arch, being the whole of their liability. A proposal was made, apparently on behalf of Brecknock, that Radnor should contract to do the work, which seems to have fallen through, as in October 1832, William Jones was paid one hundred and fifty-three pounds for rebuidling that part of the bridge over the Wye which Breconshire was liable to repair.

Where a bridge is of one arch, it is clear that an arrangement between two counties for mutual repair is convenient, so in 1834, when a bridge at Cam ynys Minton, repairable by Brecknock and Glamorgan, was destroyed by flood, it was rebuilt with stone at the joint expense of the two counties. The weak wooden bridges still caused much trouble and expense, and in 1833 Gwenllian and Haffis bridges were reported as swept away by floods, and were rebuilt at considerable cost; Llwynfell bridge was also rebuilt. Tarrell bridge in 1838 had been rebuilt, the Surveyor being sent to Biggs Weir on the Wye to view the bridge there and to ascertain if a similar structure might serve. The bridge was rebuilt at a cost exceeding £600, the contractor to keep it in repair, as usual, for seven years; in 1830 the County Treasurer was ordered to lay out at interest £125 due to Job Thomas, to be paid to him on certificate that the bridge was complete. Two years later Job Thomas applied for his money, and the Court decreed that neither the money nor the interest could be paid until the bridge had been kept in repair for seven years; a somewhat high-handed proceeding, and so the Justices thought, on re-consideration, as in 1833 Job Thomas duly received his money. The same year, 1833, a wooden bridge was built over the Irvon at Llangammarch, which seems a retrograde step.

NEW LOCK-UP HOUSES, ETC.

A lock-up house was ordered to be built, in 1832, at Builth, and a magistrates' room was also erected, partly by private subscription. In 1816 a toll house had been purchased for a site; this

was now exchanged with Mr E. D. Thomas for a more suitable site on his land, and the building was to be erected, costing the county £125, in addition to private subscriptions.

The formation of a "mountain police" is suggested by Lord Melbourne, Secretary of State, and a date was fixed for its discussion, but no more seems to have been heard of this force. The poor rate must have been well-nigh unbearable; the rate in Talgarth parish in 1834 reached 8s in the pound. The inhabitants appealed and were granted relief. The maladministration of the Poor Law had led to a Commission of Inquiry in 1832, the result of which was laid before Parliament in 1834, and the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed. The Justices of the county assured the Government of their co-operation. This Act grouped parishes into Unions, and brought about the system of government which was endured until it was partially superseded in 1894, when the functions of the Guardians were taken up by District Councils. In the autumn of 1836, Brecknock was divided into Unions, but curiously enough no record of what must have been a matter of prime importance is found in the Records of Quarter Sessions. With the exception of the central Union of Brecknock, and Crickhowell, every Union transgressed the border of the county, the neighbourhood of market towns being formed into a Union without reference to county boundaries. This fact led to great complications in subsequent legislation.

THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR.

In 1836 the question of employing a public prosecutor was first taken into consideration. The matter may not at that time have been ripe, and the proposal was not adopted. Legislation as to prisons had been promised by the Government, pending which prison rules were arranged by the Justices, and a silent system was adopted in 1836. The previous year an Act had been passed under which the county authorities received, and still receive, half the cost of prosecutions and of the conveyance of prisoners. Discipline remained very lax in the gaol; prisoners and convicts had again escaped, and the keeper of the House of Correction is discharged from his office for gross and culpable negligence. Mr John Lazenby was appointed to succeed him, and held the office until the prisons were taken over by the Government. In 1836 the Borough of Brecon ceased to have a separate Court of Quarter Sessions, whereby the repair of bridges within the borough, and the maintenance of the borough prisoners, became a charge upon the county; a rate, therefore, at the same rate per pound as the county rate was levied on the borough. Two years afterwards the county entered into a contract with the borough enabling the Corporation to use the County Gaol for debtor prisoners as well as for criminals, who were already received.

THE OLD POLLING PLACES.

In 1837 the polling places of the county were deemed insufficient, there being only one, that is to say, Brecon; which, to modern ears, sounds very insufficient indeed. In a petition to the Crown on the subject, the Justices thought it necessary to argue the question laboriously: "The length of the county is fifty miles, the population 47,800, therefore your petitioners pray, etc." Devynock, Hay, Talgarth, Crickhowell, and Builth are made polling stations; the county is divided into districts, and the order is confirmed by the King's most excellent Majesty. Before it was enrolled the King had passed away, and Proclamation had been made of

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

as Queen of these realms. She died in 1901, having reigned for 64 years.

RECORDS OF QUARTER SESSIONS.—VOL. 8: 1838—1849.

It is scarcely necessary to pursue in detail the improvement of county bridges; being of stone, improvements had become more costly. For instance, in 1838, Tringarth is rebuilt at a cost of £135; the Honddu bridge at Watergate cost £214, merely to repair. The River Grwyne had been in flood, and as doubts as to liability to repair have from time to time arisen, it may be well to note that in 1839 the three bridges, Llangenny, Millbrook, and Llangrwyne, were repaired at the county's expense. In 1848 the question for contracting for the repairs of parapets and bridges approaches were considered. Those in the county of Brecon, on the main road from Carmarthenshire to Monmouthshire, are tendered for at £13 9s 0d for one year, which the Justices accepted. A more important question is that of bridges between neighbouring authorities. The Black Lion bridge at Hay had been erected at the equal expense of the counties of Brecon and Hereford. In 1839 repairs were necessary, and the Clerk of the Peace wrote to the official at Hereford that this county would not bear more than half the charge. The obvious rule is that the county responsibility ends with the middle of the river: it may occasionally be convenient to divide the expense, and that is a matter of convenience to be met when it arises.

DISPUTE OVER GLASBURY BRIDGE.

In 1845 trouble arose as to Glasbury bridge. The hamlet of Glasbury south of the Wye

then formed part of the county of Radnor. The Brecknock Surveyor, having received a letter from the Surveyor of Radnor suggesting that they should meet and mark off the division of the bridge to the respective counties, was instructed to reply that no part of the bridge belonged to the county of Brecknock. The Justices of Radnor thereupon ordered their Surveyor to indict the inhabitants of Brecknock for the non-repair of so much of Glasbury bridge as lay (according to such order) within their county. Brecknock prepared a case for the opinion of counsel, and in 1847 ordered the Clerk of the Peace to take the necessary steps for defending an action. The question seems to have remained in abeyance for some time, as in 1849 it was still under discussion whether the trial should take place at Hereford or at Carmarthen. At this point the volume ends, and leaves us in doubt as to how the dispute was concluded.

HUGH BOLD THE FIRST CHAIRMAN.

In the year 1839 Hugh Bold, Esq., retired from the office of Chairman of Quarter Sessions through failing health, and the Lord Lieutenant was "respectfully requested" to continue to act as chairman. In 1840 Mr J. Jones became chairman. The same year a letter was received from the Secretary of State requesting the opinion of the Justices as to the propriety of establishing a general constabulary force. The Court thought that for this county it was not necessary. In 1828 an Act [9 Geo. 3, c. 437] had been passed for the better regulation of divisions in counties. Under its provisions the Justices in 1839 formed a new petty sessional division consisting of Ystradgunlais and Ystradvellty; these parishes were therefore "disannexed" from Devynock, and were henceforth to form the district of Ystradgunlais, that being the name of the principal parish within the division. In the following year, 1840, Glyntawe was added to the Ystradgunlais petty sessional division, and it was arranged that a lock-up should be built. In 1843 a lock-up was also built at Crickhowell on land leased from the Duke of Beaufort; which has now yielded to a freehold structure. In 1841, the parish of Gwenddwr (Trawscoed excepted) was removed from the petty sessional division of Talgarth, and joined to that of Builth. In 1843 the Justices appointed a county public prosecutor for one year at a salary of £50, an office which continued until 1888, when the system was abandoned, although it was generally thought to have been a very useful institution.

THE GREAT FOREST.

"At the end of this volume (written the reverse way) is the award in the matter of the Great Forest of Brecon: the King's allotment, 13,860 acres; 17,106 for commonage; 292 for tythe allotments; 7,567 acres sale allotments to various persons; a piece of land containing 540 acres was also allotted to be sold in case the money in hand was insufficient for the expenses—otherwise one moiety thereof to the Crown and the other to the commoners. There is also the county rate basis as settled in 1851, the rateable value being then £171,132; a list of the Rolls in the press in the Grand Jury Room; a list of Friendly Societies with the dates of their rules; a list of parishes and places within the county of Brecknock; and the Rules and Regulations for the government of the gaol.

THE OLD GAOL AND NEW SHIRE HALL.

In consequence of the gaol being unhealthy, and inadequate for the safe custody of prisoners, escape having been effected in one instance and other attempts having been made, it was in 1838 deemed expedient to erect a new gaol. A committee was formed to whom also was referred the erection of a new County Hall on a site contiguous to the gaol; difficulties, however, arose, and the Shire Hall was built elsewhere. In 1841 the gaol question was still undecided, and the mode of warming was reported as "cruelly inefficient" during inclement weather; some little structural alterations were carried out and a supply of coals carried in. The question of rebuilding was revived, and a close of land between the Castle and the Priory was chosen as a suitable site. At Easter, 1842, no further steps having been taken, the Secretary of State wrote expressing a hope that means may be adopted to remedy the coldness of the gaol without waiting for the completion of a model prison; the Justices, thereupon, somewhat reluctantly, purchased a hot-water apparatus for £39. Four years later, in 1846, the Secretary of State was still pressing the matter, and a committee was formed to confer with the Superintendent, and plans were consequently laid before the Justices for enlargement on the same site.

By this time the turnpike roads had been purchased by the County; the Shire Hall had just been completed; a lunatic asylum was projected; the Court therefore approves the Gaol plans, but adds, "owing to the heavy calls upon the funds of this county now existing, and the additional demand upon the County rate for the repairs of the turnpike roads, as well as the uncertainty of legislation as to the expense of building prisons, it would be desirable to memorialise the Secretary

of State for further delay;" and so, after eight years of consideration, the whole matter was consigned to limbo.

THE NEW SHIRE HALL.

In 1838 the Justices were impressed with the insufficiency of the Shire Hall for Assizes and County meetings, and with the peculiar tenure under which the same was then held by the County (being held we think, in common with the borough). They viewed several sites, and decided that the best situation was a garden in Glamorgan Street in the occupation of Henry Lucas, Esq., M.D., and the property of Henry Allen, Esq. The agreed value of the land was £740, but as the building proceeded it was found necessary to purchase from Mrs. Williams, of Duffryn, a house and stable adjoining the hall to improve the approaches, at a cost of £288 7s. 4d., and also to acquire another plot of ground from Henry Allen, Esq., for £50, with £100 to be spent in buildings; altogether, therefore, the cost of the site seems to have been £1,238 or thereabouts. The Committee accepted a plan of design of Grecian architecture by Messrs. Wyatt and Brandon; working plans and specifications were prepared by August 1839, and tenders advertised for. The size and shape being determined, the greatest consideration was given by the Committee to every detail; they made thirteen elaborate reports, and met at least twenty-seven times. A builder's tender was accepted for £6,248, and at the Midsummer Sessions it was agreed to raise a loan of £8,000. The Exchequer Office had not funds at their disposal, and the Equitable Assurance Co., to whom application was made for a loan on the security of the County Rate, replied that "the office does not lend money on such security." It was therefore determined to raise the money within the county, in sums of £1,000 bearing interest at £5 per cent. per annum, and repayable as it would seem generally by ten equal annual instalments. Miss Anne Latham, of Crickhowell, advanced £1,000; Mr. William Dyke £800; Mr. John Powell, Clerk of the Peace, £2,000; and apparently in 1842 a further £2,000; and perhaps at Epiphany 1843 another £1,300; Miss Latham added £800; making in all £8,900. The contractor delivered his bill for extras beyond his contract for £2,576, and the Architect's charges came to £508, and so another £1,400 was raised. The work was practically completed before the year 1843 was out, thereby showing that buildings could be executed with rapidity when their worships were so minded. The total cost of the Hall cannot readily be established from these Records, but Mr. Powell, in his evidence before the Welsh Commission in 1844, gave further information, from which we learn that the loan was raised under a general Act of Parliament, and was secured by a mortgage upon the County rate; and having been incurred at different times repayment was spread over 14 years, so that it was not felt, and did not become burdensome to the county. The total cost of the Hall, as given by Mr. Powell, was £11,000.

THE ROADS OF BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

In a succeeding chapter we shall give a description of the roads of the county up to the middle of the 18th century, and describe the efforts put forward by the Breconshire Agricultural Society for their improvement. The 1767 Act of Parliament, passed to widen and repair the principal roads in the county, set up the system of tolls, and gates and toll-houses were erected, and £10,000 borrowed on the security of the tolls for road improvements. For some years the stage coach ran only to Brecon, but after the turnpike road was finished the journey was extended to Carmarthen, and in 1805 a coach was running to Milford from London five times in the week; the route being through Gloucester, Monmouth, Abergavenny, and Brecon. Waggons were established for the carriage of heavy goods, and "bustle and activity" appeared to prevail; and in the streets near the St. Mary's Church at Brecon are still to be seen the enormous warehouses erected for the reception of the goods brought into the borough by North's waggons.

In the year 1830, a second local Act was passed consolidating the main roads of Brecknock into one trust, under a single Surveyor. The roads were, however, divided into several districts, the tolls being applied exclusively to the service of the road on which they were levied. Under the powers of this Act, a new road was made through the Cwmdu Valley, from Nant y fin, the boundary of Crickhowell parish, to Talgarth. A sum amounting in all to £8,600, was advanced, chiefly by Mr. Hotchkis, for the formation of this road; as there appeared no reasonable prospect of re-payment, the road was practically managed for his benefit. There were at one time two toll-gates upon it, which let for £180 a year. The repairs were executed by the parishes through which the road passed, one of a class of grievance which led to the riots of 1842, and to a measure passed shortly after, named the South Welsh Turnpike Roads Act. Under that measure the road was purchased by the County and the turnpike gates removed.

About 1830 the road was constructed from Porthmawr to Crickhowell bridge, still known as "the new road," and on to Llangynidir and so towards Brecon; the money to form it being advanced by Mr. Hotchkis, Mr. Stretton, and Mr. de Winton of Maesderwen.

The road leading from Abergavenny to Tredegar passes six miles and six furlongs through the County of Brecknock; it was made under an Act dealing with the approaches to Abergavenny, and until the expiration of the Abergavenny Trust in the year 1885, did not form portion of the main roads under the Brecknock Trust. This road ascending the mountain from Lower Llanelly to Brynmawr, was engineered by the late Mr. Henry Bailey. It rises 1,000 feet in four miles, and Mr Bailey informed the writer that the gradients were in excess of what they need have been, his instructions being to pass the doors of various houses. On the expiration of the Trust, this road became a highway of the parishes through which it passed. Two local Acts were passed about 1886-87, under which, with the exception of the portion in the Brynmawr and Ebbw Vale Urban districts, it became portion of the Brecknock main roads. It is now (1899) repaired by the County Council.

In the year 1842, widely extended disturbances, not connected with any political cause, took place throughout South Wales. The excitement was stimulated by local grievances, and gradually led to aggressions of an extensive and systematic kind. The chief grounds of complaint were the mismanagement of funds applicable to turnpike roads, the frequency and amount of the payment of tolls, the vexatious conduct of toll collectors, and illegal demands made by them. Other grievances contributed to the discontent. The unequal distribution of tithe-rent-charge, the large salaries to poor law officials, the fees to magistrates clerks, and the progressive increase of rates, all added to the public uneasiness. A further cause may have been agricultural depression. A succession of wet and unproductive harvests had reduced the capital of the farmers. They had been forced during a series of years to buy bread for their families, and the money obtained by the sale of farm produce scarcely enabled them to meet the various payments for which they were liable.

The resistance to the payment of tolls, and the destruction of turnpike gates, began in the Whitland Trust, on the confines of Pembroke and Carmarthen. This trust had been established in 1791; the Act was subsequently renewed, and several parish roads were then included which had not been named in the original Act. One at least of these roads continued to be maintained as a parish road, when suddenly the trustees resolved to place turnpike gates at each end of it. In the year 1839 some people from England intimated that if certain new gates were erected they would farm the tolls at a higher rate than that which had previously been obtained. Four new gates were erected; but the country people, thinking it wrong that the trustees should take tolls where they had incurred no expenditure, assembled in the midst of summer, at about six o'clock in the afternoon, and those gates were pulled down amidst much noise and great jollity, and without the interference of anybody. The trustees gave notice of their intention to re-erect the gates, but at a meeting held for the purpose, the magistrates for the county attended, and decided by a large majority, that the gates should not be re-erected. That which happened on the Whitland Trust occurred in a greater or less degree in every other trust in Carmarthenshire, in part of Pembrokeshire, and in the South district of Cardiganshire.

The Main Trust ran east and west from Breconshire through Carmarthen into the county of Pembroke. In 1824 it was thought advisable to improve this road that the mails might be accelerated between London and Waterford. Mr. Telford was employed by the Government to survey the road; the improvements were more costly than was expected. They seem, however, to have been confined to the County of Carmarthen.

Regarding the Brecknock Trust, it should be observed that the system which had been adopted in Brecknock for the management of the turnpike roads differed essentially from that which prevailed in any other county of South Wales. One Act of Parliament had been passed in 1830 for the whole county; by its provisions the roads were divided into 19 different districts. The Act contained provision for creating new branch roads by enabling the trustees to erect toll gates on newly constructed roads, charging the interest and capital of money borrowed for the improvement, upon the tolls arising from that road only. In this manner it was prevented from becoming an incumbrance on the tolls of the older roads; under these powers two new roads had been made as has been already described.

The general Brecknock Trust (apart from the Cwmdu road) contained in 1843, 183 miles of road, on which were 33 gates and bars. On the 13th of September, 1848, the Trustees ordered nine to be discontinued. As several of these were bars, at which little money was received, the reduction of annual receipts was not expected to exceed £200. The whole amount of money received from toll gates in 1843 was £6,476. The Act of Parliament required that the tolls collected in each of the 19 districts should be laid out on the roads within its limits. The whole amount was first put together into one fund, out of which was paid the interest of debt (the debt being £39,741); £500 was set aside as a sinking fund; the remainder was laid out on the roads in the district in which

it had been collected. Some of the districts were so unproductive that the Trustees, acting under counsel's opinion, charged the main line of road with the expenses and salaries of officials.

In Brecknockshire, only one gate was destroyed by rioters. The turnpike roads here were maintained by money arising out of the tolls: the farmers were not called upon to repair the roads, and the complaint, frequent in the other counties of South Wales, of having not only to pay tolls, but also to maintain the roads, was not heard in Brecknock. The tolls were very high, being 9d for a horse drawing a carriage, 6d. for a cart, and 2d. for a saddle horse. The horses employed in South Wales at that time were small and weak, and the carts they drew incapable of containing a heavy load. A toll of sixpence on every such horse when drawing would, if tested by comparison of weight and power, be equal to nearly double the amount when collected on teams employed in the neighbouring English counties.

The South Wales Commission reported on the 6th of March, 1844, and a second Commission was sent to assess the various claims against the Trusts. On the amounts being ascertained, the Public Works Loan Commissioners advanced the money as a loan to be repaid by an annuity running over 30 years. The debt on Brecknock was assessed at £41,750, the annuity required for repayment being £2,191.

The South Wales Turnpike Act, which governed the main roads of South Wales until the establishment of County Councils in 1888, was passed in 1844. It provided that the Trusts of each county should be consolidated into one county trust, under a Committee, to be called the County Roads Board, consisting of 12 magistrates appointed by the Court of Quarter Sessions, 12 other members, and certain official personages. The general superintendance of the roads was vested in a Government officer, who was paid by, and reported annually to, Parliament. The funds of the Board were provided (1) by tolls, (2) by statutory labour, that is to say, haulage done without remuneration by farmers, (3) by a county road rate, which rate was to be kept separate from the county rate, and not to exceed in any year the annuity payable in that year, and, though levied on the occupier, it might be deducted by him from the rent payable to the owner; the last condition as to repayment being made in consideration of statutory contribution of labour, which might still be demanded from the occupier.

It is obvious that when by effluxion of time the annuity payable to the Public Works Loan Commissioners ceased, the power to levy a road rate must cease also. In 1875, then, the 30 years over which the debt ran being nearly expired, the South Wales Roads Amendment Act was passed, enabling a county roads rate to be continued, subject to the proviso that it should in no case exceed the maximum amount previously paid in any one year by way of annuity to the Public Works Loan Commissioners by the county.

The Court of Quarter Sessions reviewed in 1875 the roads of Brecknock. The turnpike roads had shrunk from 183 miles in 1843, to 118 miles, with 28 miles 627 yards of bridge approaches, certain roads having ceased to be controlled by the county. There were 232 bridges, the repair of which was done at county expense, and 1,186 miles of highway other than main roads within the county. There were then 23 toll gates within our limits; the produce of the tolls had sunk to £2,205, owing probably to the introduction of railways, no roads now retaining their value as through lines between county and county which they once possessed. In most instances the railways run parallel, and have diverted the through traffic which once passed over the roads.

In 1888 by the Local Government Act, the South Wales Turnpike Act was practically repealed; the road rate could no longer be levied, the County Roads Board ceased to exist, the management of the roads passed under the control of the County Council then established, and the English and Welsh legislation as to roads was assimilated.

At the first meeting of the County Roads Board of the County of Brecknock, held 22nd January, 1845, at the Shire Hall, it was resolved that—"It is expedient hereafter to maintain and continue the following as main roads in this county, namely,

"1. The main road commencing from the confines of the county of Carmarthen, and extending through the towns of Trecastle and Brecon, thence to Llansaintfread Church, through Crickhowell, to the confines of the county of Monmouth, on the road to Abergavenny.
"2. The road from Brecon by Capel Dyffryn Honddu to Builth.
"3. The road from the Three Cocks through Llyswen to Builth.
"4. From Builth to Tavern y pridd.
"5. The road from Talgarth through Bronllys to Llyswen.
"6. The road from Talgarth to Bwlch.
"7. The road from the town of Brecon by Pen Cerrig Cochion to join the Brecon and Hay main road.

"8. The road from Brecon through Glyn Tarrell to the confines of the county of Glamorgan in the direction of Merthyr Tydfil.

"9. The road from Brecon through Bronllys to Hay and the confines of the county of Hereford.

"10. The road extending from Blaentaff Gate on the Brecon and Merthyr Tydfil road over Hirwain Common to join the Glamorganshire turnpike road from Merthyr Tydfil to Neath.

"11. The road leading from or near Crickhowell bridge to join the turnpike road from Abergavenny to Rhyd y blew at or near Pentwyn Clydach in the parish of Llanelly."

Here note that the road from Abergavenny to Rhyd y blew, passing through the town of Brynmawr, although for some miles from the Baiden Brook to Rhyd y blew, within the county of Brecknock, did not come within the scope of the South Welsh Act, but was constructed under an Act to provide approaches to Abergavenny. It was adopted as a main road of Brecknock under a local Act of Parliament on the termination of the Abergavenny Trust in the year 1894.

At the same time the following, which had previously been main roads, were rejected, and discontinued as turnpike roads:—

1. The road from Pont neath fechan by Ystradfellte to the road leading from Brecon to Merthyr Tydfil.
2. The road from the Pont neath fechan road to the Lloscoed Gate through Defynock to the Trecastle and Brecon road, at or near Rhyd y brew.
3. The road from Capel Dyffryn Honddu over Newbridge on Irfon by Llwynmadoc to Llanfihangel Abergwessin, thence to the river Towey near Rhydarw to the confines of the county of Cardigan.
4. The road from Brecon by Battle and Pontfran to Merthyr Cynog.
5. So much of the road from Talgarth by Porthamal and the Three Cocks through Llyswen as extends from Talgarth to Pontithel Bridge.
6. So much of the road from Builth by Tavern y pridd to Carmarthen as extends from Tavern y pridd to the confines of Carmarthen.
7. Also the road diverging from that last mentioned at or near Maescynffordd to Twyn coch fach.
8. So much of the road from Talgarth by the Bwlch over the "new" bridge near Llangynidr to Rhyd y blew, as extends from a point between Bwlch and Llangynidr to Rhyd y blew (the old Beaufort Road).
9. The road from Derwen y groes over the new bridge near Cefn crossing the Brecon and Abergavenny road near the second milestone from Brecon through the village of Llanfihangel-talyllyn over Henley Common to join the road from Talgarth to Bwlch, and from Llanfihangel-talyllyn to the village of Llangorse, and there joining the turnpike road from Talgarth to Bwlch.
10. The road from the Brecon and Hay turnpike road by the Tille Llanthomas, Tregoyd, and Velindre, and Gwernivet, to the turnpike road from Talgarth by Porthamel to the Three Cocks.
11. The road from the Brecon Furnace gate through the village of Llanddew to Garthbrengy Common.
12. The road extending from the Brecon and Crickhowell main road to Nant y fin, and proceeding by Cwmdu Church to Talgarth.
13. The road from Porthmawr in the town of Crickhowell over Crickhowell Bridge past Glanusk Park, through Llangynidr and Talybont villages to Derwen y groes (Back road to Brecon).

THE JOINT COUNTIES' LUNATIC ASYLUM, ABERGAVENNY.

The Act of Parliament (8 and 9 Vic. c. 126) which rendered compulsory the erection of Asylums for Pauper Lunatics within three years became law on the 8th August, 1845. After preliminary negotiations, an agreement was entered into on September 13, 1847, between the counties of Monmouth, Hereford, Brecknock, Radnor, and the City of Hereford, to form a Union for the erection of a joint lunatic asylum. The basis of agreement, amongst other things, was that of every pound expended on the erection of the building, Monmouthshire should contribute 8s. 2¼d., Herefordshire 6s. 4d., Brecknock 3s 3d., Radnor 1s. 6¼d., and the City of Hereford 8d., being in proportion to their respective populations. Mr. Thomas Fulljames, of Gloucester, who had recently erected an asylum at Denbigh, and had made additions to that of Gloucester, was appointed architect, a farm, called the Lower Farm, lying to the north of Abergavenny, separated from the town by the river Kenvy, was purchased for £120 an acre, and other land, about four and a half acres, were purchased at the same time. It possessed the advantages of a southern aspect, a cheerful view, close proximity to the town, an ample supply of water, and, as events afterwards proved, a railway station with a private siding on to the Asylum estate. The building was originally intended to accommodate 210 patients; by judicious arrangements it was made to hold 254. The estimate for the building was £23,867; and the actual cost of the site was £4,584, to which furniture, gas, entrance lodge, cemetery,

boundary wall, and appointments being added, the total cost proved to be £37,082, or £146 per bed. The share of these expenses alloted to Brecknock amounted to £6,025 19s. 9d. Dr. J. Steward Allen was appointed first medical superintendent, and commenced his duties on September 1, 1851. The Asylum immediately filled, and before the presentation of their first report the Committee had already contemplated the advisability of further building. The weekly charge for patients was ten shillings.

During the year 1857 thirteen acres of land were purchased for £1,580. The same year Dr. Allen died, and the Visitors recorded their sense of his valuable services and feared that the stress of work may have hastened his decease. The number of patients had by that time increased to 316. In order to meet the emergency, attics in the roof were fitted with beds, making a total accommodation for 370 patients. Before the improvement could be carried out, the number of patients had in 1858 mounted to 345, and the Committee directed plans to be prepared for an enlargement of the Asylum to contain 125 additional patients, which addition was carried out in the following year. In 1858, Dr. McCullough, of Edinburgh, was appointed medical superintendent, and the weekly charge for each patient was then 7s. 7d. This proved insufficient to defray the expense, and in 1860 the charge was raised to 8s. 6d. In 1860 the addition to the Asylum, and the Superintendent's house, had been completed at a cost of £7,500. The number of patients had, however, made a corresponding increase, partly in consequence of persons above the rank of paupers being sent in by the parish officers, with the understanding that their expenses should be repaid the Union by their relatives. The Asylum at that time would accommodate 466, and there was a margin of only 42 unoccupied beds.

Two years later the number of patients had increased to 485, an emergency which was met partly by using the farm buildings on the estate, and partly by sending 30 patients to board at the Worcester Asylum. These patients, however, cost 12s. 6d. per week, 4s. in excess of the charge at Abergavenny. The idea of breaking up the Union began now to be entertained, and the great cost of building a new Asylum made the smaller counties, who would probably have to build, strongly oppose the policy. Each year, however, the number of patients showed an increase: in 1869 there were in the Asylum 511, besides 124 boarded out at Dorset, Briton Ferry, Denbigh, and Fisherton. So a dissolution of the Union was determined upon, under which agreement it was arranged that Hereford County and City should build a fresh asylum, and the other three counties, Monmouth, Brecknock, and Radnor, remain in partnership as owners of the original institution.

It was startling to find that even after the dissolution of this old union, the accommodation would be insufficient for the patients of the three counties; the Visitors accordingly entered into an agreement with Hereford to receive in their new Asylum at Credenhill 30 patients, and with Fisherton house to receive seventeen. The agreed value of the Asylum with farm and three cottages, which had been recently purchased, was at the dissolution of the original union £56,000. The contributions of the new partners were settled as follows: namely, in each pound of expenditure, Monmouth to pay 15s. 1d., Brecknock 3s. 5d., Radnor 1s. 6d. The estimated value of the share of Brecknock was £9,566 13s. 4d. A further extension of the Asylum having become necessary, an expenditure of £6,400 was authorised by the local authorities, and an additional building to accommodate 64 male patients was commenced in the year 1874.

In the year 1878 the number of patients had again increased, and there were in the Asylum 523 lunatics, and there were 55 boarded out under contract at other asylums. The Monmouthshire visitors expressed their strong view that the union of the three counties should come to an end; the Brecknock and Radnor members "Were of opinion that the most economical plan for the necessary enlargement would be to erect the additional buildings on a site adjoining the existing asylum." After much discussion, plans were prepared for an extensive addition to the accommodation, for 100 men and 170 women; for a new chapel, dining hall, stores, workshops, &c. A tender was accepted from Messrs. Horsman to execute the new works for £42,000, exclusive of water storage.

In the year 1882, died Mr. Bosanquet, who had been chairman of Visitors since the commencement of the Asylum. In the following year Dr. McCullough retired through ill-health, only surviving his retirement a few months. He had gained a reputation for ability which extended far beyond the district with which he had been immediately connected. The result of his exertions in the administrative part of the management reduced the weekly cost of maintenance from 10s. 6d. to 8s. a head, a saving of £4,556 a year. He was succeeded by Dr. Glendinning, who had been second in command. The new buildings provided accommodation for 309 patients, the capacity of the Asylum being now raised to 830 beds. The low price of provisions, and the saving incident on the absence of necessity for boarding out, enabled the Committee in 1885 to reduce the charge for weekly maintenance to 7s. 3½d. This year the little mill, with about three acres of land, was added to the estate at a cost of £1,475; this provided extra water rights, and was in many ways a very desirable

purchase. The Asylum Estate at that time consisted of 76 acres of freehold, together with a leasehold farm of 127 acres rented at £150 per annum; 25 acres was utilised as Asylum site and 22 acres for pleasure ground and kitchen garden. The cost of the land had been £11,093; of the buildings (including repairs) £124,750—the total cost having been £135,844. There were 700 patients chargeable to the counties, 350 of each sex, and the cost of each patient was £18 12s. 7d. a year, or 7s. $t\frac{3}{4}$d. per week.

DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP.

From the very commencement of the undertaking it has been seen that the number of patients chargeable to the counties had been steadily growing, the increase being chiefly due to the enormous growth of the population of Monmouthshire. Several attempts had been made on behalf of that county to get rid of Brecknock and Radnor. These tactics were for a long time successfully resisted in the interest of the smaller counties, but in the early spring of 1890, a Monmouthshire Councillor, Mr. T. Parry, moved a resolution at a meeting of the County Council, "That the time had arrived when it was desirable *in the interests of Monmouthshire* to dissolve with the counties of Brecknock and Radnor in the management of the Asylum at Abergavenny, and that the said counties should be paid out their share of the capital in the Asylum." He pointed out in a pamphlet that dissolution would relieve Monmouthshire of an expenditure of £2,000 a year, and begged the Council to look at the matter "from a commercial point of view without having any sentimental regard for the interests of Brecknock and Radnor."

The Abergavenny Asylum was a building admirably adapted to its purpose, built for the moderate cost of £149 per bed. Such an Asylum, or one suiting modern requirements, could not be built in 1897, the time of dissolution of partnership, for double the money. It is therefore evident that the compulsory sale of their property involved the smaller counties in a very serious loss. On March 29, 1894, the Visitors of the Asylum settled by a majority (consisting entirely of representatives of Monmouthshire) that the dissolution of partnership should take place on December 31, 1896, and a further resolution was passed, Brecknock and Radnor dissenting, that the sums to be paid by Monmouth to the outgoing counties should be—To Brecknock, £24,452 2s. 8d.; to Radnor, £10,325 11s. 4d.; being the amounts which those counties had respectively contributed to the existing asylum at Abergavenny, together with their contributions to any additional outlay between the date of the resolution and the dissolution of partnership, also their share of stock in hand and cash balances. This offer was rejected, and the matter in dispute was finally referred by the Secretary of State to Mr. A. Birrell, Q.C., M.P. His award was: To the County of Brecknock, £26,359; to the County of Radnor, £10,080, together with a share of the stock in hand and balances on the day of dissolution. These latter were to be divided in the following proportion: Monmouth £8 7s. 8d., Brecknock £1 17s. 11d. and Radnor 14s. 6d. in every £11 0s. 1d. The balances and stock amounted to £15,834 2s. 2d., of which Monmouth received £12,062 18s. 10d., Brecknock £2,727 19s. 0d., and Radnor £1,043 4s. 4d. The total amount received by the County of Brecknock was £29,086 19s. 0d., subject to an adjustment for pensions.

Radnorshire under the award, received on a forced sale for the advantage of Monmouthshire, a sum actually less than her share of the joint property had originally cost her. Both the smaller counties felt themselves treated with undue severity, while Monmouth admitted that the arrangements were largely to her advantage and to the disadvantage of the quondam partners.

This ends the history of the Union between Brecknock and other counties in the management of a Joint Lunatic Asylum at Abergavenny.

RECORDS OF QUARTER SESSIONS, VOL. 9: 1850–1856.

This Volume is the first that has an index attached.

The Court of Queen's Bench having decided that the County of Brecknock was liable for the repair of one half of Glasbury Bridge, at the Midsummer Sessions of 1850, Mr. Rennie, of Newport, was requested to report on the best means of restoration; the bridge was made passable for foot passengers, but it fell, so a ferry boat, in charge of a trustworthy man, was placed at the disposal of the public. Mr. Rennie was again consulted, and a Committee of Justices was appointed to discuss with Radnor the report he had prepared. Radnor, however, declined to meet the Brecknock deputation, and called in Mr. Grey, bridge surveyor, Hereford, as to the Radnor half of the bridge. Brecknock proceeded to advertise for tenders for half the bridge, the material to be wood with stone piers. The two counties united in building a central pier of stone, the estimate of which was £431 2s. 8d. The miserable result of this conflict of opinion was that the bridge erected was a structure with stone piers until mid-stream is reached, beyond which it is a wooden bridge resting upon trestles of wood. Some difficulty arose as to tenders: Mr. James' offer to construct the

Brecknock half for £2,585 being finally accepted, but Mr. James abandoned his contract in August, 1851, and Mr. Wylie undertook to rebuild half the bridge and the central pier for £2,800, so £5,000 was borrowed for this and other purposes from the National Life Association at a yearly interest of £3 18s. 6d. per centum. The County Surveyor was directed to give his exclusive attention to the work, and to employ his son to discharge the other duties of his office.

In the year 1852 we find that the parish of Glasbury (south of the Wye) formerly in Radnor, was placed within the County of Brecknock. On July 26, 1853, a great flood occurred, the Usk and Wye rising simultaneously: eight county bridges were entirely destroyed and forty-six damaged. Immediately action was taken, and fords were constructed until the bridges could be replaced, three sums, each of £1,000, being borrowed for the purpose of re-construction. Eight persons perished by drowning, and the newspapers of the period contained graphic descriptions of the disaster; and in the *Illustrated London News* there appeared some sketches made by a Mr. Teale of Brecon, a very clever draughtsman, of the devastations caused in Brecon.

In the year 1854 an important re-arrangement of Petty Sessional divisions was ordered. The Hay division was carried out of that of Talgarth: it consisted of Hay, Llanigon, Glynfach, Glasbury, Tregoyd, and Felindre. Llanfillo, Llandefaelog-Tregraig with the hamlets of Tredustan and Trefeinon (formerly in the Pencelly division) were added to Talgarth. Grwyne-fawr and Grwyne-fechan, then hamlets in the parish of Talgarth, but since made into separate parishes, were detached from Talgarth and placed within the petty sessional division of Crickhowell. The upper part of St. David's parish, till then in Defynock division, Talachddu, Garthbrengy, and Llanddew, all in Pencelly, were placed in the Merthyr division, and Llandilo'rfân, formerly in Merthyr, was added to the Defynock division.

As from time to time prices of agricultural produce became a matter of interest, it may be well to note that contract prices in 1850 were: Bread, 4lb. loaf, 4½d.; meat, 5d. per lb.; oatmeal, 12s. per cwt.; potatoes, 6s. per cwt; coals, per ton delivered, 16s 6d. In 1853, 1854, and 1855, the Crimean War was raging, and the corn of Russia no longer reached the markets of England, bread therefore which in 1850 had been fourpence farthing the four pound loaf, more than doubled, the price running up to ninepence. Meat, which was not then imported in large quantities, remained unaffected; oatmeal rose to 21s., probably in sympathy with flour.

BILL FOR BETTER HIGHWAY MANAGEMENT.

In 1851, highway legislation for South Wales was commenced, and an Act was introduced by Lord Emlyn and passed entitled "An Act for the better management and control of the South Wales highways." The Brecknock Court petitioned against it: "Exceptional legislation for Wales was objectionable in principle and prejudicial in practice;" considerable expense must be incurred "which in the present distressed state of agriculture it is most desirable to avoid; the Bill was an experiment, let it be tried on Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, and not forced on the other counties; if the measure prove beneficial, your petitioners assume it will be extended to the whole Kingdom, but while it is an experiment the smaller the area the better." But, the Act having passed, the County was divided into highway districts. Brecon Borough, inclusive of Christ College and the Castle Inn, and exclusive of Llywel, was constituted a district; the districts of Pencelly, Merthyr Cynog, and Defynock, were made into one district, an arrangement which strikes the modern mind as inconvenient—it was probably adopted to conciliate the dignity of the Borough. Brynmawr was made a separate district from Crickhowell, a portion of the parishes of Llangattock and Llanelly "as described in the report of G. Thos. Clark, Esq., superintending inspector to the Board of Health, dated 22 Sept., 1849"—which, to those who had not a copy of that report, seems a vague definition; it pointed darkly to more modern legislation then simmering in the minds of administrators. Penderyn, Vaynor, Ystradfellte, Ystradgunlais, with the hamlets of Glyntawe, Nantddu, and Hepste, were joined under the name of the Southern district, an arrangement which was afterwards abandoned. In all, seven districts were constituted: 1, Brecon; 2, Brynmawr; 3, Builth; 4, Crickhowell; 5, Penceller, &c.; 6, Southern district; 7, Talgarth.

RECORDS OF QUARTER SESSIONS, VOL. 10: 1856–1866.

This Volume contains but little of interest. The conclusion of the Crimean War, the readier importation of agricultural produce, and the opening of local railways to Brecon, reduced the contract prices of stores for the Gaol. Bread which in 1856 stood at 2d. per lb. fell to less than three half-pence; meat was contracted for at 7d.; oatmeal fell from 20s. to 15s. the hundred weight; while coal, probably owing to cheaper carriage, fell from 16s. to 12s. a ton. In the year 1856 was passed an Act of Parliament (19–20 Vic. c. 69) rendering compulsory the establishment of a County police force; accordingly at the Epiphany Sessions 1857, two superintendents, six sergeants, and twenty constables were appointed. Mr. Edmund Roderick Gwynne was elected chief constable at a

yearly salary of £250, and at the Michaelmas Sessions the constables were divided into two classes, the pay being respectively 19s. and 17s. per week. A superannuation fund was instituted, and at Michaelmas 1858 there stood to its credit £131. This and all future sums which might accumulate were directed to be invested in the names of two justices as trustees in such public funds and Government securities as the said trustees should deem proper. We might here add that Mr. E. R. Gwynne held the office of Chief Constable for the long period of 48 years, resigning in 1905. He died at Llanthetty Hall and was buried in the parish churchyard of Llanthetty. He was succeeded in the office by Captain W. Morgan Thomas (elder son of the late Morgan Thomas, Esq., J.P., of Glyn-Garth, Brecon). Capt. Thomas had for several years been deputy head-constable at Swansea; he held the Breconshire appointment barely two years, dying after a very brief illness at the age of 42. He was buried in the family burial ground in the Brecon Cemetery. Capt. Arthur Stuart Williams (a son of the late County Court Judge Gwilym Williams) was appointed chief to succeed Capt. Thomas; and, having acquired the Pontywall Mansion and estate, resides there.

At Michaelmas 1857, the Penderyn Petty Sessional division was formed out of the former divisions of Defynock and Ystradgunlais; and at Midsummer in the same year Mr. John Jones, Chairman of Quarter Sessions, retired, having held the office for 17 years. In 1865 cattle plague, or steppe murrain, originating amongst the herds on the Russian steppes, spread over Europe, and was brought by foreign cattle to London. In a brief space it was carried to all parts of England, where, after causing frightful losses, it was stamped out by the resolute slaughter of all affected animals and of others which had been in contact with them. At the Epiphany Sessions, 1866, the Justices of Brecknock deemed it expedient to forbid the removal of all cattle within the county to market or fair, and further to decree it unlawful to bring any such animal from any other place into the county of Brecknock; exception being made in favour of fat stock already within the county, which it was obviously necessary to send to the butcher for slaughter. At an adjournment the prohibition was extended to sheep and swine, and to the introduction of untanned hides, horns, hoofs, and offal, and to other articles which, it was feared, might propagate infection. The services of veterinary surgeons were secured as inspectors in various districts of the county, and the duty of carrying out the orders of the Court was entrusted to a large committee of Justices, to whom were subsequently added the names of well-known men of science and large agriculturists. Under the guidance of this Committee the Inspectors were ordered to slaughter any animal affected with cattle plague, and to bury it in its skin, with at least three bushels of quicklime, in a grave not less than six feet in depth. Animals which had been in contact with diseased stock might, with the assent of the Committee, be slaughtered, in which case a sum not exceeding £25 would be awarded as compensation to the owner. Happily the County remained free from this fearful disease.

RECORDS OF QUARTER SESSIONS, VOL. II: 1866–1874.

The Eleventh Volume covers the period from 1866 to 1874. The contract prices for necessaries at Brecon varied as follows: Coal, which in 1866 cost 11s. 6d, per ton, in 1872 rose to 15s. 10d. and in 1873-4 stood at 23s. and 24s. per ton, having doubled in price in three years. Bread from 1866 to 1871 was 1½d. per lb.; it gradually rose and in 1874 cost 1⅞d. Meat, 8d. per lb. in 1866, dropped to 6d. in 1870-71, when it rose, the highest price being reached in 1873 at 7½d. per lb.; in 1874 it had dropped to 7d. Oatmeal varied in price from 19s. to 20s. per cwt., the average being about 20s.

THE CORONERS.

Coroners, whose duties are now practically confined to holding inquests in case of sudden death, have always been elected, and the Coroner is primarily an officer of the county elected by the freeholders. In certain districts the appointment is made by the Crown, or lords holding a charter from the Crown. Within the county of Brecknock the Coroner, in the Hundred of Crickhowell, is appointed by the Lord of the Manor, His Grace the Duke of Beaufort. In the remainder of the County these officers are appointed by the local authority, that is so say, since the year 1888, by the County Council. In the year 1844 an Act had been passed (7-8 Vic., cap. 92) empowering the Justices of Quarter Sessions, when they should deem it expedient, to petition the Crown praying that the county under their control should be divided into districts. Such a petition was resolved on at the Michaelmas Sessions, 1866. There were then two Coroners for the County (other than the hundred of Crickhowell), but no districts had been assigned to them, and inconvenience had resulted. The Justices therefore, having conferred with the Coroners in office, and taken into consideration population, amount of work, &c., petitioned Queen Victoria that the County should be divided into two districts, one consisting of the hundred of Defynock including the Petty Sessional divisions of Ystradgunlais and Penderin, the parishes in the hundred of Pencelly, and the parish of St. David's in the

Borough of Brecon, to be called the Southern district. The other district was to consist of the parishes of St. John and St. Mary in the Borough of Brecon, the hundreds of Builth, Merthyr, and Talgarth, including the Petty Sessional districts of Hay, to be called the Northern district. The reply does not seem to be recorded, but the scheme must have been carried out, as the North and South divisions, as they still exist at the time of writing, and correctly described in the petition.

In 1860 an Act had been passed to amend the law relating to the payment of County Coroners. There shall be paid to every Coroner, in lieu of fees, mileage, and allowances, such annual salary as shall be agreed upon between him and the Justices. In default of agreement the Secretary of State for the Home Department was required to fix the salary, having regard to the average fees, the number of inquests, and special circumstances. At the end of five years such salary was subject to revision. Five years had passed since the last revision, and in 1871 the Justices, carefully considering the facts, assign in each case a salary somewhat in excess of the fees. The division of the County having involved one officer in loss, and the others alleging special circumstances, Dr. James Williams was to have £55 a year, Mr. D. W. J. Thomas £50, and Mr Lewis (Crickhowell) £70, which salaries were the same as late as 1899.

CATTLE PLAGUE IN ENGLAND.

Cattle plague still existed in England, but the precautions taken against it had become a grievous burden in Brecknock, and accordingly at Easter, 1866, a resolution was carried that in order to facilitate the removal of cattle on change of tenancy, or for breeding purposes, or on change of pasture, for a period of 13 days commencing on the 3rd day of April, any animal may be removed from any uninfected district in any adjoining County into this County, or out of this County to any other place, with a licence signed by a justice. A rate of one farthing in the pound was ordered to pay for the precautionary measures; a similar rate was raised in 1867. In November, 1866, application was made to the Privy Council for permission to hold Cattle Markets at Builth, Hay, Talgarth, and Crickhowell, and the re-opening of the Markets was announced; fairs were to be re-opened also. The Secretary of State gave the necessary orders, which orders were renewed from time to time, the last entry being at Midsummer, 1868. In 1869 a Contagious Diseases Animals' Act was passed, under the powers of which the Justices appointed a Committee and a veterinary inspector, who was instructed to report quarterly to the Court. In 1872 foot and mouth disease broke out amongst the cattle; not so fatal as cattle plague, it was nevertheless a most serious scourge. Calves that were allowed to suck at the stricken mother died; those that had been given milk that had been boiled survived. Amongst older animals, few deaths took place, but grave constitutional effects followed contagion, and animals once tainted seldom entirely regained a healthy condition. An attempt was made to prevent the spread of the disease by instituting strict isolation, but few herds escaped the contagion.

THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTY GAOL.

In 1865 an Act had been passed dealing with the discipline of prisons. Thereupon, in January, 1868, letters had been received from the Secretary of State as to the condition of the County Gaol; and the Justices replied that a large portion of the prison was devoted to debtors, that the law was likely to be changed as to imprisonment for debt, and that the time for improvement was not convenient. Possibly the Secretary of State took a different view, as at Midsummer the Surveyor was instructed to prepare a plan to improve eight female cells according to the directions of the recent Act of Parliament. The cells were to be certified by an inspector; they were to be of such a size, and to be lighted, warmed, and fitted up in such a manner as may be necessary for health. The Surveyor reported that he found it impracticable to prepare the plan as ordered. At Epiphany, 1869, the Justices had taken a larger view of the matter, and offered a premium of £30 for the best plan of alterations, including a new governor's house, to meet the requirements of the Act of 1865. In May a Committee reported that it was necessary to enlarge and improve the Gaol to meet the requirement of the Act, and the plans of Mr. T. F. Fillary were adopted subject to modification; the Secretary of State was informed that the County were thinking of raising £6,500 for the purpose. The tenders, when received, were considerably higher than the estimate, and the plans were sent back to the Architect for revision. He carried the slating over the tops of the walls, and the Governor's house was not to be pulled down at that time. The contract was then placed with Messrs. Williams and Sons, builders, of Llanfaes, Brecon, at £7,198. An advertisement for a loan was inserted in the local papers: "Wanted to borrow, a sum not exceeding £7,000, payable by thirty equal instalments with interest. The Justices wish the advance made in the following manner, viz., £2,000 now (in January, 1870), £2,000 in July, and £3,000 in January, 1871." The offer of the Crown Insurance Society was accepted, the interest to be 4½ per cent. per annum; and at Easter Sessions a contract

was signed with gentlemen representing the Crown Insurance Society. The prisoners were removed to Hereford until the new prison was ready, Brecknock to pay to Hereford the weekly sum of 10s. for each prisoner.

THE PRISON GOVERNOR'S HOUSE.

The new Governor's house had been proceeded with, and Mr. Lazenby moved into it Midsummer, 1871. At the same time £1,000 Consols, part of the sum invested from the Gaol loan, was sold out to meet the Gaol payments, a fact of some interest to those who govern the County in 1900, when the County has again to borrow, as showing the inconvenience of having money in hand before it is required. At Midsummer, 1872, a further loan of £1,000 was obtained from the Crown Insurance Company. At Michaelmas, 1873, Mr. Fillary, the architect, presented his report, by which it appeared that £1,423 7s. 6d. was due to the Contractors for extras in place of their much greater demands, which, however, they declined to accept. Anyhow, a further loan from the Crown Insurance Company of £1,000 was necessary. At the Epiphany Sessions, 1874, a Committee was appointed as to arbitration with the Contractors, and at the Epiphany Sessions, Messrs. Williams and Son made an offer to accept half the additional money claimed, viz., £1,111 5s. 6d., which the Justices accepted as a compromise, each party to pay their own costs.

At the Easter Sessions, 1870, a letter was received from the Home Secretary advising the photographing of prisoners as a means of identifying habitual criminals. The plan was adopted, and the prisoners being at Hereford a photographer of that town undertook the work for two shillings a portrait. This incident shows the advance even then taking place in the various uses of photography.

Brynwawr Petty Sessional Division was formed in accordance with a statement received at the Epiphany Sessions, 1870. It originally consisted of the parcels of Duffryn Upper in the parish of Llangynidr, of Prisk Upper in the parish of Llangattock, and of so much of the parish of Llanelly as is within the district of the Brynmawr Board of Health. The district was carved out of Crickhowell, and subsequent legislation has largely altered its boundaries. The matter was completed and the district formed on June 1st, 1870. Brynmawr Justices' Room, necessary no doubt now that the new district had been formed, was ordered to be built early in 1873 at a cost not exceeding £250, to which £75 was added for furniture.

COUNTY EXPENDITURE IN 1871.

At the Epiphany Sessions, 1871, the Justices undertook a comparative survey of county expenditure during the ten years last past. It is still an interesting document. The expenses varied very little, and averaged about £10,000 a year. Police cost in 1861, £2,217; in 1870 the charge was £2,740; now in 1899 the charge had risen to nearly £5,000 a year. Bridges averaged £1,200; the charge varied little, and still remains about the same figure. There had been large bridge loans due to the substitution of stone for wooden structures, and this was a charge in 1861 of £465; ten years later it had been paid off. The main roads were chiefly supported by tolls; the payment of public debt, contracted for reasons described elsewhere, necessitated a county road rate, an annual charge of about £2,200. The Gaol, now His Majesty's Prison, but in 1861 supported by the ratepayers, was responsible for an annual charge of about £1,000, besides which there was the loan for enlargement, necessitating a charge of £300 a year. As to the Lunatic Asylum, the loan being gradually paid off, this cost at the commencement of the account £906, and in 1871 £340. Justices' Clerks, now a charge of about £1,100 a year, were then paid by fees, and do not appear in the account. In those early days many things now charged on the rates were defrayed out of other sources of revenue; on the whole it will perhaps be found that the county expenditure has not largely increased since the introduction of popular government. The history of the Lunatic Asylum at Abergavenny has been given elsewhere in this work, and it only remains to state here that chronologically the new agreement on the retirement of Hereford from partnership was recorded at the Easter Sessions, 1871.

ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

In the autumn of 1871 the heart of the nation had been deeply moved by the desperate illness of His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (King Edward VII.). The danger happily passed, and at their first meeting in 1872, the County Justices presented an address of sympathy to Her Majesty Queen Victoria on the restoration of the Prince to health.

Government had in 1872 consented to make annual grants to counties to assist in the maintenance of the Police. The Justices of Brecknock returned the Chief Constable's salary at £250 and £50 for forage allowance, which latter item the Exchequer declined to admit. The Justices therefore at

Easter, 1872, withdrew the forage allowance, and added £50 to the salary in lieu thereof. This was a shrewd device, but the Government declined to admit the change, and calculated their grant accordingly.

NEW BALLOT ACT.

In 1872 the Ballot Act had been passed, altering the mode of voting from open voting to a system of secret voting. Amongst its many provisions was one that each voter should as far as practicable have a polling place within four miles of his residence. Immediately on the passing of the Act at Michaelmas, 1872, the Justices divided the county into fifteen polling districts, viz., (1) Brecon, (2) Brynmawr, (3) Builth, (4) Cefn, (5) Crickhowell, (6) Defynock, (7) Duke'stown, (8) Hay, (9) Llanafan, (10) Llanwrtyd, (11) Lower Chapel, (12) Penderyn, (13) Talgarth, (14) Talybont, (15) Ystradgunlais. This arrangement has since been twice modified; at the present time (1899) there are 23 polling places, and a further revision seems likely in the immediate future (*see Records for* 1877).

In 1873 Mr. Edward Williams resigned his office as Clerk of the Peace, which he had held for 26 years. Mr. David Thomas, solicitor, of Brecon, was appointed his successor (*see Mayors of Brecknock*). Owing to the establishment of the County Police and other causes the work had considerably increased; and at Michaelmas if was agreed that Mr. Thomas should receive a salary of £250 a year in lieu of fees, except such as were received by the late Clerk of the Peace.

CHAPTER X.

Records of Quarter Sessions, Vol. 12: 1874—1882. Vol. 13: 1883; and General County History to the year 1903.

THE twelfth volume contains the record from 1874 to 1882. Between the years 1840-1850, the railway system of England had started its existence, and the Metropolis had been connected with every centre of population in the kingdom. Lines had been constructed to Shrewsbury, to Hereford, and to Gloucester, and thence along the South Coast of Monmouth and Wales to Newport, Cardiff, Swansea, and Milford. In 1850 these great arteries of traffic had been connected by a line running from Shrewsbury through Hereford to Newport, skirting the borderland of Wales. During the ten years from 1860 to 1870, Brecon had been connected with Swansea and Hereford, a second line ran to Merthyr and thence to Brynmawr and Abergavenny, while the north of the county was served by the Cambrian and Mid-Wales Railways, leaving the Hereford and Brecon line at Three Cocks and passing northward to Builth Road, at which point the line was crossed by the North-Western railway from Craven Arms to Carmarthen. The valuation of the railways for rating purposes was a matter of considerable difficulty; and at Michaelmas, 1874, a Committee was appointed, who reported that the Companies were much undervalued. They therefore engaged the services of Mr. Headley a well known valuer. His award does not appear in the Record, but a sum was agreed upon which was satisfactory both to the Railway Companies and to the County Authority.

PRISON TAKEN OVER BY THE GOVERNMENT.

Contract prices in 1874 to 1877 were as follows: Bread remained at three halfpence a pound, meat at 7d; coal sank to 13s. 6d. per ton from 18s. Under an Act of Parliament, in the year 1877 the necessity for contracts ceased, and Prisons were transferred to the Secretary of State, their maintenance and that of the prisoners therein being, after the commencement of the Act, defrayed out of the moneys provided by Parliament (Sec. 33). Power was given to the Secretary of State to discontinue any prison, provided that in every county there remained at least one prison, and even this limitation might be foregone if the Secretary of State for special reasons so ordered. When a prison was discontinued, a re-conveyance was to be offered to the Local Authority at a price of £120 per cell. Where more than adequate accommodation had been provided a sum was paid out of the National Exchequer to the Local Authority. The Act was of benefit to the ratepayers, and welcomed by them. Under its provisions the prison at Brecon was on the 1st of April, 1878, transferred to the Secretary of State. The Governor, Mr. Lazenby, after a service of 41 years, retired on a pension of £143 a year; his wife, who had acted as Matron, receiving a further pension of £57. In the following year an order was made by the Secretary of State for the closing of the prison, the special reason being that the average number of prisoners had been only 27. The offer was made of re-conveyance of the prison to the Local Authority on a payment into the Exchequer of £3,253; the Court did not desire to re-purchase, but thought it for the public interest that the prison should remain open for the reception of prisoners awaiting trial. The Secretary of State consented to this course provided that the Justices would forego any claim to compensation they might have under the Act. This, however, they declined to do, urging their claim to be paid for surplus cells, for which the Government made an offer of £480 and a further offer to purchase a small field adjoining at the rate of £150 an acre.

With regard to the amount of compensation the Justices at Michaelmas, 1880, again addressed the Home Secretary: "They had transferred to the State a most perfect prison complete in every respect, with sufficient accommodation to meet the future wants of the county. Great expense had been incurred in re-building at the instance of the Government itself. The town of Brecon had lately been made a military depôt. In the immediate neighbourhood was a large mining population." When this letter was despatched the Government had changed, and Sir William Vernon Harcourt was Home Secretary. On the 6th of December, 1879, shortly before the date of the above letter, a Brecknock prisoner, confined in Hereford Gaol, suddenly died. It was stated that the prison was overcrowded; it had undoubtedly been full. There appeared to be no maladministration, but the fact of this prisoner's death may not have been without weight in the ultimate decision as to Brecon Prison. Sir W. Harcourt re-opened the question of the amount of compensation, now offering a sum

H. Powell Powel, Esq.,
of Castle Madoc.

(High Sheriff 1870)

Howel Gwyn, Esq.,
of Abercraf, Defferyn.

(High Sheriff 1871)

Richard Douglas Gough, Esq.,
of Ynisceedwyn.

(High Sheriff 1869)

J. Williams-Vaughan, Esq.,
of Velinnewydd.

(High Sheriff 1875)

of £1,320, an addition of £57 being made as the price of the small adjoining field; this latter sum was subsequently raised to £65, and the long discussed question was settled at the close of the year 1880.

At the Easter Sessions, 1876, it was proposed to form a new Petty Sessional Division at Llanwrtyd; difficulties however, arose owing to the paucity of justices resident in that neighbourhood. Llanwrtyd, therefore, remains within the division of Builth; but it was resolved that for the public convenience a meeting of the Justices should be held there once a month, in addition to the usual sessional meeting at Builth.

The new police station at Brecon was completed before the end of the year 1874. The police station at Crickhowell being leasehold, it became necessary in 1878 to build a new one, and a freehold site was purchased from Dr. E. Parry for £1,000, at which price it had been valued by the County Surveyor, the money being borrowed from the Police Superannuation Fund. Three cells were built, and the house adapted at a further cost of £474; the whole work being finished by the spring of 1880. A new police station was commenced at Hay in 1874, the tender being for £1,528; a loan for the purpose was advanced from the superannuation fund.

In the year 1851, an Act of Parliament had been passed enacting, amongst other matters, that it should be lawful for Justices to pay the Clerks of Petty Sessions by salary in lieu of fees, the fees being paid to the Treasurer of the County. In 1877 the principal Act was made compulsory, and in future there was to be but one clerk for each petty sessional division, save when Petty Sessions were held at two places. The Clerk was to be of legal knowledge or experience, and be paid by salary. At Michaelmas, 1877, the Justices of Brecknock took the matter into consideration; an amount was arrived at based upon the average of fees received during the preceding five years, with an addition of five per cent. on the actual amount paid annually to the County Treasurer. This arrangement not receiving the sanction of the Secretary of State, the five per cent. was added in the form of a fixed addition of salary, and the total amount of each Petty Sessional district was fixed as follows: Builth, £143; Brynmawr, £213; Crickhowell, £123; Defynock, £84; Hay, £113; Merthyr and Pencelly, £126; Penderyn, £144; Talgarth, £122; Ystradgunlais, £98; the total cost to the county being £1,166, a sum which experience has shown is not entirely covered by the amount of fees paid to the Treasurer.

At Easter, 1877, Mr. Penry Williams, of Penpont, announced his resignation of the office of Chairman of Quarter Sessions; and the Justices placed on record their regret at his decision, and their sympathy with the indifferent health which was the cause of it. At the Midsummer Sessions the Rev. Hugh Bold, son of a previous holder of the office, was appointed chairman.

Five years having passed since the County had been divided into polling districts, and experience having suggested certain alterations, additional polling places were ordered at the Epiphany Sessions, 1878, at Cefncoedcymmer, Trecastle, Erwood, and Talybont (*see 11th Vol. of Records*).

THE FLOODS IN LLANFAES.

On Sunday, October 8, 1876, the Usk and Tarrall had been in heavy flood, and the water had overwhelmed the district of Llanfaes; the houses and shops being under water to the depth of four feet. At Epiphany Sessions, 1878, a memorial from the inhabitants was received by the Justices praying that some method might be adopted for the prevention of a recurrence of the calamity. The opinion of Mr. G. W. Keeling, C.E., was taken, and by his advice a committee recommended the removal of rubbish tipped above the bridge with the view of clearing the waterway, and certain alterations in the bank for the same object. Doubts, however, were felt as to the powers of the Justices and a case was submitted to Mr. Paterson, who was of opinion that the Justices, being neither River Conservators nor Commissioners of Sewers, had no power to interfere with the bed or banks of the river, except only when necessary repair to the bridge made such interference imperative, their powers being limited to those of a highway authority, the safety of the highway being their sole responsibility. One might be inclined to ask here, if the rubbish tipped on the banks, and in the bed, of the river caused the floods which overflowed into the adjacent highways to the extent of four-feet deep, could such highways be deemed safe? It was also declared that the cost of flood prevention could not be charged on the county rate. So the floods were allowed, so far as the Court was concerned, to make the existence of the inhabitants of Llanfaes almost unbearable at certain seasons. Before leaving this subject, it should be stated that when official bodies failed, a private member of the Court, in the person of Mr John Lloyd, made a study of this problem. He raised an embankment at the Gwttws, and did other work, at a considerable cost, and it is a fact to be recorded, that since 1899, although many heavy floods have come down the rivers, the waters have not overflowed into the main streets of Llanfaes. Some of the cost of this work was raised by public subscription, but a large share of the charge fell upon Mr. John Lloyd personally.

At Easter, 1882, a painting of Colonel Lloyd Vaughan Watkins, formerly Lord Lieutenant of the County, and M.P. for the Borough, was presented to the County by the Misses Mohun-Harris, and hung in the Grand Jury Room.

RECORD OF QUARTER SESSIONS: VOL. 13.

Section one commences at 1883 and extends to the election of the first County Council. At the commencement of the year 1883, a proposition was received on behalf of the County of Hereford that the magistrates of the Bredwardine division should hold their Petty Sessional meetings in the new Court House at Hay, and by Midsummer an agreement had been arrived at that the Bredwardine justices should have the joint use of the room at all times when it was not required for Hay Petty Sessions; the Bredwardine Justices to have first right to the room on the second Monday in every month, on which day they held their Petty Sessions, Hereford paying to Brecknock the annual sum of £20. A similar application being made by the County of Radnor for the use of the Builth Justices' Room, the matter was dealt with by a committee appointed for the purpose.

In the spring of 1883, died the Rev. Hugh Bold, M.A., Chairman of Quarter Sessions. The Justices in Quarter Sessions assembled, in affectionate remembrance, recorded their deep sense of the loss they had sustained. Sir Joseph Russell Bailey, Bart., M.P., Lord Lieutenant, was elected chairman to succeed him.

A new County Rate basis was agreed to, the summary being as follows: Brecknock Union, £115,107 14s. 0d.; Builth, £33,879 16s. 4d.; Crickhowell, £59,337 0s. 6d.; Hay, £36,978 10s. 2d.; Llandovery, £4,073 18s. 10d.; Merthyr Tydfil, £14,720 0s. 9d.; Neath, £4,557 5s. 0d.; Rhayader, £2,497 12s. 6d.; Pontardawe, £11,227 5s. 6d. Total, £282,397 3s. 7d. Some modifications in the Valuation of Railways were afterwards made with the approval of Hedley, the valuer.

Justices' Clerks' salaries were reconsidered "on the basis of fines and fees paid to the County Treasurer during the past five years." In the case of Builth it was taken into consideration that the work at Llanwrtyd was not adequately represented by fines and fees. At Michaelmas, 1884, the Home Secretary made the following order as to salaries: Builth, £130; Brynmawr, £210; Crickhowell, £110; Devynock, £80; Hay, £95; Penderyn, £90; Talgarth, £100; and Ystradgunlais, £98.

Dr. McCollough, superintendent of Abergavenny Joint Counties' Asylum, retired at Michaelmas, 1883, after a service of 25 years, during which time he had earned a great reputation as a specialist on mental diseases. The Visitors assigned him a pension of £750 a year, but he only survived a few months.

The Court at this time undertook the Revision of its *Rules and Orders of Procedure*, and the new Rules came into force at Easter, 1884.

COUNTY SCHOLARSHIPS.

A South Wales University College having been established at Cardiff, a public meeting was held at the Shire Hall, Brecon, on Monday, January 7, 1884, at which it was resolved unanimously to form by subscription a fund of one thousand pounds to provide one or more scholarships to be held by Brecknockshire students at the University College. At the end of the year 1886 an amount of £1,040 9s. 6d. had been placed to the credit of the fund, of which David Evans, Esq., J.P., of Ffrwdgrech, was treasurer, and Mr. Thomas Butcher, of the Middle Class Private School, secretary. The first examination was held at Cardiff in January, 1887, when two scholarships, each of the annual value of £20, were awarded. In 1897, in consequence of a deficiency of candidates, the unpaid instalments had accumulated, and the trustees were enabled to increase the scholarship by the annual amount of £2. The first intention of the subscribers in October, 1886, had been that one scholarship of forty pounds a year should be open to boys "resident in the county of Brecknock for ten years last past," to be an entrance scholarship tenable only at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. These resolutions were on November 25, 1886, submitted to the University Authorities, who replied that they thought two scholarships of £20 each preferable, the successful candidates being in addition allowed to hold College exhibitions if gained by open competition. Acting on this advice the Committee divided the money into two scholarships of £20 each. In December, 1901, it was found that the scholarships had frequently been vacant, and that a balance of £357 10s. 0d. stood to the credit of the trustees, which enabled them to augment the two scholarships, each to be worth £27 annually.

By the Corrupt Practices Act, 1883, it had been enacted that every County should be divided into polling districts in such a manner that, so far as was reasonably possible, every resident elector should have his polling place within three miles of his home, so nevertheless that a polling district need not be constituted containing less than one hundred votes. And by a subsequent enactment

in 1885, the duty of carrying out the measure was laid upon the Local Authority, at that time the Court of Quarter Sessions. At Midsummer the Finance Committee deemed it advisable to report what alterations was in their judgment necessary to adapt the existing districts to the altered state of the electoral law. New polling places were required at Llanwrthwl, Talyllyn, Cwmdu, and Llanelly, and though the Record does not seem to mention any order upon this report, it was no doubt made. Since that time another polling place has been added at Llangynidr, and, so constituted, the polling districts and places remain unaltered at the date of writing in 1899:

POLLING PLACES IN THE COUNTY OF BRECKNOCK, 1899.

District.	*Places Contained Within the Polling District.*
1. Llanwrthwl.....	Parish of Llanwrthwl.
*2. Llanwrtyd	Llandulais, Llanwrtyd, Abergwessin, Treflys, Penbuallt.
3. Llanafan	Llanlleonfel.
4. Builth	Builth Urban, Builth Rural, Rhosferig, Llanganten, Llanynis, Maesmynis, Llangyrnog, Llandewi'r cwm, Alltmawr.
5. Erwood	Gwenddwr and Crickadarn.
6. Talgarth	In Hay Union: Talgarth, Llanelieu, Llyswen, Bronllys. Brecknock Union: Llandefalle, Llantillo, Trawscoed.
7. Glasbury	Pipton, Aberllynfi, Tregoyd and Velindre, Llanigon.
8. Hay	Glynfach, Hay.
9. Cefn	Cefn, Gelly, Duffryn, Nantddu.
10. Penderyn	Hopste, Penderyn, Ystradfellte.
11. Ystradgunlais .	Ystradgunlais Lower, Palleg, Ystradgunlais Higher, Glyntawe.
12. Trecastle	Traianglas, Traianmawr.
13. Defynock	Ysclydach, Penpont, Maescar, Llandilorfan, Llanfihangel nant bran, Trallong, Senny, Cray, Glyn.
14. Brecknock	St. David, St. John, St. Mary, Castle Inn, Christ College, Modrydd, Llanspyddid, Cantref, Llanfrynach, Llanhamlach, Llanddew, Talachddu, Battle, Aberyskir, Venny fach.
15. Lower Chapel ..	Garthbrengy, Llandefaelog fach, Merthyr Cynog, Llanfihangel fechan.
16. Talybont	Llanfigan, Llanthetty, Llansantffread, Cathedine [Llangynidr, at first in Talybont district, has since been formed into a separate district.]
*17. Talyllyn	Llanwern, Llangasty Talyllyn, Llanfihangel Talyllyn, Llandefaelog tregraig, Llangorse.
17a. Llangynidr ..	Electoral Division of Llangynidr [made a separate division in 1894 to prevent Crickhowell Rural District overlapping Brecknock.]
18. Crickhowell ..	Grwyne fawr, Grwyne fechan, Patricio, Llanbedr, Llangenau, Crickhowell, Llangattock.
19. Cwmdu	The Parish of Cwmdu.
*20. Llanelly	Electoral Divisions of Gilwern and Llanelly.
21. Brynmawr	The Urban District of Brynmawr.
22. Duke's Town	Beaufort, Rassa, Duke's Town, Llech Rhyd, (The places in Duke's Town district are within the administrative County of Monmouth, and may possibly be placed hereafter in the Parliamentary County of Monmouth also.)

(*The Districts marked with an asterisk were newly formed in* 1885; *the district marked* 17a. *was not formed till* 1894).

ABERGAVENNY AND TREDEGAR ROAD.

The Turnpike Trust under which the road from Abergavenny to Tredegar had been administered came to an end in the year 1885. The toll gates were removed and the road became an ordinary highway reparable by the parishes through which it passed. The road fulfilled the purposes of a main road; the traffic was large, and the gradient very steep, so the cost of maintenance would therefore be heavy. The South Wales Turnpike Act contained no provision for the adoption of new roads, the Court therefore considered that special legislation should be obtained, and that a Bill should be prepared "provided that no expense is thereby occasioned to the county." A measure dealing with the subject was passed by Parliament and an amending Act the following year; so much of the road as lay within the county of Brecknock (except so much as was within the urban district of Brynmawr) was henceforth to be repaired by the County Roads Board.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE.

The year 1877 completed the fiftieth year of the reign of H.M. Queen Victoria, and the Court presented a loyal address of congratulation. This event was celebrated in every town and village in the county with great rejoicings, the young being feasted with teas and the aged poor and others sat down together at dinner. Sports were held, and huge bonfires kindled on the hills of the county, notably on the summit of the Brecknock Beacons. To celebrate the event at Hay and Builth, in a more enduring form, the Public Bodies of those places purchased from Sir J. R. Bailey, Bart. (the Lord of the Manor), the market tolls. The conveyance of the tolls at Builth was completed early in the following year, and thus was extinguished a feudal tax which had existed since the times of the Normans. Services of thanksgiving were held in the various churches and chapels in the county, and that held in the Priory at Brecon took the form of a county event, and the military attended what was a most impressive gathering. The Mayor of Brecknock (Dr. James Williams, J.P.), in response to the invitation extended to the Mayors of Provincial towns, attended in his robes of office the great national service of thanksgiving in London.

The most important work of the year was the reconstruction of the roadway of the Brecknock portion of Glasbury bridge with iron; the greatest care was taken to test the strength of the work, and a loan of £1,000 was borrowed for the rebuilding of the bridge.

AGITATION FOR REFORM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Up to the year 1887 the public business of the counties of England and Wales had been transacted by Justices of the Peace, appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Lords Lieutenants. The reform of county government, involving transference of financial responsibility from the Court of Quarter Sessions to an Elective Council had, however, been under the consideration of politicians for many years. During the Parliament of 1868-74 (the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone being Prime Minister) a Bill had been introduced dealing with the question, under which it was intended that the poor law union should be the constituency for the election by ratepayers of representatives who should be the financial county. The fact that poor law unions were in many cases not conterminous with the county, but overlapped, being formed oftentimes from parts of two, sometimes of more than two counties, seems to have been overlooked. As soon as the difficulties arising from this cause became apparent, the Bill was withdrawn. County Boards again formed part of the programme of Mr. Disraeli's Government of 1874, and of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet of 1880; both great parties in the State had pledged themselves to deal with the question. A ministry under the leadership of Lord Salisbury took office in 1866, and placed the reform of Local Government and of Local Taxation first amongst their measures of importance.

The first step taken was an attempt to simplify local areas of government. During the summer of 1877 an Act of Parliament (50-51 Vict., c. 61) was passed appointing Commissioners to enquire and report as to the boundaries of certain areas of local government in England and Wales; as to the best mode of so adjusting the boundaries of the county and of the other areas of local government as to arrange that no union, sanitary district, or parish, should be situate in more than one county; and as to any alteration of boundaries, combination of areas, or administrative arrangements consequential on any alteration which they might recommend in the boundaries of any county, union, sanitary district, or parish. As a measure of general application the first idea of the Commissioners was to adopt *Union Counties*. The union county had already been adopted for registration purposes; the term indicated a county to be formed (a) of all such poor law unions as lay entirely within the district, (b) unions which were placed in more than one county being transferred to that county within which the greater part of the inhabitants resided.

In the County of Brecknock, the Union of Brecknock was the only one in no way connected with adjoining counties. On the South, Ystradgunlais was in the Union of Pontardawe; Ystradfellte in that of Neath; Penderyn and Vaynor in Union of Merthyr Tydfil; and the whole of these Unions were, with the exception of the above named Brecknockshire parishes, in the County of Glamorgan. In the Union of Crickhowell the southern portions of the parishes of Llangattock and Llangynidr (as then constituted) had been placed in the local board districts of Rhymney, Tredegar, and Ebbw Vale, all in the county of Monmouth; while the Urban district of Brynmawr, chiefly carved out of the Brecknockshire parishes of Llangattock and Llanelly, had recently had added to it a small portion of the parish of Aberystruth in the County of Monmouth.

On the northern boundary of the County, similar complications arose. The town of Llanwrtyd, with the neighbouring parish of Llandulas, formed part of the Union of Llandovery in the County of Carmarthen. Llanwrthwl, the northern most parish of Brecknockshire, had been annexed to the Radnorshire Union of Rhayader. The Brecknockshire Union of Builth contained within its limits no less than ten Radnorshire parishes, for the most part consisting of the watersheds of brooks tributary to the river Wye. Lastly the Brecknockshire Union of Hay was composed of ten parishes and hamlets in the county of Brecknock, of nine in Radnor, and of four in Herefordshire.

In face of this confusion of boundaries, the first idea of the Commissioners was to place the broken district south of the Beacon range of mountains in the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth, Brecknockshire and Radnorshire might, they thought, be joined into one administrative county: it would be in area about the size of Herefordshire, but with a smaller population. It is sufficient now to say that the proposition met with the strongest opposition. They then fell back upon the scheme of the Union County, compensating Radnorshire on the north and east for parishes watered by the Wye and its tributaries, which would pass into the County of Brecknock; the latter county ceding in turn on the south certain parishes to Glamorgan and Monmouth, and gaining those parishes of Hereford, Radnor, and Carmarthen, which formed part of the Unions of Hay, Builth, and Llandovery. This proposition found favour with the Committee of Justices; it would have formed an area very suitable for administration, but this scheme, also, excited the strongest opposition; Radnor-

shire deemed the plan equivalent to its own extinction, and her orators spoke of the impending contest as a struggle for existence. "Impudent audacity" was a term freely applied to it, and great excitement prevailed in that county.

Nor was much greater favour shown in Brecknock. On the north, many of the Justices resided in Radnor, and shared the view held by that county. On the south, Ystradfellte, Penderyn, and Ystradgunlais shrewdly totted up the cash, and arrived at the conclusion that union with the more important districts of Glamorgan would not be to their advantage; while Brynmawr and the neighbouring townships looked at the political side of the question, feared that the party, whose opinions were shared by the majority of the townsmen, might lose ground in Brecknock if that district which they deemed the Liberal stronghold were ceded to Monmouth.

THE COUNTY BOUNDARIES.

Petitions flowed from every quarter that the Justices would leave the boundaries of the county as they hitherto had been. The Chairman of Quarter Sessions, to whom the discredit of the proposed alterations was freely attributed, was lampooned in verses "too scurrilous to be accepted in their entirety by a respectable newspaper." Quarter Sessions, at an adjourned meeting, considered the question, the supporters of the measure found themselves in a minority, and the scheme, so far as the County of Brecknock was concerned, was as good as dead. That which occurred in Brecknock happened also elsewhere: a county sentiment, not anticipated, everywhere evinced itself, and the Government decided to proceed in the following Session of Parliament with a local Government Bill not dependent on the report of the Commission.

At the Epiphany Sessions, 1898, a motion was carried to the following effect: "That this Court protests against any alterations of the ancient boundaries of the county, which are convenient, well-defined, and acceptable to the inhabitants of the County." Mr. Penry Lloyd brought forward a scheme for dividing the county for local government purposes into six districts: No. 1, Brecon; No. 2 Hay; No. 3, Builth; No. 4, Crickhowell; No. 5, Vaynor; No. 6, Defynock. This was referred to the various local bodies to report thereon, and a special meeting was held on February 18th to consider their reports. An objection was raised on behalf of Brecknock, on which the voting was even, and Colonel Conway Lloyd, of Dinas, who occupied the chair, gave his casting vote in favour of the scheme, which was forwarded to the Boundary Commissioners. At the Easter Sessions an elaborate scheme was received from them, and at the same Sessions the Local Government Bill, not dependent on the boundary report, was received, and at a special meeting on the 12th of April the Justices approved the general principles of that Bill. They considered that the number of Councillors should not be less than thirty; that in arranging electoral divisions area as well as population should be considered; they disapproved the principle of selected Aldermen; they disapproved handing over the police to the control of a joint Committee of Justices and Councillors; they considered that the Council should have the management of main roads; that highways should be placed in the hands of District Councils, to whom also assessment for rating purposes should be entrusted, many of which matters formed the subject of subsequent legislation.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNTY COUNCILS.

The year 1888 will long be remembered for the commencement of a series of reforms in Local Government in Great Britain. Those reforms, not yet, at the close of the 19th century, complete, involved many changes in boundaries and management; the keynote, however, was the transference of local administration from the hands of the justices to elective Councils. The measures introduced in the Session of 1888, originally contained provisions for a County Council and for District Councils, a promise being given that similar legislation should be afterwards undertaken for Parish Councils. The subject proved so vast that all, save the County Councils, had to be deferred for future consideration. The County Council consisted as to three-fourths of elected Councillors, and as to one-fourth of County Aldermen elected by the Councillors. The number of Councillors was determined in each case by Parliament, that being selected which seemed likely to form a Council convenient for purposes of deliberation.

To the County of Brecknock were allotted forty-five Councillors, with the complimentary number of fifteen Aldermen, constituting in all a Council of 60 members. The task of dividing the county into electoral divisions was entrusted to the Justices in Quarter Sessions assembled, subject to the following instructions (Sec. 51), viz., "The divisions were to be arranged with a view to the population being as nearly as possible equal, regard being had to a proper representation, both of rural and urban population, to the distribution and pursuits of the population, and to area." Every electoral division was to be a county district, a combination of county districts, or to be comprised

within a county district, the term county district being used in anticipation of the formation of District Councils, provisions for which had originally formed part of the Government measure, and which has become the subject of subsequent enactments.

The Administrative County for the purpose of the first election was defined by the Act (Sec. 50) to be "the County as bounded for the purpose of the election of members to serve in Parliament, with the following exception, where any Urban Sanitary District is situate partly within and partly without the boundary of a county, the district is to be deemed to be within that county which contained the larger portion of the population of the district." Thus, in the County of Brecknock, so much of the southern portions of the parishes of Llangynidr and Llangattock as were situated in the urban districts of Rhymney, Tredegar, and Ebbw Vale, passed for administrative purposes into the County of Monmouth; and returned no member to the first Brecknock County Council; on the other hand, a small portion of the Monmouth parish of Aberystruth, with the urban district of Brynmawr, passed into the administrative County of Brecknock.

The Justices devoted the remainder of the year to the task of working out the detail of the new law. The Government had allotted to the Borough of Brecon five members on the County Council; the Justices therefore divided the remainder of the county into forty-one electoral divisions. To each portion of the county representing the future county district, was allotted the number of Councillors due to its population, and in considering the further division of the district into electoral units consideration of area and geographical position were allotted weight. The average population of each electoral division was 1,150. The town of Hay contained the largest population, viz., 1,950, but was small in area; the smallest population to which a Councillor was allotted was in the division of Llangynidr, a parish of large area, which from geographical considerations did not admit of convenient grouping. The last few months of the year were passed in active canvassing for the first election of the County Council; the contests were nearly everywhere fought on political issues, both political parties striving to obtain a majority on the new Council.

THE BRECON TOWN HALL.

In the year 1888, the Town Hall of Brecon, which had long required enlargement and renovation, was re-built at a cost of £3,000. The basement beneath the old assembly room and Council room, which had in days gone by served the purpose of a corn market, and sometimes of a butter and cheese market, and in which were placed the old "stocks" for the punishment of offenders, was converted into a Council Chamber and Borough Police Court, a Mayor's parlour, Town Clerk's offices, etc., thereby enabling the whole of the room above to be devoted to the purpose of an assembly room. When completed, the building internally presented a very handsome appearance; but externally, except for the removal of the old iron railing in the archways, and a couple of doorways, and the substitution of windows, the building remained as before. A "drum-face" clock was erected over the main entrance. The cost of these various alterations was wholly defrayed by the late Colonel John Morgan, D.L., J.P., V.D., of Bank House, Brecon, who had inherited great wealth from his uncle, a private banker, and who during his public life had performed many acts of kindness and benevolence to the town and county of Brecon.

Amongst smaller events of the year, it was moved, and two years subsequently, on Tuesday, April 8th, 1890, enrolled, that the parishes of Llanspyddid, Modrydd, and Glyn, formerly in the Petty Sessional Division of Defynock, should in future form part of the United Petty Sessional Division of Merthyr and Pencelly.

ELECTION OF FIRST COUNTY COUNCIL.

January, 1889, saw the first election of a County Council. As already stated, in Brecknock, as elsewhere, it involved a sharp political contest, and some heart-burning amongst those engaged; this was, however, but a thing of the moment, and has no subsequent interest. As the result, a Council was elected thoroughly representative of the county. Those of the Justices who had in former years taken an active part in public business, were for the most part returned as Councillors for the divisions in which they resided; some, whom the accident of local politics had excluded at the election, entered the Council as Aldermen, and a strong contingent of new men from the professional classes, agriculturists, and traders, brought into the service of the county a variety of useful knowledge. At their first meeting the Council elected as their chairman Charles Evan-Thomas, Esq., barrister-at-law, of the Knoll, Neath, who with wisdom and courtesy presided over their deliberations for a period of eleven years, retiring, to the great regret of his colleagues, in the spring of the year 1900. The vice-chair was filled by Richard Digby Cleasby, Esq., J.P., of Penoyre, Brecon, barrister-at-law.

Police, Justice, and management of the county buildings, were by special enactment placed in the hands of a Standing Joint Committee, chosen as to half its number from the Justices, and the other half from amongst the members of the County Council.

DISSOLUTION OF COUNTY ROADS BOARD.

The County Roads Board, under which the turnpike roads of Breconshire had been managed since the year 1844, was now abolished, its work being taken over by the County Council, and confided to a Committee. Toll gates were removed, and the turnpike roads, henceforth termed "main" roads, became a charge upon the county fund. Other Committees were appointed, to whom were entrusted finance, the formation of a county rate basis, the diseases of animals, the management of the Lunatic Asylum at Abergavenny, and the framing of standing orders for the regulation of the work of the Council.

The first difficulty encountered by the Council arouse from the administration of main roads. In some districts, notably in Ystradgunlais, there had been no turnpike road. So long as the turnpike roads had been repaired by a charge on the traveller, levied at the toll gate, no grievance occurred; but now main roads were maintained at the cost of the county fund, in which easement those localities in which were no main roads did not participate. In Urban districts, also, the portion of the main road passing through the town was a street repaired by the Urban Authority. This, said the townsmen, was but a portion of the main road, and should be repaired in whole or in part by the County fund. In Brynmawr, it was argued, there was a special hardship in the case of the main road passing through the town; it had been a turnpike road, was never made as a street, but houses had been built up by degrees on either side of it, added to which their district included a mile of county where there was no pretence of calling the road a street.

ELECTION OF FIRST COUNTY ALDERMEN.—MAIN ROADS.

The Council met in April to elect Aldermen and Committees, and at their first meeting for business on May the 4th, the Councillors for Brynmawr moved "That the Breconshire County Council will maintain and repair the portion of the disturnpiked road that is within the Urban district of Brynmawr." In October the Councillor for Ystradgynlais took action, and proposed "That considering the exceptional position of Ystradgynlais, owing to there being no main road in the district, and the injustice arising therefrom, it is desirable that a grant in aid be made, or a portion of the road be mained, such grant being as far as practicable in proportion to the contribution of the district towards the main roads of the county." How far reaching such a policy would have been may be shown from a resolution proposed the following year by Councillor Owen Price, viz., "That in order to equalise the rates for main roads in this county it is desirable that the amount levied in each highway district should be expended within that district, and to carry that system into effect it is necessary that 76 miles of roads should be taken over by this Council in addition to the main roads maintained at present." To which it was replied, if the rates were to be equalised, then the poor rate also should be treated as a common charge on the county fund. At every meeting this vexed question came up in some form, and in 1891 Colonel Conway Lloyd, chairman of the Roads Committee, placed on the paper two alternatives: (1) To dismain all roads, throwing the repairs on the various districts; (2) for the Council to take over the management of all highways, making them a common charge on the county fund. Either proposition involved new legislation, and shared the fate of all previous suggestions, so were rejected by the Council. The warfare continued until 1893, when Alderman Doyle, of Penydarren, Crickhowell, who had succeeded to the presidency of the Roads Committee, produced a scheme by which the Council undertook to subsidize certain selected highways which were links in a main road, or were thoroughfares to a railway station; the subsidy was limited in urban districts to one-third the cost of repairs, and in rural districts to one-half. A list of subsidized roads was adopted at the same meeting, and on the fourth of August the cost of repair of each road was arrived at, and the amount of assistance settled; the cost to the county being about £350 annually. Thus was settled a question of much contention, and though some attempts were afterwards made to re-open the matter, the Council has been firm in declining to depart from the arrangement then made.

NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD AT BRECON.

In August, 1889, the National Eisteddfod was held at Brecon under the presidency of H.M. Queen Victoria and H.R.H. the Prince and Princess of Wales. It had been intimated that the Prince and Princess would attend the gathering in person, and preparations were made for entertaining their Royal Highnesses. Much to the disappointment of the inhabitants of the county, these royal personages found it impossible to visit Wales at that time. The National gathering was therefore opened by the Lord Lieutenant of the County (Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart.), in the temporary building (capable

of holding more than ten thousand people, and twice the size of the Free Trade Hall, Manchester) which had been erected in fields on Cerrigcochion Road (where now stands the Intermediate School for Girls and other buildings); and even this vast structure proved too small on the most crowded day of the meeting. Madame Patti (who for 25 years had been unrivalled as a vocalist, and who had taken up her residence in the county at Craig-y-nos) attracted enormous crowds of visitors, and charmed the multitude in and outside the Pavilion by her singing of the Welsh patriotic song, "Land of My Fathers," led by Mr. William Abraham, a popular Member of Parliament, generally known as "Mabon" (the boy). And as this genial leader of Welsh people, and the incomparable Patti, united in this inspiring melody, the immense assemblage, numbering perhaps some fifteen thousand people, rose as one man to shout the chorus, a touching effect perhaps never before witnessed in the history of music. The gathering, extending over nearly a week, was an enormous success, and evoked scenes of great enthusiasm in Brecon.

VISIT OF DUKE OF CLARENCE.

In July, 1890, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales informed the Lord Lieutenant of Brecknock that he desired that his eldest son, H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, should visit South Wales; that, mindful of the disappointment which had been experienced by the people the previous year, he wished the Duke to go first to Brecknock, and afterwards to one of the great commercial centres. The Duke of Clarence and Avondale accordingly arrived from York on the 15th of September. At Hereford, His Royal Highness was received by the Mayor and chief magistrates of the county and city. At Abergavenny, the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Lieutenant of Monmouthshire, was in attendance; and the Town Commissioners presented an address. The town was gay with decorations, and the streets thronged with people assembled to greet the Duke; and the road to Crickhowell was spanned by arches at frequent intervals. The carriages were escorted by the Monmouthshire Yeomanry to the frontier of Brecknockshire, where they were met by the Mounted Company of Brecknock Volunteers, under the command of Captain Penry Lloyd. The town of Crickhowell and its ruined Castle were illuminated.

The Duke during his stay in Wales was the guest of the Lord Lieutenant of Brecknock at Glanusk Park. On Tuesday, September the 16th, the Royal party visited Brecon, and were present at the Agricultural Show. Within a mile of Brecon, they were again met by the military escort. The county town had been most gaily decorated, and at the Bulwark, in front of the Duke of Wellington monument, a dais had been erected, and here Colonel John Morgan, for the third time Mayor of Brecon, in the presence of the Council, county people, and a great crowd of burgesses and others, presented the Prince with a golden casket containing an address of welcome, which His Royal Highness graciously accepted and acknowledged. The Show was held on the Dinas Green, meadows adjoining the River Usk near to Christ College, lent for the occasion by Colonel Conway Lloyd; the Volunteer Battalion of the South Wales Borderers, under his command, formed a guard of honour during the day, and subsequently dined together at the Market Hall at the cost of their officers. The Prince inspected the show of cattle, etc., and afterwards held a reception in a pavilion, at which all persons holding official rank, and local notabilities, were presented to him. His Royal Highness was afterwards entertained at luncheon in the Hall of Christ College by the High Sheriff and Mrs Cleasby, of Penoyre.

On the following day, September 17th, the Prince, attended by his suite and a party from Glanusk, proceeded by special train to Cardiff, where he opened in state a new approach to the Docks, and a bridge which was to bear the name of Clarence Bridge. Probably such crowds as assembled on this occasion had never before been seen in the Principality,

On the 18th, Thursday, His Royal Highness laid the foundation stone of the Public Hall at Crickhowell, and he planted "the Clarence Oak" at Glanusk Park, and in the evening started by special train on his return journey to Scotland. Not many months later, this amiable Prince was stricken with illness, and, to the great grief of his countrymen, died. The melancholy event evoked widespread tokens of sorrow and sympathy with the Royal house, and in no part of the Empire were these expressions more sincere than in the county of Brecknock.

Within the early summer of this year, the Rev. Daniel Lewis Lloyd, M.A., Headmaster of Christ College, Brecon, was created Bishop of Bangor. (*See History of Christ College.*) He was succeeded by the Rev. A. Bayfield, M.A.

The year was very favourable for agriculturists, who, since 1880, had suffered severely from depression of trade and bad seasons. Early in December a hard frost set in, and on the 17th there

fell heavy snow, which lay on the ground until the 20th of January, 1891. This winter was said to be the most severe that had been experienced since careful record had been kept.

THE ANGEL INN AT BRECON.

During the year 1890-91 the county by a "windfall" became the possessors of a piece of property called the Angel Inn, at Brecon (8 and 9 Vict., c. 18, Sec. 127). There is a legal obligation on the Railway Companies and other persons purchasing lands compulsorily, to sell all superfluous lands within ten years after the completion of their works, and in default any superfluous land unsold becomes the property of the owners of land adjacent thereto. The Neath and Brecon Railway had thus purchased the Angel Inn, Brecon, but had made no use of it for their undertaking. Ten years had elapsed since their works were completed, and it remained still unsold. The adjoining lands belonged partly to Mr J. R. Cobb, partly to the County of Brecknock; each adjoining owner asserted his claim, and an action issued. In the result the Company admitted that the Inn became the property of the claimants according to their respective frontages, less a strip 8 feet wide, which the Company retained to enable them to erect scaffolding for repairing the arches of their bridge. On these terms the matter was adjusted, and the Angel Inn passed into the possession of the County of Brecknock.

Local taxation came under the enquiry of the Council in 1891, a Committee reporting January 29th. This report dealt with every branch of taxation, the general result being that the heaviest taxation is borne by parishes connected with large populations. The heaviest was Brynmawr, where taxation reached 8s. in the £ of rateable value; all urban districts and parishes with School Boards were also heavily taxed, the smallest burden being laid on parishes entirely agricultural, those in the Hay Union being no higher than 1s. 8d. in the £.

INTERMEDIATE AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

In 1889 the Welsh Intermediate Education Act was passed, "to make provision for technical and intermediate education in Wales and Monmouth." The general intention was to carry on, largely at public expense, the education of children between the time when they left the Elementary School and that at which they went out into the world, or completed their studies at one of the Universities. In Brecknock a scheme was prepared by a Committee appointed partly by the Imperial Government and partly by the County Council, which scheme received the approval of Queen Victoria in Council 20th November, 1894. Funds were provided for intermediate education from a county rate of one halfpenny, a Treasury grant of like amount, and a further sum provided by the Customs and Excise Act, 1890. A County Governing Body of 23 Governors were appointed: twelve by the County Council, one by the University College of Wales, eight by the local school managers, and two by co-optation. Of this body Colonel F. W. A. Roche, of Tregunter, was the first chairman, an office which he held till his death in 1897. The county was divided into eight school districts, of which Builth, Brecon, and Brynmawr were to erect schools. Hay, Talgarth, and Defynock were affiliated to Brecon; Vaynor and Ystradgunlais to the neighbouring districts of Glamorgan. Public Scholarships and Bursaries were instituted under the control of each district of school managers; the scholarships are obtainable by competition, limited to children resident in the district, educated for three years at Public Elementary Schools. Sufficient money was collected to commence building schools at Builth in 1896, and these schools were opened in 1900; the dual school at Brynmawr was completed in 1899, and the boys and girls' schools at Brecon in 1901.

THE BIRMINGHAM WATERWORKS.

In the year 1891 the authorities of Birmingham decided to obtain water to supply their city, with its half million of inhabitants, from the Valleys of the Elan and Clairwen, which rivers form the northern boundary of Brecknockshire, dividing that county from Radnor. In the Act of Parliament applied for, clauses were introduced protecting the county rate (report, August 5th, 1892), roads, and bridges. The Corporation of Birmingham further undertook to send down the River Wye a daily supply of 27 million gallons to compensate the fishing interests, and to pay a sum of £7,500 to the Conservators for the improvement of the river. The Act received the Royal Assent 22nd June, 1892. The Corporation of Birmingham purchased the entire property of Mr Lewis Lloyd, J.P., of Nantgwylt, the manorial rights of the Manor of Builth situate within the valley, and made similar arrangements in Radnorshire. Birmingham thus acquired an unlimited supply of pure water, having purchased in order to do so a large quantity of land, and to which must be added easements for 73 miles of aqueducts. On October 31, 1892, Mr James Mansergh was instructed to prepare plans; and a railway, constructed from Rhayader to the works, was completed by July, 1894. A village was built on the Brecknock side of the valley for the navvies, their families, and others engaged in this extensive undertaking; and the settlement must be regarded as in every sense a model

village. It provided accommodation for 1,000 persons, and was approached by a bridge erected by the Corporation on private ground; there was a complete system of sewage, public lighting, and water supply, and the public institutions comprised a school and mission room, a recreation hall, canteen, bath house, and hospitals, all under the control of the Birmingham Corporation. The dwelling huts were built of wood, weather boarded; at one end being accommodation for the keeper and his family, and in the centre a common living room, and beyond a passage having on either side cubicles, each lodger having a separate sleeping room. These works were completed in the year 1904, and His Majesty King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra attended the opening ceremony, when there were great rejoicings at Rhayader and the Elan Valley.[1]

MAIN ROADS.—DISTRICT COUNCILS, &c.

In the year 1893, a dispute arose as to the repairs of a main road, the "Rhyd y Brew" road, leading from Swansea and Neath to Merthyr Tydfil. A portion of it, about one and a half miles in length, lay within the county, but it had always been treated as a Glamorgan road, and Brecknock averred that the cost should continue to be borne by Glamorgan, although subsequent legislation had imposed on County Councils the burden of maintaining all main roads within their jurisdiction. The question was tried at law, with the result of a decision in favour of Glamorgan (April, 1897), and the repair of this portion of the road will therefore fall in future upon the County of Brecknock.

The year 1894 is memorable for the passing of a Local Government Act; an important developement of the scheme of local government, initiated in 1888, by the creation of County Councils. District Councils, contemplated, but not carried out by the original Act, were now brought into existence, and the list of local authorities was completed by the formation of Parish Councils in rural parishes. The Rural District Council took the place of Rural Sanitary and Highway Authorities; the Council also acted as Guardians of the Poor. Justices of the Peace, who had up to this time been ex-officio Guardians, ceased to act in that capacity, and the Council was entirely elected by popular suffrage. In Brecknock the county delegated to a Committee the task of bringing the act into operation. Their proposals were ready by August 3rd. The general scheme was that every parish of less than 500 inhabitants should return one member to the District Council, while parishes of larger populations should be represented by two Councillors; parishes situate partly in an urban and partly in a rural district, and those which were partly within and partly without the administrative county, were divided, so that there should ultimately be no confusion of areas. Where the interests of more than one county were involved, the areas interested were represented on a joint Committee to whom the matter was referred. Parish Councils, taking, except for ecclesiastical purposes, the place of the ancient vestry meeting, came into being at the same time, the number of the Councillors being adjusted to the size of the parish, such parishes of less than one hundered inhabitants, as the County Council thought should have a Council, being allotted five members; the number of Councillors gradually increasing until parishes of over 2,000 inhabitants were given a Council of 15 members. Under the Act of 1894, Parish Councillors were elected annually, but by subsequent legislation in 1899, this term of office has been extended to three years (62 and 63 Vic., c. 10).

FIRE AT BUCKLAND, AND LONDON WATER SCHEME.

On the 23rd January, 1895, Buckland, the mansion of Mr. J. P. Gwynne Holford, was totally destroyed by fire, and this lamentable incident is more fully dealt with in the parochial section of this work. It has been re-built, the new house being completed in 1898.

The years 1895–98 formed the third elective period of the County Council: it was elected in March, 1895; Mr Charles Evan-Thomas being for the third time unanimously selected as chairman. In the latter part of 1895, Sir James Binnie published a scheme for supplying the Metropolis with water from the valleys of the Usk and the Wye, and the County Council appointed a Committee to guard the interests of Brecknock. They did not, however, seem to appreciate the tremendous effect that the abstraction of so vast a flood of water might have upon the future interest of the county. The London scheme was for the time withdrawn.

WASTE LAND NEAR PRISON.

Tarrall Bridge stands hard by the Brecon Prison, which had in 1878 been transferred to the Government. Between the Bridge and the Prison was a waste space, a few yards in breadth, which gave access to the river, and essential both for repairs of the bridge and for the public to obtain water for cattle and domestic use. The Prison Commissioners built a wall across this space, claiming

[1] A full description of the undertaking, and of the Opening Ceremonies, will be found in the *History of Radnorshire* (1905: Davies and Co., Publishers, Brecon, 30s.)

the ground as part of the precincts. Brecknock objected that the wall was not on ground belonging to the Commissioners, and that it caused inconvenience; all existing rights of way had been reserved by the conveyance which bore date March, 1882. Early in 1897 an arrangement was come to by which access to the river was secured for the county to maintain the bridge and for the public to water cattle, or to obtain water for other purposes. The obnoxious wall was removed, and it was arranged that a gate should be provided instead by the Prison Commissioners, but we do not remember ever having seen this erected. The piece of wall in dispute was on the Brecon end of the bridge, near to the boundary wall of the Prison.

THE CHANCEFIELD ASYLUM.

The Brecknock and Radnor part-ownership of the Abergavenny Asylum having come to an end, it was necessary for the two counties jointly or separately to provide house accommodation for their pauper lunatics, and on the 15th of March the Council determined that Brecknock should act with Radnor in providing a joint asylum: a committee was therefore appointed. The agreement with Radnor did not mature rapidly: that county feared that a site inconvenient for their patients might be selected. The Brecknock Council hoped that an agreement might be arrived at, but felt it imperatively necessary at once to provide accommodation for the pauper lunatics of Brecknock. They selected Cefn Brynich, near to Brecon, and the owner, Viscount Tredegar, though he did not wish to sell, intimated that he would not stand in the way of public improvement. When, however, this site was inspected by Mr. C. S. Bagot, Commissioner in Lunacy, it was considered that the farm was too near the Brecon sewage outfall, and that the supply of water was insufficient.

Pending the completion of the Asylum, an arrangement was made with the Monmouth County Council to receive Brecknock and Radnor patients at a weekly charge of two shillings and threepence a head, the number of patients to be limited to that at that time in the Asylum, and the contract to remain in force until 31st December, 1898. Radnor still held aloof, and considered that the Cefn Brynich site was too distant from their boundary, and further feared that in the selection of a site their interests would be neglected. Brecknock, therefore, communicated with Herefordshire with a view to having a joint asylum at Burghill. To this scheme the Lunacy Commissioners offered a strenuous opposition, and it was abandoned. A fresh site with farm house, buildings, and 164 acres of land was now discovered, Lower Porthamal, near Three Cocks Railway Station; it had every requirement as a site for a lunatic asylum, but legal difficulties occurred, and this site was also abandoned.

In the meantime an agreeement had been come to between the counties of Brecknock and Radnor which ultimately took effect in the following form:—"It is agreed this .... day ....., 1896, between the Visiting Committees for the administrative counties of Brecknock and Radnor, that the said counties shall henceforth be united for the purposes of the Lunacy Act, 1890, and subsequent Acts, and that an Asylum for the reception of not less than 350 lunatics ..... shall be immediately provided to be erected on a site ..... in the County of Brecon, and that the necessary expenses for building and maintenance shall be defrayed by the said counties in proportion to their respective populations as stated in the last preceding census; for the time being Committees shall be appointed in the following proportions, Breconshire three-fifths, Radnorshire two-fifths. It is further agreed that in the event of a dissolution of partnership at any future time the interest of each county . . . . shall be valued as follows: a valuation shall be made of all . . . . property belonging to the partnership at the date of dissolution subject to liabilities . . . . and the property of the Joint Asylum so valued shall be divided between the counties in proportion to the amounts which they shall have respectively contributed thereto . . . , etc." The last recited clause was inserted to protect Radnor against a repetition of the financial trouble which had overtaken the county under the arbitration with the County of Monmouth at the close of the agreement as to Abergavenny Asylum.

The task of valuing stock at Abergavenny Asylum had been left to Dr. Glendinning, the medical superintendent at Abergavenny, and on January 19, 1907, he reported the value at the date of dissolution of partnership to have been:—Stock in stores and farming stock, implements, and crops, £6,286 11s. 10d.; stock in artizans' shops, £715 5s. 1d.; balance at bankers, £7,059 8s. 6d.; expenditure on capital from 31st March, 1894, to 31st December, 1896, £1,772 16s. 9d. Total, £15,834 2s. 2d. The share of Brecknock in this property amounted to £2,729 19s. 0d.

Several possible sites were now suggested for the new asylum, three of which were selected by a sub-committee. Messrs Giles, Gough, and Trollope had been chosen as architects, and the three sites were reported on by Mr. Gough. That ultimately selected was the Chancefield site, comprising about 160 acres, and lying about three-quarters of a mile from the town of Talgarth. There was a good plateau for building, well sheltered from the north and east, and an ample supply of good water in

such a position as enabled it to be brought by gravitation to any part of the building. There was excellent stone, and good bricks could be made from clay on the site, and the land lay well for drainage irrigation. The Committee entered into a conditional contract for the purchase of the Chancefield property for £7,250, and after inspection by the Lunacy Commissioners it was finally bought. Arrangements were made with the tenant for immediate possession.

It will be remembered that the Brecon and Radnor patients had been received at Abergavenny Asylum, the contract ending at the close of the year 1898. That time had now arrived, and the new asylum had not even been begun; the Monmouth Council entered into a fresh contract (30th August, 1899) to maintain for five years from January 1st, 1899, Brecknock patients at a cost of 5s. 6d. a head per week in excess of the actual cost of maintenance, the agreement terminable on six months' notice; and the Secretary of State approved the contract September, 1898.

Plans of the proposed Asylum were prepared by Mr Gough, the selected architect, and an estimate of cost arrived at as follows:—Asylum, £107,200; reservoir, £2,808; site, £8,000; road from Talgarth, £1,700; furnishing, £6,000; electric lighting, £3,000; boundaries and roads, £2,000; sewage works, £250; clerk of the works, £600; architect's fees, £5,000. Total, £135,558. Altogether, it seemed probable that the total cost would amount to £140,000, of which the contribution of Brecknock would be £98,314 2s. 3d. At the meeting of the County Council, October 1898, it had been resolved to apply to this purpose the sum awarded by Mr. Birrell and Dr. Glendinning, representing the share of Brecknock in the Abergavenny Asylum, together amounting to £29,086; to this was added £475 1s 6d, the proceeds of the sale of the Angel Inn, Brecon, the property of the county as already stated. This left a sum of £68,807 to be provided, and this amount was in excess of the borrowing powers of the county. A provisional order was obtained, and sanction by Parliament (No. 71, 1898), and the money was finally borrowed from the Public Works Loans Commissioners, the required sum repayable in 28 years at 3 per cent. Tenders were applied for, and the work was undertaken by Messrs. Watkin Williams, of Pontypridd, contractors.

The first work undertaken was the new approach to the Asylum from Talgarth, the tender of Messrs. Batchelor and Snowdon, Cardiff, being accepted, the amount being £1,591 15s 7d, of which Brecknock was to pay £1,117 16s 4d. On October 11th, 1900, the Committee of Visitors reported the completion of the water supply, and that good progress had been generally made.

The building of the Asylum was continued in the years 1901–4. The water rights of Lord Ashburnham, as owner of Talgarth Mill, were in the autumn of 1901 purchased by the two counties for a sum of £500. The town of Talgarth, being desirous of improving its water supply, agreed to take the surplus water from the Asylum reservoir; the District authorities applied also for leave to erect the town reservoir and filter beds on the Asylum property, and a lease of half an acre was granted for a term of 99 years at a yearly rent of £2. Wernfawr, a farm adjoining the Chancefield Estate, was, in September, 1902, purchased by the two counties for £3,200, with timber valued at £354, in all £3,554.

In February, 1903, the Asylum was formally opened, and in the course of the following month the patients who had been kept at Abergavenny were moved into their new home. Dr. Ernest Jones had, in the autumn of 1902, been appointed medical superintendent.

In order to complete the narrative of this important work, we have anticipated the entries in county records for the years 1899-1904; but we must return to the documents for information relating to minor matters which may or may not be considered of sufficient importance to form part of the permanent history of the county.

LOCAL BOUNDARIES.

The local boundaries, as we have already seen, were much under discussion, and they must again be referred to. The representative county of Brecon differs from the geographical county in that the whole of each urban district was placed in the county in which the majority of inhabitants resided. Thus a portion of Aberystruth parish, of small population but large rateable value, now part of Brynmawr urban district, had been placed in Brecknock, while Beaufort, Rassa, Duke's Town, and Llechrhyd, being within the urban districts of Ebbw Vale, Tredegar, and Rhymney, had been placed in the county of Monmouth. This the Monmouth County Council, in the pecuniary interest of Monmouth, now sought to reverse; the interests of the county were entrusted to a local committee, and an inquiry was held at Ebbw Vale. In the result the present boundaries of the administrative county were left unchanged.

On August 7th, 1896, the parish of Llanelly made application for division into wards for the election of a Parish Council; the parish was divided into an eastern or Gilwern ward, to be represented on the Council by seven members, and a western ward named Llanelly to be eight Councillors.

About the same time the parish of Llanelly was transferred from Crickhowell to Brynmawr Petty Sessional District, the salary of the Justices' Clerk being raised to £160. It was desired also to make a division of non-ecclesiastical charities between the part of Llanelly now added to Brynmawr and the rural parish; the two parishes failed to agree upon a principle of division, and the matter has never been carried out.

In the settlement of local areas in 1894, the Poor Law Unions had been left unaltered, and in many cases transgressed the boundaries of counties. Llanwrtyd and Llandulas, two parishes in the hundred of Builth, were administered as part of the Carmarthen Union of Llandovery; they were now desired to be transferred for all purposes to the Union of Builth. A local inquiry was held, and on February 19th, 1897, it was announced by the Local Government Board that Llanwrtyd and Llandulas should be annexed to Builth for all purposes, the order to take effect from March 26th, 1897. An almost laughable incident of local government was the claim of Llandulas to be administered by a Parish Council, the whole number of electors in the parish being 11; but the Council declined to accede to the ambition of so small a locality. Glyntawe met with better success, the County Council resolving on the 19th April, 1895, that a Parish Council with five members should be established.

DISPUTES WITH OTHER AUTHORITIES.

In the extreme south of the county, the Glamorganshire main road passed for a mile and a half through the county of Brecknock, from Hirwaun bridge to Cwmynis Minton; the road had, up to the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888, been repaired by the Glamorgan authority. The Act imposed on the county of Breconshire the duty of repairing all main roads within its limits; each county repudiated the obligation, and the piece of road in dispute had accordingly fallen into bad repair. In 1896 a lawsuit took place between the two counties, and on April 14th, 1897, the judgment of the High Court was given in favour of Glamorgan. Brecknock did not appeal and will henceforth repair the road.

The Borough of Brecon made sundry claims under the Local Government Acts as against the county, and the matter was submitted to arbitration; the award published in January, 1897, was to the effect that "there were no matters requiring adjustment, and that the costs of the arbitration were to fall on the Borough."

The parish of Ystradfellte, a Brecknock parish within the Glamorgan union of Neath, desired to be added to the union of Brecknock. The County Council concurred, and on April 19th, 1898, addressed the Local Government Board on the subject, but the Board, replying on July 13th, declined to entertain the proposal.

Under the Local Government Act, 1894, a parish situated partly within and partly without an urban district, became automatically divided into two parishes. The urban district of Brynmawr was composed of three such parishes, parts of Llangattock and Llanelly in the county of Brecknock and a small portion of Aberystruth in the county of Brecknock. When they became divided parishes, the portions within the urban district were styled respectively Llangattock Brynmawr Urban, Llanelly Brynmawr Urban, and Aberystruth Brynmawr Urban. On October 21st, 1898, the Brynmawr District Council applied to the County Council that these three parishes should be united into one parish, to be called Brynmawr, and that the new parish should be placed in the Poor Law Union of Crickhowell. A local inquiry was held at Brynmawr on January 25th, 1899, and reported in favour of the change. The Local Government Board being applied to, raised no opposition, and on the 20th September, 1900, the Order was confirmed subject to modifications, and the three parishes were united into one parish called Brynmawr, as from the 30th September, 1900. The new parish was included in the Crickhowell Union, and a School Board was to be elected for the new parish; and school buildings the property of various School Boards within the parish of Brynmawr were to vest in the Board of the new parish subject to various adjustments.

INQUIRY AT YSTRADGUNLAIS,—SHEEP SCAB, ETC.

On the 19th January, 1900, the populous parish of Ystradgunlais petitioned that it should be divided into wards for the purpose of election of District and Parish Councillors, and for adopting the adoptive Acts. A local inquiry was held on March 26th; local opinions differed as to whether the parish should be divided into three or four wards, and the committee advised the County Council to take no action until the different authorities were in agreement. On August 3rd a second application was made by the Rural District and Parish Councils, and a second inquiry, under the presidency of Lord Glanusk, was held at Ystradgunlais on August 24th. Acting upon the report, the County Council, on January 18th, 1901, issued an order dividing the parish of Ystradgunlais Lower into four wards, to be respectively called Ystradgunlais Eastern and Western, and Palleg Eastern and Western.

Amongst mountain sheep, scab is generally present, and certain neighbouring counties passed orders prohibiting the introduction of sheep from Brecknock, to the detriment of the trade of that county. In consequence of the prevalence of the disease, a man was on 18th March, 1898, appointed to assist the inspector. The Council protested against the Government Order prohibiting the removal of sheep, as it might be hoped the disease was dying out; in April, 1899, six cases, involving only 38 sheep, were reported; in May and June there were no cases reported. On August 4th the Committee was empowered to appoint inspectors to see sheep dipped and to give certificates under the Sheep Scab Order, 1898, provided that no expense be caused to the county. About twenty parishes in the north of the county availed themselves of this Order, appointing two or there inspectors apiece. The county in October was reported free from the disease; on September 1st the Glamorgan County Council had addressed Brecknock, desiring to make restrictions and regulations for the southern part of Wales similar to those made by Shropshire, Radnorshire, Herefordshire, Montgomeryshire, and other counties, to endeavour to get rid of sheep scab. The matter was referred to the Committee of the Contagious Diseases Act, who on December 9th, 1899, met a Glamorgan Committee at Cardiff. The Brecknock representatives reported that much impediment to trade had been caused by the regulations in force in Radnor and the adjoining counties, and the Committees recommended that a joint inspector be appointed by Glamorgan and Brecknock to inspect sheep, and to attend markets to detect cases of scab. In November and December ten cases were reported, with 63 infected sheep.

ROAD AND BRIDGES.

The main road to Abergavenny, near Llangrwyne, is on a cliff, at the base of which the river Usk makes a sharp angle, and a serious landslip, which occurred in 1898, endangered the road. Landslips had occurred at this place for some years past, and the causes were, first the flowing of land water on the top of a stratum of marl and boulders about 24 feet above the bed of the river, softening the face of the marl and causing it to slip; secondly, the removal of the disintegrated marl by river floods. Neither of these causes would of itself do much harm; if there was no river the marl would find its natural angle and stand at that. On the other hand, if the marl and gravel were in their natural state they would be too hard to be affected by floods. In order to maintain the marl at its proper angle of repose, Mr. Tog. Rees recommended a concrete wall of Portland cement, having a foundation about two feet below the bed of the river, 380 feet in length, with a height varying from 12 to 18 feet, which he estimated would cost £811. The County Council, on 16th September, decided that the work should be at once proceeded with, No contractor was willing to undertake the work at the price, but on Mr. Rees being again consulted, Mr. Albert E. Parfit contracted to build the wall for £853, provided he were allowed to use a different cement and have the advantage of local material. On August 3rd, 1900, the work was reported to approach completion.

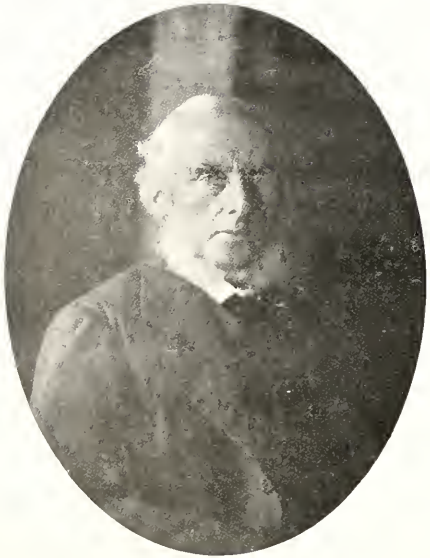
VAYNOR BRIDGE.

On the 10th March, 1899, the Vaynor Parish Council called the attention of the County Council to the dangerous state of Cefn Bridge, and asked for the erection of a new bridge. This bridge is the joint responsibility of Brecknock and Glamorgan; a committee was therefore appointed (including Mr. J. A. Doyle, chairman Roads and Bridges Committee) to meet the Glamorgan County Council, and on January 17th the Committees met at Merthyr. They decided on a stone bridge 30 feet wide, the price of iron being high. The Chairman and Mr. Doyle were authorised to inquire what contribution the Merthyr Electrical Tramway Co. were prepared to offer, owing to the enlargement of the bridge being necessary to carry their line. On August 8th, 1900, plans were laid before the Committee, who resolved that the Tramway Co. be required to contribute the additional cost necessitated by their works; and that the residue of the cost be divided between the counties in equal shares, all local contributions being credited to Brecknock. Thus the matter stood at the close of the year 1900, and the old and highly dangerous structure was allowed to remain unaltered, to the great annoyance of the residents of this populous district.

PERSONAL CHANGES.

In January, 1899, Sir J. R. Bailey, Bart., Lord Lieutenant and Chairman of Quarter Sessions, was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Glanusk, and on January 20th the County Council congratulated him on the honour, and assured him of their most cordial wishes that he may live to enjoy his new dignity for very many happy new years; and it should here be added that the bestowal of this honour upon the Lord Lieutenant was acclaimed throughout the county by all sections of the people, and this feeling later found expression in the presentation to his lordship at Glanusk of several handsome illuminated addresses of goodwill and congratulation to himself and Lady Glanusk.

On January 19th, 1900, a letter was read from the Chairman of the Council. An attack of influenza followed by gout rendered his attendance impossible, and infirmities consequent on advanced



CHARLES EVAN-THOMAS, Esq.
(Died 1902).

First Chairman (for eleven years) of the Brecknockshire County Council.

HUGH BOLD, Esq.
(Died 1867).

Chairman of the Brecknockshire Quarter Sessions 1830.

age forced him to tender his resignation. The Council expressed their great regret; they were profoundly conscious of the tact and ability with which Mr. Charles Evan-Thomas had presided over their deliberations during eleven years, for which they tendered to him the grateful thanks of the county of Brecon. In his place Lord Glanusk was elected chairman. On the 16th March, 1900, Mr. Cleasby retired from the vice-chair, and Alderman J. A. Doyle was elected in his place. About the same time Mr. Cleasby was elected chairman of Quarter Sessions, from which post Lord Glanusk retired on being elected chairman of the County Council.

In the early autumn of 1902 Mr. Charles Evan-Thomas (late chairman) and his son Commander Evan-Thomas, of Builth, both died. On Mr. C. Evan-Thomas's retirement from public work, his son, Commander Algernon Evan-Thomas, had been elected Councillor for Llangammarch in his father's place; this gentleman had been a commander in the Royal Navy, and was heir to the Llwynmadoc estates, for which he had acted as agent. The knowledge thus acquired had been of great public service during the building of Chancefield Asylum. Commander Thomas was chairman of the County Governing Body for Intermediate Education, and he had managed for his cousin at Llwynmadoc the elementary schools in the Builth district on lines acceptable to both Church and Nonconformity. To him the county looked to introduce the Elementary Education Act of 1902, and he was confidently expected to take in the future a leading part in county administration. When, therefore, in the spring of 1903, Commander Thomas met with a fatal accident, his death was felt to be a public catastrophe, and called forth deep expressions of regret.

On the 23rd of January, 1901, Queen Victoria died; and the following year as the time approached for the coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII., the country was filled with consternation at his alarming illness, which necessitated an immediate operation of a serious nature. On His Majesty's happy recovery the County Council forwarded a loyal address of thankfulness on August 2nd, 1902. The Coronation of His Majesty and Queen Alexandra on August 9, 1902, was celebrated in every town and village in the county with great rejoicings, feasting, and bonfires; and old and young were impressed with the importance of the event.

The year 1901 marked the death of Mr. William Williams, of Talbot House, Brecon, the County Surveyor, who had served the county for a long period of years, having succeeded his father in the office. During his term of office great changes had been effected in the county bridges and public buildings. Mr. Charles W. Best, C.E., was on the 5th July, 1901, selected to fill the vacancy; and both the county buildings and main roads were placed under his control at that time. Subsequently, however, a rearrangement of the office took place, and a surveyor was appointed to take charge of the main roads. A new system of management at once took place, and a steam roller was purchased for use on the roads, and the stones were rolled in by this means instead of being allowed to remain on the roads until such time as they were crushed and rolled in by the ordinary vehicular traffic.

THE BWLCH HILL DISPUTE, CEFN BRIDGE, &c.

The Bwlch pass lies on the Abergavenny road eight miles from Brecon; the road passing through the village of Bwlch had been lowered, leaving a row of cottages standing dangerously near the edge of the cliff, which was supported by a retaining wall which had now given way. The liability to restore this wall was in dispute between the owners of the cottages and the county; counsel advised that the county was only liable for the protection of the wall, and the County Surveyor was ordered to execute such works only as were necessary for this purpose.

The question so often raised as to the liability to repair a bridge across streams dividing two counties again cropped up. Cefn Bridge, already referred to, half in Breconshire and half in Glamorganshire, required repair, and made sufficiently wide and strong to carry a light railway. Glamorgan offered to pay half, leaving for the advantage of Brecon any local subscriptions. The cost of the bridge was to be £4,330, of which the railway company offered £400; the remaining £3,930 apportioned thus: £1,965 by Glamorgan, £1,310 by Brecknock, and £655 by the Urban District Council of Merthyr Tydfil and the Rural District Council of Vaynor and Penderyn.

The Doldowlod bridge, Llanwrthwl, crossing the Wye between Brecknock and Radnor, requiring extensive repairs, it was agreed that the cost should be divided between the two counties.

THE RIVER USK.

Of late years the salmon fishing in the Usk had deteriorated, and the cause was uncertain. The great seaport of Newport had largely increased; its drainage, including the refuse of manufactories, was poured into the river, and its tributary the Afon Llwyd (brown stream) carried to the main river a vast quantity of rust and iron. The Clydach, also, charged with the sewage of Brynmawr, added its quota of contamination. Brecon had made little effort to keep its river pure, and added to these, the Great Western Railway, as owners of the Brecon and Abergavenny Canal, drew large quantities of

water from the river immediately above Brecon, not only for the purposes of their navigation, but also to supply their own railway and the various works of Monmouthshire. To this abstraction of water objection had often been taken, and in April, 1902, a committee of the various authorities was formed to approach the Great Western Company on this subject. The company at once undertook an exhaustive inquiry with the object of regulating the amount of water and reducing waste; as a result they were able to keep the sluices at the intake closed for 12 out of 24 hours. At Newton Weir a re-modelled fish pass facilitated the passage of fish to the upper reaches of the river, and the year being wet a large number of salmon were taken, and hopes entertained that the improvement would prove permanent.

In the early part of 1903 a proposal was made by the people of Merthyr Tydfil who were seeking a Charter of Incorporation, to include in their borough boundaries the Brecknock village of Cefn coed cymmer. The County Council at their meeting decided that the incorporation of Cefn was undesirable, and directed their clerk, Mr. B. Edgar Thomas, to oppose it. An inquiry, lasting several days, was held at Merthyr Tydfil at the close of April, and in the result the Government declined to sanction the inclusion of Cefn with Merthyr.

A NEW EDUCATION ACT—"PASSIVE RESISTERS."

All other events in these years were, however, overshadowed by the re-organisation of elementary education. In the year 1870 education was carried on by voluntary effort, and many places existed without schools of any kind. These were placed under School Boards, who built schools at the expense of the ratepayers. One great difference existed between the two classes of schools: in Board schools instruction in religion was undenominational; in Voluntary schools it followed the wishes of the founders, and was in most cases according to the form of the Established Church, but a conscience clause enabled a parent to withdraw his child from such religious instruction as he did not approve. Six years later the duty of parents to educate their children was recognised, and education made compulsory; hitherto parents had generally paid twopence a week for the education of each of their children. This now became unpopular, and the Government granted 10s for each child in place of the school pence. Hardship had also arisen in places with small population, and a grant was made to obviate this difficulty; then it became evident that other schools were equally necessitous, and a further grant was made. The cost of education had by this time largely devolved on the central Government, a smaller portion falling on the local rate or voluntary effort. In the year 1902, therefore, an Act was passed under which the County Council, acting through a committee, became the Local Education Authority, and all secular education, whether Board schools or Voluntary, elementary or advanced, being confided to its care. School Boards were of necessity abolished, and the boundaries of school districts altered where necessary to coincide with the boundaries of counties. The Act, however, contained elements of bitter contention. While the Board schools, now called Council schools, were placed entirely under public control, the Voluntary, now called non-provided schools, were managed by a body of six, four foundation managers, and two only elected by the ratepayers. Religious teaching in these schools followed the opinions of the pious founders, and the head teacher in Church schools was always to be a Churchman. The school buildings were those which had been erected by voluntary subscriptions and had still to be repaired at the cost of the trust. A grievous cry immediately arose. Education maintained by public money should certainly be entirely under public control; anything approaching exclusive religious teaching was an injury to the conscience of Nonconformists, and the Nonconformist teachers being excluded from the best paid place in Church schools hampered them unjustly in the race of life. So argued those who did not approve the Act. An organised opposition was made against the administration of the Act, and when part of a school rate was devoted to such religious teaching and education, many respectable persons in Brecknock, as elsewhere, refused to pay the rate until such time as their goods had been distrained upon by the police acting under the orders of the magistrates upon the application of the poor rate collectors. Friends, however, in Breconshire attended the auctions, which usually caused a large crowd to assemble, and generally bought in the goods thus offered for sale. For a time considerable feeling was aroused, but the movement eventually died a natural death. In the Builth Union the Guardians declined to levy the county rate, but the law authorising the County Council to collect the money, with ten per cent. additional, was put in force, and the offence in the Builth Union was not repeated.

We have now traced the history of events as collated from the Records of Court of Quarter Sessions and the County Council. To these we have added here and there, in order to complete the narrative, facts from other sources and from our recollection of the events. It is quite possible these records may be deficient in many respects, and also necessarily brief, but some of these will be found amplified in that part of this work which deals with the parochial history; and certain matters relating to the Great Forest of Brecknock will be found in a previous chapter.

COLONEL F. W. ALEXANDER ROCHE OF TREGUNTER.

[From a Sketch by Self.]

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGION.

The Druids,—their Tenets,—our Knowledge of them from whence derived,—Origin of their Name,—the supposed Massacre of the Bards in the time of Edward the First,—the Introduction of Christianity into this Island,—the primitive Fathers and Bishops of the British Church,—Dispute between them and the See of Rome, about the Celebration of Easter,—Giraldus Cambrensis,—Patronage of the Churches of Brecknockshire on the Reformation,—State of the Establishment during the Time of Charles the First to 1800,—Early Church History of Brecknockshire.

THE religion of the earliest inhabitants of Brecknockshire and its neighbourhood, as well as of Britain, appears from history, tradition, and the remains now seen in this country, undoubtedly to have been Druidism: such at least continued to be the opinion of all writers, as well as readers of this subject, until the latter end of the last century, when Mr. Pinkerton in his inquiry into the history of Scotland ventured to assert that Druidism was *a late invention* in the South of Britain, though he in the very next line tells us, that it was palpably *Phœnician*, and that it was taught the inhabitants of Cornwall by the Phœnicians, where they traded tor tin: how are we to reconcile these inconsistencies, or to suppose that sufficient opportunities occurred for the instruction of the natives in the tenets of Druidism, unless we believe that a colony of Phœnicians existed in Britain, who invented and propagated them, for which however there is no historical evidence, and which Mr. Pinkerton denies in terms of the most unqualified reprobation. As to the introduction or importation of this religion by the merchants of Phœnicia, it is hardly necessary to observe that it was an article in which persons of their description rarely traded and even if this position could be admitted, what then becomes of the assertion, that it was a late invention in the South of Britain?

THE DRUIDS.

"Tacitus and other Roman authors concur in stigmatising Druidism with the epithets of barbarous and odious, at the same time that it is evident they had a very inadequate knowledge of its principles or practice: full of their own importance and satisfied of their superiority over the rest of the world in science, in arts and in arms, they entertained a sovereign contempt for all who had the misfortune (as they arrogantly termed it) to be born out of the Roman territory; though it is by no means improbable that those barbarians, those odious Druidical priests, whom they reprobated, were more enlightened upon the most important of all subjects, than the conquerors of mankind and the rulers of nations, whose chief excellence consisted in a greater dexterity in cutting throats, for the purpose of obtaining plunder to debilitate and enervate themselves. At the time when the Romans first invaded this country the Druids had certainly made a very considerable progress in metaphysical learning, though it must remain doubtful, notwithstanding what has been said about their making use of the Greek letters, whether they had much if any knowledge of that mode of perpetuating opinions or facts, which has since become almost universal.' At the commencement of the nineteenth century *we* too may probably pity these unread savages, and bless our stars when we resort to the valuable fund of knowledge thus communicated to us by the improvements of ages, which preserves the matured wisdom of the philosopher, and transmits to us the instructing and amusing records of historians; yet after all, without depreciating the advantages or undervaluing the benefits derived from the use of alphabetical characters and the art of printing, it cannot be denied that the plain undeviating rules of right and wrong are communicated in very few words, and that the eternal and immutable maxims of truth and justice require neither the aid of parchment or paper, or even the more durable monuments of brass or stone, to be perpetuated; they are written in an universal language, and in characters equally indelible, though invisible, in the breast of the ignorant and the learned, 'the saint, the savage and the sage.' Possessed of this natural and unerring system of learning, the Druids first and principally inculcated the love of virtue and the detestation of vice, acknowledged and believed in the being 'of a supreme God, master of the universe, to whom all

things were submissive and obedient: they called him the author of everything that existeth, the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful Being, the searcher into concealed things, the Being that never changeth; they attributed to this Deity, an infinite power, a boundless knowledge, an incorruptible justice; they were forbidden from representing him in a corporeal form, they were not even to think of confining him within the enclosure of walls, but were taught that it was only within woods and consecrated groves they could serve him properly, as he seemed to reign there in silence, and to make himself felt by the respect he inspired.' Such is the description of this religion given by a very learned writer (whose opinions on the subject we implicitly adopt), when he records the early tenets of the Scandinavians; in support of which he quotes Tacitus, who attributes these principles to the Germans; whilst the inhabitants of Spain and Gaul, and afterwards Britain, half subdued by the arms and luxury of the Romans, adopted by degrees new gods, at the same time that they became subject to new masters.

EARLY AUTHORITIES ON DRUIDISM.

"The author from whom we principally derive our information as to the doctrine and manners of the Druids, and upon whom succeeding writers chiefly rely, is Julius Cæsar; though how far he had leisure to contemplate, or inclination to attend to these subjects we know not. The language he uses when he mentions them, which most of his translators have erroneously communicated, does not appear to be the result of much reflection or consideration; indeed when we attend to what has been said by him as well as *how* it has been said, it will be very doubtful whether any part of it will apply to the Druids of Great Britain. Let us hear his words and see how they are introduced: "in omni *Gallia* eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atq. honore, genera sunt duo," whom he describes to be the Druids, and their captains and leaders in war; he then proceeds to relate the duties and privileges of the former, as legislators, priests and philosophers, and concludes thus, "Doctrina in Britannia reperta, atq. inde in Galliam translata esse *existimatur*." This is the foundation of *all* the knowledge we derive of the British Druids, and this is the only author who had an opportunity (if indeed he had such, for he did not continue two months in the island) of learning personally from them what their opinions were, and yet everything which has been cited above relates to Gaul alone, and is given in a chapter describing the manners of that country only. But the doctrine of the bards of Gaul was introduced there, says he, from Britain *as it is thought*, or according to common report. Rowland and several others, when they quote this passage, tell us, that *Cæsar affirms* that the discipline and practice of the Druids came from Britain into Gaul, whereas it is clear that Cæsar *affirms* no such thing: he gives it only as the general opinion (whether of his countrymen or the Britons we know not), as a mere report, the truth of which he did not think it worth his while to inquire or to trouble his head about. Later writers with much greater probability suppose the reverse of this conjecture to be true, and that Druidism, pure uncorrupted Druidism, as it has been just described, was introduced from Gaul into Britain, and that at a very early period indeed, perhaps not many centuries after the deluge. The same system as the Druids professed was, no doubt, the earliest religion of all countries, of those of Persia, under the name of Ghaurs, Gauri, or as we would call them, Cewri, and of the old Brahmins of the East. The latter, though they preserve their primitive manners and simplicity, have introduced such wild and fanciful theories, such whimsical and inexplicable tales and allegories, that the truth has been nearly suffocated under a load of uncouth monsters, of imaginary creation and shapes, and the pure tenets of the primæval fathers concealed by the veil of almost impenetrable darkness and superstition. The Persians, though they never indulged themselves with these manifold representations or rather misrepresentations of the Deity, have yet with as little reason as the Druids of Britain been charged with the worship of a multiplicity of gods; as fire, water, the sun and moon, though the religion of both countries has been very properly described by one of the editors of the ancient universal history in the following words: "the Persians were the adorers of one all-wise and omnipotent God, and they could not bear he should be represented by either molten or graven images, or *that the Creator and Lord of the universe should be circumscribed within the narrow bounds of temples.*"

SUPPOSED HUMAN SACRIFICES.

"Fire, it is true, was always seen blazing on their altars (after they had in some degree degenerated from their early tenets by the erection of temples), yet this fire was only symbolical, they worshipped God in the fire, and not the fire as a god, and great care was taken by the priest to explain that it was only esteemed holy as an emanation from the fountain of light; they were also taught that "whensoever they should pray by day, to turn their face towards the sun, and whensoever they prayed by night, they should incline towards the moon, for they were the two great lights of Heaven, and *God's two witnesses*, most contrary to Lucifer, who loved darkness better than light. Yet are these very men charged by Herodotus and Strabo (being themselves Polytheists),

with the worship of a variety of gods, and in a note in the publication just mentioned, a remarkable story is related as told by the former author, with as much boldness, says the editor, as if he had been an eye witness of it. 'At their arrival (the arrival of the Persians at the river Strymon), the Magi offered a sacrifice of white horses to the river, and after they had thrown them into the stream, with a composition of various drugs, the army broke up and marched to the *Nine Ways* of the Edonians, where they found bridges prepared for their passage over the Strymon, but being informed that this place was called by the name of the Nine Ways, *they took nine of the sons and daughters of the inhabitants, and buried them alive*, as the manner of the Persians is, and I have heard that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, having attained to a considerable age, caused *fourteen children* of the best families in Persia to be interred ative, to the honour of that god which they say is under the earth.' Notwithstanding this, these same Persians, it is admitted by Herodotus himself, though they reverenced fire and water, never sacrificed to either, and it was one of their tenets to preserve those elements unpolluted by blood or dead carcases. We must not then wonder after this, that Tacitus and other historians have treated the Germanic as well as British Druids in the same manner, and mistaken their opinions of the Diety.

"However great the respect be to which Tacitus is entitled as an historian, upon the subject of religion there is little reliance upon him. Convinced, or at least appearing to be so, of the soundness of his own, he seems to have given himself very little trouble to consider, and still less to describe the principles of those which existed in his day. The Christian religion, then spreading widely and making considerable progress in Rome itself, he dismisses briefly by calling it 'an odious superstition,' the Jewish he dwells slightly upon, and as far as he ventures to describe it, he is frequently erroneous; we must not therefore be surprised if when he treats of Druidism, which was extinct, or at least dying in his time, he is equally incorrect. It is not here intended to deny the corruptions, perhaps of the precepts, certainly of the ceremonial rites of this order among the Gauls; their intercourse with the nations by whom they were surrounded, when opinions were as various as their manners, their habits, their complexions, or the climates of the countries from whence they were driven, or from which they roamed in search of food or plunder, and even their acquaintance with the civilized Romans (as has been noticed) may have introduced idolatry and perhaps human sacrifices into their worship, but it by no means follows that among the Britons, '*toto divisi orbe*,' the corruptions of their faith must *of course* have kept an equal pace. As well may the primitive fathers of the Christian church be supposed to be idolaters, because the artifice, the superstition of the ignorance of future ages, introduced images in processions and religious places or structures. Sammes may amuse himself by conveying Cæsar's wicker image, filled with men from Gaul to Britain, and there setting fire to it, and a much more respectable and learned author may be permitted, without imputing affectation to him, to freeze with horror or to become convulsed with rage at the raw head and bloody bones his own imagination has painted and the odious rites and sacrifices which dance before his eyes whenever this religion is mentioned; the dream of the one has long vanished, and no doubt the paroxysm of the other will be soon over. All authors admit that the lives of the Druids appear to be more virtuous, and their minds more enlightened than their contemporaries. The liberal and candid Mr. King will therefore hear us with patience, when in defence of men of such principles and such lives, we deny that there is anything like historical proof of human sacrifices having been offered up *in Britain;* and when we contend, that no author of antiquity has ever ventured to assert that fact of *his own knowledge*, or in any other way than by inference from the practice of the Gauls.

SUPPOSED ATTACK UPON PRIESTS AT ANGLESEA.

"Some English writers to support their hypothesis, it is true, have quoted Tacitus with the same accuracy they did Julius Cæsar upon a former part of this subject. This author in describing the attack of Suetonius Paulinus upon the priests or Druids of Anglesea (*whose sole aim was to frighten him from their shores, and deter him from murder and robbery*), says, 'Præsidium posthac impositum, *victis* excisisq. luci sævis superstitionibus særi. nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere Deos fas habebant.' To this we answer as before, that it does not appear Tacitus had any personal knowledge of this transaction; indeed it is clear that he had not, nor is it by any means ascertained that he received his information from those who lived among the Britons, or who were conversant with their customs, their religion or their language. It may therefore fairly be inferred that he drew this *ideal* picture of what *would* have been done, if the Britons had succeeded against their invaders, from a scene on the coast of Gaul, and from the ceremonies and sacrifices there said to have been practiced, and even admitting the whole of what the historian has asserted to be true, the behaviour of the Romans in that very attack upon women with dishevelled hair and inoffensive and unarmed men, and their savage barbarity after a victory, bloodless on the side of the conquerors,

may be alleged as a very powerful apology for the supposed cruelties of the oppressed and injured *savages* of the Isle of Anglesea, and perhaps it may occur to those who have turned over the volumes which record the event that have passed in distant and even later ages, among nations calling themselves civilized, that even as low down as the days of Major Andre, instances may be produced where prisoners have been sacrificed from motives and on pretences full as unjustifiable (if not more so), than those by which the Druids were thought to have been actuated, whatever that whimsical and anomalous code called the law of nations may assert to the contrary.

THE WORD DRUID.

"The definition of the word Druid has been the subject of controversy among the learned: some derive the word from the Celtic Derw, from whence the Greek DRUS, an oak, from their worshipping and sacrificing in oak groves, or from their veneration for the misseltoe of the oak; from Derw, says Pezron in his *Antiquities of Nations* (page 240), compounded with hud, inchantment comes Druidæ. 'They were the priests, sages, diviners and magicians of the ancient Gauls, who gave them that name, because they practised their divinations and enchantments in woods, and especially under oaks.' Baxter derives the word from Deruidhon, wise men, but though he is supported by some of the Latin authors, who call them *magistri sapientiæ*, and by others of our island, who have written upon the subject, it does not appear to us that there is such a Celtic or British word as Derwidd, signifying a wise man. *These old hearts of oak therefore would probably have been admitted to have derived*, as they well deserved, their appellation from their favourite tree, if the long received opinion had not been of late considerably shaken by the definition given by a writer, to whose abilities and erudition in the Celtic or British language, at the same time that we are proud to pay this public testimony of respect, we cannot in this instance implicitly submit. Mr. William Owen in his dictionary, under the word Derwydd, says, it is derived from Dâr-gwydd, one who has knowledge of, or who is present with; a definition neither justified by authority or even perfectly intelligible, though it is easily seen how it is intended to be implied; but there does not seem to be any necessity of disturbing the etymology sanctioned by ages, adopted by historians of great learning, and confirmed by the general voice and approbation of most who have read and considered the subject.

THE DRUIDICAL ORDER.

"*When* this religion was first known in our island cannot be ascertained. Cains, an author, quoted by Lewis in his *Ancient History of Britain*, supposes it to be about the year 1013 before Christ; Stukely, in his description of Abury, with greater probability, much earlier; they consisted here as in Gaul, of three orders, Derwydd, Bardd ac Ofydd, the Druid, the bard, and the Ovate, or disciple. The first were legislators, as well as priests and philosophers; the second, poets, who sung the actions of kings and heroes, and preserved them in metrical stanzas and triplets, in order to fix more strongly in the memory their religious and moral maxims, and the last, pupils and adepts in the arts and sciences, as far as they were known in the early ages of the world. Those of the highest rank, when they acted in their juridical capacity, for the law maker and expounder were then frequently united in the same person, sat in high places, for which there were political as well as religious reasons. These meetings were called Gorseddau or the councils, and the place on which they sat, Yr Wyddfa or the conspicuous. There are many of these high hills in Wales, and indeed it is still a common appellation for an elevated situation; that lofty eminence in Herefordshire, Malvern, or Moel-y-farn, was particularly dedicated to this purpose: here the Derwydd formerly sat to make, to expound and to execute his laws, or at least to enforce their execution by his presence and commands. Two or three mountains in Breconshire, one of them of very great height, are called by the name of the Derwydd-Garn, or the Druid's rock, and were antiently appropriated for the purposes just mentioned, which will hereafter be more particularly described.

"As a conspicuous and elevated situation was thought necessary for the Druids, as legislators or judges, so retired or secluded spots in the middle of thick groves were considered as most eligible for contemplation and the worship of the Deity, not from a persuasion of any holiness peculiar to these places, but from their being better calculated for the consideration of religious subjects, and less liable to interruption or intrusion, which they took care to prevent as far as was in their power by encouraging the greater part of the community to believe it would be attended with punishments here and hereafter. Much has been said as to their veneration for the misseltoe of the oak, and this has been objected against them as a proof of their ignorance or superstition, or both; but independent of the medical virtues, which it was supposed it did, and perhaps it really may possess (being at this day called in the Welsh language, Holl-iach or All-heal), it is by no means improbable that this vegetable, which has so pleasing a verdure in the depth of Winter, and generally grows out of old and decayed trees, was only considered by them as a lively emblem of a resuscitation in

a future state, in which they firmly believed, although they improved upon their early faith, by adding to it the transmigration of souls; a doctrine, which (however fanciful it may seem) was not without its advantages before the introduction of the gospel of Christ.

THE CROMLECH.

"But if this harmless superstitious partiality for the misseltoe has been an object of reprehension, the *Cromlech*, the odious and hateful *Cromlech* has been confidently stated by some, and strongly conjectured by others, to have been a sort of butcher's block or slaughtering stone, on which the throats of men were cut, or human victims knocked down like calves to the praise and glory of the Deity. It seems at first not a little extraordinary that much reading and great learning should frequently lead men into fanciful reveries and the formation of systems as whimsical as they are ephemeral, yet even this may perhaps be accounted for, when we reflect and consider that it may be permitted, perhaps wisely ordained, by Providence, to convince mankind how many errors they are liable to be led into by that *Ignis Fatuus*, human reason. Thus Mr. King describes the Cromlech as an altar of sacrifice, informs us that the slanting position of the stone is to prevent the human victim from retreating and in short is so very minute as to particulars, that one would almost suppose him to be present at this ancient *auto de Fe*. With the greatest deference to the general knowledge of this really learned man, and with all the *gentleness and coolness* peculiar to this country, we take leave to affirm that the Cromlech is no more calculated for the purpose he mentions than it is for an E O or a billiard table, and we appeal to every unlearned eye who has seen them, and who has no predilection for system-mongers and system-makers, whether they have any resemblance to the floor of a slaughter house. The same writer, however, fancies that he has discovered in the Welsh sledges and wheel carts and a few comical pigstyes near Cardiff, the remains of the British fighting cars and the huts of the ancient inhabitants, yet there is no more similitude between the two first and the antient military chariots of our remote ancestors, that that both were drawn by horses, and the form of the little buildings he describes was merely accidental and not peculiar to the country. The British fighting car with its knives or scythes attached, was calculated for an open and uninclosed country; the sledge on the contrary was first introduced into general use (though its simple construction proves it to be of very early invention) when the face of the country was totally changed by the intersection of hedges, ditches, and narrow lanes, and in parts where there are precipices and declivities, over which no waggon or even a cart can travel. The stones called Cromlechau, before they were thus converted a second time into altars, for this was the opinion some years back, were shewn by Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall* (as clearly as the nature of the ease and the lapse of time will permit), to have been sepulchral; perhaps they covered the remains of the chief Druid, or else some warriors of the age, as was the case with respect to one mentioned in the following lines written in the fifth or sixth century:

Pieu y bedd pedryfal,
Ai bedwar maen am y tal?
Bedd Madawc Marchog dywal,

To whom belongs the quadrangular grave,
With its four stones inclosing the front?
It is Madoc's the intrepid warrior.

"In confirmation of this latter opinion might be cited the sentiments of a writer in the *Monthly* and *Gentleman's Magazines* who subscribes, Meirion; of whose abilities a Welsh reader may form some judgment, when he peruses his other letters in those publications under that signature.

THE BARDIC ORDER.

"The name of the second order, that of bards, is derived by Baxter from bar, fury, from whence says he, barydd and corruptly bardh, a poet; from the same root he adds, comes breuddwyd or barwyddyd, a dream, as if it were a vision or prophecy. Of this opinion was the late reverend Evan Evans, generally called Evan Brydydd hir, or Evan the tall bard. Owen in his dictionary derives it from Bar, *one that makes conspicuous*; which word however it is observable he has not in this sense in its alphabetical order. They were the prophets and poets of their times, and continued to have some pretensions to inspiration after the first degrees were extinct and after the introduction of Christianity: Merddyn Wyllt or Merlinus Sylvestris, in the sixth century, and others, have left behind them some incoherent rhapsodies, afterwards called prophecies, but many years had not elapsed after the abolition of the superior order, before they very prudently relied more upon their merits as poets, than their mission as seers. Their second class was again divided into historical and genealogical, the latter of whom were called Arwydd-Feirdd, or heraldic bards; at first they were employed as ambassadors or messengers between contending princes, and afterwards their duty was to register arms and pedigrees, which, as the Welsh had no surnames, was of great utility: there were also many other reasons for the attention of the Britons to genealogy, which will be seen hereafter. One of the principal duties of the Arwydd-Fardd was to attend upon the birth, marriage,

or death of any Gwr-bonheddig (a gentleman or man of high descent), and to register the pedigree of his family. The cerdd foliant or song of praise, they wrote during the life of their patrons: this composition, after having extolled the hero, whose exploits it was meant to celebrate, who was generally 'more wise, more just, more everything' than any person who lived before him, frequently concluded with an intreaty from the poet for a present of a horse, a hawk, a hand-saw or some other useful article. but the Marwnad or elegy was required to contain truly and at length, the genealogy and descent of the deceased from his eight immediate ancestors 'yr wyth rhan rhieni'; to notice the several collateral branches of the family; to commemorate in elegiac verse the surviving wife or husband with her or his descent or progeny; to register them in his books[1]; and to deliver a true copy to the heir, in order that it might be preserved among the authentic archives of the family. It was to be fairly written, and produced by the bard on the day month after the funeral, when all the principal branches of the family and their friends were assembled together in the great hall of the mansion house, and then recited in an audible and distinct voice, for the approbation of the company; after which it was carefully deposited in the munimental chest, and from thenceforward considered as the best evidence of descent.

THE REGISTERS KEPT BY THE BARDS.

"To recompence the bard for his trouble, he had a stipend out of every plough-land in the country: he had also other duties. He was to make a perambulation or visitation once in every three years to the houses of all the gentlemen in the country; this was called Clera or Clych Clerw, the bard's circuit, in which he was required to preserve 'Tri chof ynis Brydain,' or the three memorials or records of the Isle of Britain. These are defined to be a chronicle of the lives and noble actions of the kings or princes of this country, secondly the elements and beauties of the British language, and particularly the preservation of the rules to be observed as to the different metres used in poetry, and thirdly to correct and arrange the pedigrees and descents of families and the entries made in their registers in the intervals; they likewise on these occasions, like the English heralds, entered in their books the arms each family were entitled to bare, and corrected, or at least forbade those who assumed them improperly, from continuing them. In this perambulation likewise they registered any remarkable events, omitted for want of authentic information, to be inserted as they occurred in their district or neighbourhood: from these books it should seem Cradoc of Llancarvan collected the acts of the British princes from Cadwaladr to the year 1156, and afterwards the heraldic bard Guttyn Owain, who lived about the year 1480, during his circuits procured some valuable records as well as information which he has transmitted to posterity. Some late authors represent the bards so totally averse to war that it was not lawful to draw a sword in their presence, and much has been, and more *will* be said about their love of peace and hatred of discord; but with all the respect due to this order of men, who made considerable progress in knowledge, in times when the rest of their countrymen were comparatively savages, it cannot be denied that they were frequently the trumpeters of battle: all their songs were incitements to heroism, or eulogies upon those who had distinguished themselves in war, and one of their countrymen (Giraldus Cambrensis) describes them as frequently exclaiming with ardour, 'Procul hinc avertite pacem! Nobilitas cum pace perit,' or as one of the servants of Tullus Aufidius has it, 'Peace is nothing but to rust iron, increase tailors and breed ballad makers: ————the wars for my money.'

"Edward the First has been accused of having commanded the massacre of this order, which it is said was executed wherever the arm of power could reach them, but the truth of this charge is extremely doubtful; it originates, or at least was first published, by Wynne in his *History of Wales*, who wrote several centuries after this supposed proscription. No trace appears of it in any English histories, except as a quotation from Wynne, and there is not even in the early Welsh poems or chronicles (where it surely would have been preserved had the cruel tragedy been acted) any accusation of the kind.

THE OVATES.

"The third order, the Euvates, Ovates, or disciples was, as it is *supposed*, for little is now known as to them, employed in the rudiments of divinity, and in the study of astronomy, geography, and natural philosophy, *multa præterea de sideribus atq. eorum motu, de rerum, natura de Deorum vi ac potestate disputant et juventuti transdunt.* From this, it should seem that they were instructors of youth, and particularly of those who, after them, were candidates for entering into the Druidical institution;

[1] Some of these heraldic registers are still extant and are either called from the places where they are usually deposited, as the Cotterell Book in Glamorganshire, or from the name of some of the most celebrated of the heralds, who contributed to them, as Llyfr Llewelyn Offeiriad. They were not taken like the English visitations of the College of Arms at stated periods; but being kept in the chief mansion in the province or county, they were transferred by the Arwydd-fardd to his successor, who entered the deaths and births as they occurred within his *Clera* or Cylch.

to the higher order of which these Euvates were twenty years before they attained, or before they were perfectly qualified to receive and comprehend the mysteries of religion and government. To qualify themselves for a knowledge of the duties of the important station they were to hold in society, upon their being elected Druids, it was first necessary they should learn the system of the universe and the laws of nature. The Euvates became extinct at the same time with the first order, and, as has been before observed, have left behind little more than their name, which seems to confer upon them a further insight into futurity than could be expected from their rank.

"This unsociable, this *odious superstition*, having been prohibited to Roman citizens by Augustus, was totally proscribed by Claudius; it lingered however, as Rowland tells us upon the authority of Hector Boetius, in part of Scotland and the Isle of Man, until about the year 300 after Christ, when a king of Scotland called Cratylinth eradicated it, introduced the Christian religion, and built a new church in that island called Sodorense Fanum or St. Saviours, from whence the present diocese takes the name of Sodor and Man, but more correctly Sodor in Man.

"To those Roman writers, who took most pains to inquire into the nature of Druidical worship, and who found they prayed to, and adored one invisible God, this system appeared cold and unsociable, while the generals, commanders of legions, and soldiers, who had been in the island, and had seen the Meini-hirion, the circular stones and rude pillars in their groves and sacred places, mistook these monuments, land marks, and temples for gods.

'Simulacraque mæsta Deorum
Arte carent, cæsisque extant informia truncis.' (*Lucan*).

'They likewise concluded that they offered up sacrifices according to their own manner, and a little exaggeration, and a knowledge of the existence of the practice in Gaul, made those sacrifices consist of human victims. An inhabitant of China, who knew nothing of the English language or customs, visiting our churches in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eight, and seeing there the multitude of images of the Saints, would have reported us as the worshippers of many gods, and if he went to Smithfield in the reign of his daughter Mary, when the faggot blazed, and the priest attended with exulting joy, while his victim writhed with agony, he would have told his countrymen that the English were accustomed to offer up human sacrifices.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

"The religion of the Druids, though loaded, as we have just seen, by some Pagan and many Christian authors, who have followed them with a multitude of gods, as Taranis, Teutates, Hesus, and a swarm of Runic and Sclavonian deities, being in fact too abstracted and metaphysical for the comprehension of Polytheists was, notwithstanding the doctrine of the metempsychosis, well calculated for the reception of the tenets of Christianity: accordingly we find them received in Britain at a very early period,[1] Capgrave, Alford, Cressy, Lewis and others assert that it was planted by Joseph of Arimathea and his companions at Glastonbury, about the year of Christ 63; but Stillingfleet[2] combats this position with much learning and labour and endeavours to prove that the gospel was first preached here by Saint Paul. Again, according to the Welsh Triads, the Christian religion was introduced into this island by Branfendiged, or Brennus the blessed, who became a hostage at Rome for his son Caractacus, which must have been about the year of our Lord 52. Be this as it may, it certainly did not gain ground until the latter end of the second century, (circa 172), when Eleutherius, the twelfth bishop of Rome sent two holy men, named Elvanus and Medwinus, or as others say, Faganus and Damianus or Deruvianus, for the conversion, and, as it is asserted, at the desire of Lucius, king of Britain, whom the Welsh call Llês ap Coel. This king, Usher in his *Primordia* says, was known by name of Lever mawr, which he translates "magni splendoris;" but it must be observed, that, making all due allowances for mispelling, there is no word in the Welsh like Lever, importing light, unless it be Lloer, the moon, who has been generally represented as a female. Perhaps it may be Llês Llafar mawr, or Lucius of the mighty word, i.e. verbum Dei. About this period, the Christian faith, which certainly until then had made no considerable progress, began to flourish and from thence-forward became the religion of the greatest part of the island, until some time afterwards, when the irruption of the Saxons into Britain introduced their Pagan mythology. In 314 we find three British bishops summoned to, and meeting the council at Arles. In little more than two centuries subsequent

[1] See Appendix for notes extracted from the *Liber Llandavensis* dealing with this subject.

[2] Stillingfleet in his *Origines Sacræ* charges Jeffrey of Monmouth as the father of this tale about Joseph of Arimathea. It may be so, but in an English translation of his history, published in 1702 or 1703, there is not one word on the subject; on the contrary, it is there said that Lucius and his people were the first who embraced Christianity here. In the time of Edw. 3 (A.D. 1344), a license was issued to John Bloune of London to go to Glastonbury to dig for the body of Joseph of Arimathea, according to a divine revelation he had had upon the subject (*Rymer's Fœd.* vol. 5). Unfortunately we do not hear what success he met with.

to the reign of this king Lucius, the Britains were infected with the heresy of Pelagius or Morgan, a native of this country; for the suppression of which, Germanus and Lupus (two bishops) were sent from Rome. (*Circa* 449). Having been successful in their mission, in order to perpetuate the orthodox faith, they consecrated bishops, who established schools and seminaries of theology from whence issued those primitive ministers and propagators of the gospel, who with so much laudable diligence and zeal, communicated to their countrymen the admirable precepts of their Divine Master.

DUBRICIUS AND ILTUTUS.

"Among the disciples of Germanus and Lupus were Dubricius and Iltutus, or Dyfrig and Illtid, two holy and learned men, who afterwards advanced the cause, and propagated the gospel of Christ far and wide, but principally among the inhabitants of South Wales. Dubricius was consecrated archbishop of Caerleon, according to Matthew of Westminster, of Landaff as others, but there is much confusion and uncertainty with respect to him and his successors; he was appointed about the year 490, says Stillingfleet, by Teiliaus, or Teilaw, who was succeeded by Oudoceus, after whom came St. David, who removed the see to Mynyw or Menevia in Pembrokeshire, much to the dissatisfaction of some of the successors of Dubricius, so that there was afterwards a schism or division between them and a protestation was entered against it before Calixtus the Second, in 1116. St. David was maternally of Brecknockshire origin, being the son of Melari, daughter of Brychan Prince of Brecknock; by some he is made the successor of Dubricius, we believe incorrectly, as he is placed by Brown Willis, in his *History of the See of St. David's*, in the see in the year 577; previous to this the inhabitants of Brecknockshire were much indebted to Iltutus for his labours among them: he established a seminary or school of theology at Llantwit or Llanilltid in Glamorganshire, and we have several places in this county which were dedicated, or at least preserve the memory of his name; one of them tradition reports to have been his occasional residence. At this period, and for some centuries afterwards, the cathedral was the *parish* church of the whole diocese, and the whole district or province over which the bishop presided, was called y plwyf, as y plwyf Dewi, y plwyf Teilaw, the parish of St. David's, the parish of St. Teilaw or Landaff, indeed at this moment the Welsh have no name for a *diocese*, although they have one for a bishoprick. The extent of this parish or jurisdiction, accounts for the merit afterwards allowed to those who made a pilgrimage to St. David's, and a pilgrimage it most certainly was to the inhabitants of the county of Brecon, who lived at such a distance from it; consequently they were not only under great obligations to Iltutus for his personal exertions in preaching the gospel among them, but for establishing his school, from whence came many pious and learned persons who trod in his footsteps, and displayed the truths of Christianity among the then almost savage natives. At this time, we are told by Matthew of Westminster, the English metropolitans of London and York, whose names were Theonius and Thadiocus, with several of their clergy, were obliged to take refuge in Wales, from the oppression of the Saxons, who burnt their churches, and prosecuted their persons; some of these prelates and ministers no doubt contributed their assistance and labours towards the conversion and instruction of the inhabitants of South Wales, though their names are now forgotten.

THE MONKS OF BANGOR.

"Until this period, and indeed until the massacre of the monks of Bangor by the *instigation of Austin*, as it is said, though we hope untruly, the British church preserved its independence of the see of Rome, with which they had a dispute about the time of celebrating Easter: Taliesin denounces the judgments of Heaven against the clergy, who did not oppose the oppressions and extortions of that church:

"Gwae'r offeiriad byd
Ni's augreifftia gwyd
Ag ni phregetha:
Gwae ni cheidw ei gael,
Ag ef yn fugail
Ag nis areilia;
Gwae ni cheidw ei ddefaid
Rhag bleiddiaid Rhufeiniaid
Ai ffon gnwppa.

Woe to the worldly priest
Who will not reprove vice
And will not preach:
Woe to him who looks not to his flock,
Though he calls himself their shepherd
And yet watches them not.
Woe to him who protects not his sheep
From the wolves of Rome
With *his* crooked staff.

"When the British clergy were murdered *en masse*, as they were at Bangor, and oppressed by the prevailing influence of the Roman monks and missionaries, assisted by the power of the Saxons and afterwards of the Normans, they became as abject as they were before spirited and resolute, and from the time of the latter, we see them obeying with implicit submission whomsoever their conquerors choose to put over them, and mixing with uncomplaining insignificancy in the disregarded and unvalued herd. Giraldus Cambrensis, from motives which may as well not be too minutely inquired into, formed an exception to this position, and boldly stood forth the champion of the see

of St. David's, soon after its metropolitical jurisdiction had been surrendered to Canterbury by a foreigner, whose duty it was to have protected and preserved its rank and privileges.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

"Gerald, the Welshman, was born at Manerbier in Pembrokeshire, about the middle of the twelfth century; the exact date of his birth cannot be ascertained. By the mother's side he was descended from the princes of South Wales, and paternally from Gerald, the ancestor of the Leinster family. English genealogists are fully satisfied with tracing the Geraldines up to Gerard or Gerald Fitzwalter, third son of Walter Fitz-other in the time of Henry the First, while our Arwydd-feirdd, or heraldic bards, in their accustomed manner, follow them upwards for seven or eight generations before that period, as far back as Zuria Lopez the Fair, first lord of Biscay. One of his descendants, they say, of the name of Gerald Dias Lopez, being expelled by his bastard brother Inigo, went to Florence, where the family settled for a short time. Other, the third in descent from the last named, Lopez, lived in Normandy; his son Walter came over into England with the Conqueror, and had issue, among others, Gerald, Castellan of Windsor and Seneschal of Pembroke, whose wife was Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of South Wales, by whom he had a daughter Angharad, who married William de Barri, the father of Giraldus Cambrensis. He was the youngest of four brothers, and though he acknowledges that when very young he was of too playful a disposition, yet at an early age he showed so strong an attachment to religion that his father used to call him his little bishop: in this turn of thinking he was encouraged and confirmed by his uncle, David Fitzgerald, Bishop of St. David's. After long application to study and three years' residence in Paris (then the principal seminary of learning in Europe), he was, upon his return into England, fixed upon by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, to preach up the payment of tythes to his countrymen, who it seems were at that time very remiss in their duty to the Church in this respect, and he had also authority to reform such other abuses as he might observe in his progress through the see of St. David's. He lost not a moment in executing his commission, and upon his entrance into Brecknockshire, finding that an old man of the name of Jordan, who was archdeacon of that district, publicly kept a concubine (as was too often the case amongst the clergy of those days), he at first remonstrated with him and admonished him in the name of the archbishop of Canterbury to turn his mistress out of doors: this request appeared so unreasonable as well as impertinent to the hoary-headed debauchee (for such he was, if Gerald is believed), that he defied and abused both the archbishop and his commissary; he was however soon made to feel the force of ecclesiastical power. Gerald instantly suspended him and deprived him of his preferments and benefices, and the primate was so pleased with his spirit, that when he made the report to him of his proceedings, in which (without doubt) he did not forget to inform his Grace of the foul language used by the old clergyman towards his metropolitan, that he prevailed upon the bishop of St. David's to bestow the vacant archdeaconry upon *him*, reserving for his predecessor a small pension, *in order to keep him quiet.*

HIS ITINERARY THROUGH WALES.

"This transaction does not leave the commissary's character entirely free from suspicion; it is impossible to avoid observing that he tells his own story to the archbishop, and (as the event turned out) it should seem, with a view to his own benefit. The business of the hush-money also proves that all was not as it should be; but be this as it may, and however he may have acquired his dignity, he certainly conducted himself, when in possession of it, with great courage as well as vigilance and became a zealous defender of the rights of the archdeaconry. Four years after his collation, he was again selected by Baldwyn, successor to Richard in the see of Canterbury, to accompany him through Wales, and assist him in preaching up the Crusades, in which, according to his account, they met with very great success. It was in this progress he wrote his *Itinerary*; a work that contains much valuable information, and though it is plentifully sprinkled and interspersed with marvels, miracles, and pious legends, yet the style of the priest and the historian as well as traveller differs so much, that we instantly discover when the conjuring cap is going to be put on; so that there is no danger of the characters being confounded or mistaken.

MEETS BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH AT KERRY.

"To the activity and courage of Gerald, the diocese of St. David's and archdeaconry of Brecon are probably indebted for the greatest part of Radnorshire and the two parishes of Kerry and Moughtreff in Montgomeryshire, which in his time were claimed by the bishop of Saint Asaph as part of his see, and who to support his pretensions, called upon the inhabitants of Powys and Cedewin to assist him in taking possession of the church of Kerry by force, if he could not obtain it otherwise. Gerald had just returned to Brecknock, or rather to his house at Llanddew near that town, from a journey to the borders of North Wales, when he was informed of the bishop's intentions, and though

he was not recovered from the fatigue of his former excursion, and his friends and dependents fearing the power of the prelate, endeavoured to dissuade him from meeting him, he resolved without hesitation to prevent his intrusion into the district committed to his care; he therefore crossed the Wye without delay, summoned the clergy of Radnorshire to meet him at Kerry, and not choosing to rely entirely upon his own arguments, or even the justice of his cause, while he apprehended a resistance by force, or an opposition by numbers, he prevailed upon Einion Glyd and Cadwallon, two of the reguli of the country, to furnish him with a body of horse to defend the rights of the see of St. David's, if necessary. Thus assisted, he entered the church of Kerry, before the bishop's arrival, tolled the bells and said mass there. When he was informed of the prelate's approach, he prohibited him from setting his foot upon the threshold of the house of God, unless he came there peaceably and as a friend; upon this, the bishop offered to produce and show him an ancient book to prove that not only this church, but all others between Wye and Severn, were within the diocese of St. Asaph. 'You may write what you please (says Gerald) in your own book, but I know it has belonged to St. David's these last three hundred years, and by the grace of God, I'll preserve it to that see, while I have breath.' 'I'll excommunicate you,' says the prelate. 'If you do (quoth the archdeacon) I'll also excommunicate you.' 'But you cannot (says the other), you are only an archdeacon, and I am a bishop.' 'If you are a bishop (says Gerald) you are not my bishop, and have no more right to pass sentence upon me than I have upon you.' Hereupon the bishop alighted from his horse, and in order that his anathema might have greater weight and solemnity, he put on his mitre, grasped his crosier and approached (followed by a crowd of his attendants), but the archdeacon, who knew the man's disposition, that he was a quarrelsome prating fellow and rash and precipitate in his measures, ordered the Radnorshire clergy, who attended in pursuance of his summons, to accompany him arrayed in white robes and surplices and other sacerdotal vestments, carrying the cross and lighted tapers as in a procession.

"'Hollo! (says the bishop) what are ye at now?' 'Only preparing (says Gerald) if you should be rash enough to excommunicate us, to excommunicate you at the same instant of time.' 'Well then (says the prelate) on account of the friendship we had for you when we studied together at Paris, we will be merciful to you and not excommunicate you by your respective names; but we hereby excommunicate all those who seek to deprive the see of St. Asaph of her rights.' 'And we (says Gerald in a still louder voice) hereby excommunicate all those who wish to deprive the see of Saint David's of her rights,' and then looking up at the bells which hung at a little distance behind him, he ordered them to be *clammed*[1] three times (a sound, it seems, peculiarly disagreeable to Welsh ears); this he meant as a confirmation of his sentence, and to disgrace his adversary, and it seems it produced that effect, for the bishop instantly mounted his horse and quitted *the field of altercation*, followed by the mob, who had collected together to see the issue of this dispute, and who according to their usual custom made a great noise, hooted, and threw sticks, stones, and turf after him.

"In his retreat, he called upon Cadwallon, perhaps the same who had furnished his adversary with assistance, and who was therefore anxious to hear how the business at Kerry had ended. This chieftain immediately interrogated the prelate on the subject, who endeavoured to evade further inquiry by assuring him that he really did not think himself safe in the company of that confounded archdeacon: but that he did not choose to take any steps to his prejudice, because they had been formerly companions and fellow students. His opponent, not satisfied with defeating him, determined to be himself the herald of his victory; he followed him to the court of Cadwallon, where instead of reviving the dispute or upbraiding the bishop upon the injustice of his attempt, he entirely altered his conduct, and as he was now in the diocese of Saint Asaph, he professed the most implicit deference and obedience to the diocesan's commands, profferred him with a provoking civility, the choicest viands and begged that as they were formerly companions in France, when they were poor men and in private life, they might again become good neighbours and friends. The bishop hesitated, yet after some consideration he thought it most prudent to receive his presents and in order to conclude the business with seeming good humour, he sent to assure the archdeacon that he did not love him the less in consequence of what had passed, but rather esteemed him the more for defending so stoutly the rights of his Church.

"This quarrel betwixt the men of God occasioned much mirth and loud laughter in the English court, where it was reported by the conqueror himself, preceded by an observation, which at the same time that it displayed his arrogance, came with a very bad grace from him. He told the English courtiers that as the laity of Wales were well known to be thieves of their neighbours'

[1] "Clamming" is a campanological phrase for making the bells all strike at once.

property, so their bishops were habituated to steal churches. He was now a great favourite with Henry the Second, but he was soon doomed to feel the weight of this monarch's resentment.

ELECTED BISHOP OF ST. DAVIDS.

"The chapter of St. David's were so much pleased with his successful resistance to the attempted encroachment upon the diocese, that they elected him their bishop upon the death of Peter, theretofore prior of Wenlock. Upon this occasion the great and enlightened Plantagenet was actuated by a narrow and illiberal policy, or influenced by an impulse of passion which disgraces his memory; he was so hurt at the election being made without his consent, that though he admired Giraldus for his learning and abilities, he from this moment determined to persecute him, a resolution in which he persevered with unrelenting animosity during the remainder of his life, though he had a little while previous to this publicly declared that he would have promoted Giraldus to the highest ecclesiastical dignity in his kingdom, *if he had not been a Welshman* and a descendant of Rhys ap Tewdwr. From henceforth then, we find this intrepid son of the church, combating the power of the King of England and the archbishop of Canterbury, at the risk of his life and the sacrifice of nearly the whole of his property, in his endeavours to restore the see of St. David's to its archiepiscopal dignity: in this arduous contest we see him unsubdued by power, unawed by menaces and uncorrupted by money (although all these means and temptations were employed), steadily persevering in the cause he had espoused, and though unsuccessful, yet with spirit unbroken.

"As an instance of his magnanimity in adversity, and his contempt of the perils which surrounded him, it is related of him that, when he was travelling through the almost impervious wilds of Ystradtowy, and over the mountains of Cantreff bychan in his road to England, he was met by a messenger from his dean at Brecon, who informed him that all his lands there, as well as at Llanddew, and all other lands belonging to the bishoprick which he held during the vacancy of the see, were seized by the officers and ministers of *William de Breos* for the use of the Crown. At Llywel in Breconshire, another messenger met him and confirmed the tale, adding also that his own private property had been levied by a mandate from the King's justiciary: the archdeacon unmoved by this unpleasant intelligence, pursued his journey, and when the dean himself, with pallid looks and in trembling accents, related to him his misfortunes, at the distance of about two miles from Llanddew, in the road between Trallong and Aberescir, exaggerating the injuries he had received, and the danger he was exposed to, and at the same time entreating that he would return to Saint David's, as the part of the diocese most distant from his enemies, he jocularly called out to him: 'What! have we no good ale left in my house at Llanddew?' Finding (as we must presume he did, though the answer is not given in the publication mentioned in the margin) that that was safe, he proceeded, 'Well, then, let's go and drink it, that it may not fall into the hands of those Norman plunderers.' So saying, he pursued his journey, entered his house and settled his affairs there with the same coolness and deliberation as in the plenitude of his power; but perceiving that his struggles against the King and the primate would be ineffectual in an English court or before English prelates, he appealed to Rome (the only resort then left to him), where he appeared without loss of time, though not without much difficulty, to support in person the validity of his election and the dignity of his see. Here he presents us with a shocking scene of corruption and depravity. The Pontiff appears to have amused him from day to day, sometimes cajoling and addressing him by the name of bishop, at other times condemning his adversaries in costs, because he knew they could best afford to pay them, and after he had squeezed all he could out of both sides, he sent them home equally disappointed, declaring the election of Giraldus, as well as that of the court candidate for the bishoprick of St. David's void; leaving undecided the question as to the rank of the see of St. David's, and without confirming the right of the metropolitan of Canterbury, who was in firm expectation of having it established by dint of corruption and the influence of the English monarch.

WELSH PRINCES PETITION TO THE POPE.

"In the prosecution of this business, the princes of North and South Wales, commissioned their countrymen to present a petition to the Pope on behalf of the British Church, which, as it states in language as pathetic as we fear it was true, the oppressions and injuries it suffered in those days, we cannot refrain from inserting: 'To the right reverend father and lord Innocent, by the grace of God chief pontiff. Llewelyn prince of North Wales, Gwenwynwyn and Madoc princes of Powys, Griffith and Maelgwn, Rhys and Meredith sons of Rhys prince of South Wales, *send* health and due obedience in all things; be it known to your fatherly goodness, what hardships and danger of the loss of souls the church of Wales hath sustained since by royal violence, and not by the authority of the apostolic see, it became subject to the power of England and to the metropolitan of Canterbury. First then, the archbishops of Canterbury, as a matter of course with them, send us English bishops ignorant of

the manners and language of our country, and who can neither preach the word of God to the people, nor receive their confessions, but through the medium of interpreters; they do not appoint them after a canonical election, but rather force them upon us by intrusion and violence; or if they sometimes have recourse to the ceremony of an election, it is not done openly, but secretly and privately; calling our clergy into England, and compelling them in the King's chambers there to elect whomsoever they choose, however vile or abject. Besides, these bishops, thus sent us from England (as they neither love us or our country, but rather prosecute and persecute us with an innate and rooted hatred) seek not the welfare of souls; their ambition is to rule over, not to benefit us, for which reason they seldom exercise the duties of their pastoral office among us, but everything which they can lay their hands upon or get from us, whether by right or wrong means, they carry into England, and waste and consume the whole of the profits obtained from us in the abbies and lands given them by the King of England, and there like the Parthians who let fly their arrows as they fled and at a great distance, they excommunicate us as often as they are ordered to do so. The lands and possessions bestowed by the devout bounty of our ancestors upon the cathedrals of Wales, as they love not our country, they sell, give away and alienate to the clergy as well as the laity. *We* therefore on our parts, as we see the lands of the church thus liable to be given away and torn from it, have *ourselves* taken away some part of the property of the church and now hold it; from whence it comes to pass that the cathedral churches of Wales are brought into extreme poverty and misery, which if they had been blessed with good and pious prelates would have been noble and rich. Add to this, that as often as the English make incursions into our land, immediately the archbishop of Canterbury proceeds to lay our whole country under an interdict, and involves us individually, as well as our people in general, who only fight for our country and in defence of our liberty, under a sentence of excommunication, and compels those very bishops to pronounce it, whom he created and sent among us, and who are always *very ready* to obey him on these occasions. Hence it happens that as often as we enter into war for the defence of our country against a nation of enemies, whoever falls in the battle on our side, falls under sentence of excommunication: against these and many other hardships, which the canons of Saint David's, with Gerald the archdeacon, their bishop elect (a venerable discreet man) will explain to you more fully by word of mouth, we seek with tears and groans from your holiness (to whom the government of the universal church belongs) effectual remedies, intreating, and with one voice supplicating, that you would relieve your children, thus miserably oppressed during the time of the three last bishops of St. David's by the English church, in consequence of its illegal subjection to the see of Canterbury; for before the time of these three bishops, the church of St. David's was the seat of the primate of all Wales, and only subject of old times, as a metropolitan to the mother church of Rome; therefore if you will condescend to look with an eye of pity upon us, whatever services are in our power, either in persons or properties, shall always be at the command of the blessed apostle Peter, and we will always readily and willingly undertake them, and so we bid your fatherhood (thus dear to us) farewell in the Lord!' This petition had no further effect upon his paternal holiness than to enable him to squeeze a few more pounds out of the pockets of the English party, who were alarmed at the probability of its success. Thus far, Giraldus Cambrensis: little remains of importance after this time to be noticed.

ENDOWMENTS OF BRECONSHIRE CHURCHES.

"It is impossible to ascertain precisely the times when the churches in Brecknockshire were erected, nor do any of their endowments, one of Hay only excepted, remain; the whole, or at least the greatest part of their documents were carried away by the monks to the continent upon the reformation. In the register books of the diocese of St. David's, the dates of presentations to benefices begin only in the year 1398, since which time they are tolerably regular. Most of our churches from their style of architecture, appear to have been built subsequent to the Norman Conquest—one of the earliest, if not the most ancient structure of this kind, we are inclined to think was Llanddewi (St. David's), now called Llanddew,[1] two miles north-east of Brecon, where the archdeacon of this district formerly resided; this seems to have been so named from the cathedral church, to which it was, what would now be called a chapel of ease. Near the site of the present church was formerly a castellated mansion, where the Bishops of St. David's resided; it is still (1800) the property of the diocesan of that see, and from its situation in the eastern extremity of his jurisdiction, it was well calculated for the convenience of the prelate, when he visited this district, or in his journey to and from England, and here Giraldus Cambrensis says, Baldwyn archbishop of

[1] Llanddewi means St. David's church or churchyard; Ty Ddewi, by which St. David's Cathedral is known is St. David's house. Some persons have erroneously supposed this parish church to mean the church of God;—but it is not customary to dedicate a church to the first person in the Trinity, and to this it may be added that if it was intended to be called God's church it would have been written Llandduw, and not Llanddew.

Canterbury, slept a night in his progress through South Wales in the time of Henry the Second. The other churches in the county (St. John the Evangelist only excepted which was repaired, but, we rather think, not built by Bernard Newmarch) were erected by the followers and dependants of our Norman conqueror, and the lords marchers who succeeded him; sometimes out of pious motives, but more frequently as a compensation for murder, robbery and other crimes, and until the Reformation these plunderers, being possessed of the greater part of the county, presented to most of the livings: to several of them certainly with great justice, to some of them because they thought themselves sufficiently strong and powerful to do so, until that strength and that power made their heads giddy, when they quarrelled with the Crown, which, when more powerful than themselves, though that was not always the case, tumbled them from the pinnacle of their grandeur and reduced them into subjects. Upon the Reformation, here, as in most other places, the revenues which the ill judged piety of individuals had conferred upon the church were seized by the Crown; so that to the bishop of the see, the only proper patron of church preferment, out of fifty-two benefices in this county, only seven were left, the whole incomes of which did not amount to the twentieth part of those in the presentation of the king or of individuals, or even to the value of two of the most lucrative in lay patronage.

THE CHURCH DURING THE TIME OF CHARLES AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

"Upon the breaking out of the civil wars in the time of Charles the First, the greatest part of this country was of the established religion, though there were a few families near Crickhowel and on the borders of Monmouthshire who were of the Roman Catholic persuasion; in the southern and western sides of the county, there were also a few Presbyterians, and among them was a character who made a distinguished figure in support of the Commonwealth, who will be noticed hereafter.

"It appears by a pamphlet,[1] published some short time before the restoration, that, in March 1651 a petition was presented to Parliament on behalf of the inhabitants of the six counties in South Wales and the county of Monmouth, by Colonel Edward Freeman, a barrister, at that time attorney general to the Commonwealth for South Wales, in which the petitioners acknowledge the constant care of Parliament in providing for the supply of their spiritual necessities and the advancement of the gospel of Christ, and particularly in passing the Act of the 22nd of February, 1649, entitled, 'An Act for the propagation of the gospel in Wales,' so well intended and so much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants of Wales, but the petitioners humbly begged leave to state that since the passing of this Act most of the ministers of South Wales and of the county of Monmouth, were ejected from their benefices and that few or none of the said respective counties were supplied with a competent number of able teachers to officiate in the room of the ousted ministers; neither had there been provided a sufficient number of godly schools for the education of children and the advancement of learning, as was the intention of Parliament, and the purport of the Act, there not being above four or five itinerant preachers in some of the counties, which consisted of one hundred and twenty parishes, and the least of them contained fifty parishes, many whereof had more than two thousand souls. That some persons deriving authority from the said Act had, for the two years then last past, received and disposed of the profits of the tythes of church livings and other benefices and impropriations sequestered within the said six counties of South Wales and the county of Monmouth, which were annually worth £20,000 or thereabouts, out of which little had been converted towards the propagation of the gospel or even accounted for by them to the state. That, for want of a due execution of the said Act, the petitioners together with the inhabitants endured a famine of the Word of God, children were not brought up in the instruction and information of the Lord, the vast revenues of the ousted ministers were set out at an extraordinary undervalue, the churches were in most places shut up and the fabrics thereof ready to fall to the ground for want of repair, so that the inhabitants were unable to take notice of the acts, edicts, and proclamations of Parliament, wherein the public welfare, the liberty and safety of their persons and estates were concerned, for want of a sufficient number of teachers in each county to publish the same. The petitioners therefore out of their duty to God, the preservation of the souls of the inhabitants of their country, the Commonwealth's interest, and the earnest desire that the pious intention of the Parliament, as expressed in the Act, might be carried into effect, held themselves bound in conscience, 'out of a christian and soule saving necessitie' to present the premises for the Parliament's consideration, earnestly intreating them in pursuance of their wonted zeal and unfeigned attention to God's glory and the increase of true religion, learning and piety, to take such course for the future supply of the respective counties, with such convenient number of godly, able teachers, and for provision of schools and nurseries of learning and religion there, and that those who had received the profits of

[1] "Petition of the Six Counties of Wales," etc.

tythes, livings and other ecclesiastical benefices might account for the same at such time, manner and place, as to the Parliament should seem meet. Colonel Freeman, when he presented this petition to the house, assured them that it was not presented with an intention of bringing in 'any *scandalous and ejected ministers*, as was suggested by some, but out of a soul saving necessity,' and after going on for some time in this strain, he concluded, 'as we ayme at the glory of God and the public good, so let God blesse us and give a gracious issue to our humble desires.'

EDMUND JONES, OF BUCKLAND, ATTORNEY GENERAL.

"Upon the tenth of March, 1651, after this petition had been read, the Parliament resolved, that it be referred to the committee for plundered ministers to examine this business and to state matters of fact, and report their opinions thereon to the Parliament, with power to the same committee to send for persons, papers and witnesses, and secondly that the same committee should have power to examine on oath and to authorize such commissioners in the country as they should think fit, to examine witnesses upon oath, touching any of the matters contained in the petition, and to return their petitions to the said committee. The petition being to be taken into consideration on the sixteenth of March, Major General Harrison, who was one of the most active of the *propagators of the gospel in Wales*, and who was supposed to be deeply implicated in the charges made by this petition, objected to it, as being too general, and under various pretences, prevailed upon the Parliament to postpone the hearing of it until the latter end of the summer in 1652; in the meantime Colonel Freeman being thought too active in the business, was twice arrested, once while he was attending his duty as a barrister at the Great Sessions at Presteigne, and confined for a considerable time. He was also soon afterwards removed from his office of attorney general for South Wales, and Mr. Edmund Jones of Buckland, whom the petitioners call *a compounded delinquent*, appointed in his room. Mr. John Gunter of Trevecca, solicitor for the petitioners, showing also too earnest an anxiety for their interests, was for the same reason imprisoned, though both were afterwards released, yet without any satisfaction for the injuries they received.

BRECONSHIRE PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.

"In 1653 the Parliament was dissolved, which put an end to this petition. A fresh one was presented, soon after the meeting of the new Parliament in which, after recapitulating their former grievances, they proceed to state further particulars, and among other things, that in the county of Brecon one might ride twenty miles on Sunday without finding a church door open; that upwards of fifty of them were at that time not supplied with ministers; that in the parishes of Llanvihangel-nant-brân, Llandilo'r fân, Trallong and the College of Brecon, where there was formerly a lecture once a fortnight, and in many other churches, the Word of God had not been taught for the then last two years; that in the town of Brecon, being one of the chiefest corporations and one of the most populous towns in South Wales, and in the towns of Crickhowel, Hay, and Builth, being all market towns, there had not been any one constant able teacher or minister for two years; that the persons named and intrusted for approvers[1] by the said Act of February, 1649, lived at a very remote distance from one another, some in North Wales, some in South Wales, and one of them in London, who were itinerant preachers and whose residence therefore was uncertain and unsettled; that they seldom met to encourage others to offer themselves to serve the cures instead of the ejected ministers, though the commissioners for dispossessing them turned them out by five or twelve at a time, and very seldom heard appeals; that the schoolmaster at the college in Brecon, of the name of Phillip Williams, was not of competent learning for his station; that his usher Hugh Powel, though a man of learning, was a Papist; that in this county no less than one doctor in divinity, three bachelors in divinity, eighteen masters of arts and ten graduates, were ejected, and only four ministers and three schoolmasters were allowed to hold their livings or places, and that the tythes seized here by Colonel Harrison, Colonel Phillip Jones, Colonel Jenkin Jones, Sir John Trevor knight, Henry Herbert esquire, William Herbert, William Parker, William Bleddin, Christopher Catchmayd and the other commismissioners named in the Act, amounted to two thousand five hundred pounds per annum.

LETTERS FROM THREE BRECONSHIRE CLERGYMEN.

It does not appear from this pamphlet what success attended this second petition; probably the arts and the influence of Major-General Harrison and his associates prevailed, until the Restoration, and the clergy of the old established religion (on whose behalf it was certainly presented, though they endeavoured to conceal that fact from the Parliament) were obliged to submit to the reigning powers, though not without some struggles, as will be seen from the following letters (soon after

[1] These were persons appointed under this act for the propagation of the gospel, upon the abolition of episcopacy, to examine persons applying for holy orders or a licence to preach; if approved, a certificate was granted under the hands of one or more of them, which completed the ceremony of puritanical ordination.

Cromwell had assumed the Protectorship) from the Reverend Thomas Lewis rector of Llanvigan, Thomas Powel rector of Cantreff, and Griffith Hattley vicar of Aberescir, to Colonel Jenkin Jones of Llanddetty, the partizan of the Commonwealth, and afterwards of the usurper until he showed a disposition to obtain the crown, when it is said he expressed himself in terms of indignation and detestation of his conduct.

Mr. Jones,

We desire to be resolved by you, whether the ejected ministers of this country, who have been silenced and suspended now this long time *ab officio et beneficio*, may at last have the door of utterance opened and be permitted to preach the gospel freely, among those that do much want it, and do as earnestly call for it as the parched earth after the dew and rain of Heaven. The reason why we put this businesse to the question is, because about the last spring, some of our fellow ministers taking the boldness to preach the word of God, (were some of them) sent prisoners to Chepstow garrison, others pulled out of the pulpit, and all the rest were threatened to have the same measure metted to them, if they would make the same attempts, and therefore we desire to know, whether we are under the same restraint still or are at liberty; wee doubt not but you can resolve us herein as well as any other in this county, and we hope you will be pleased to satisfie our civil request herein and vouchsafe a line of answer, which you may direct to either of the subscribers.

Who are, Sir, Your friends as far as you are a friend to Christ and his ways,

THOMAS LEWIS,
THOMAS POWEL,
GRIFFITH HATTLEY.

February 6, 1653.

To which Mr Jones returned the following answer:

Gentlemen,

Your letter, dated February 6, 1653, I received the first of March, and in answer to what you propose therein I shall only put you in minde that you are (more) than like to be in the same condition with those in the last spring, and tell you that you are to expect the same measure from the present power, [See the Government or the articles signed by the lord Protector] whose connivance you seem (at least) to fancy to yourselves, as your brethren had the last spring from the (then) powers, and also that you need not pretend being pressed as from pitty to water the parched earth, there being more sermons (now) preached in one month than were formerly in twelve months, and with very much (though I dare not say) a greater blessing. Consider the restraint fearing spirit that is in you.

Your Friend and Servant

JENKIN JONES.

March 2d, 1653.

This letter produced a spirited reply from the three clergymen:

Mr. Jones,

Wee thank you for your letter, wherein you have fully resolved us what wee must expect, if we preach the gospell in this poor countrey, nothing but bonds and imprisonment (if you divine aright) abide us; if wee be silent and doe not preach, we are reproached and if we doe preach we are menaced: a hard dilemma; Sir! notwithstanding your paines in preaching, *which is much abated of what it was since you caught the fish which you looked for*; here are many dry and thirsty souls in this country, that are very seldom refreshed with the dewe of heavenly doctrine, and for want thereof doe daily relapse to popery, and that in no small number; we could name twenty parish churches in this county, in many whereof, there have not been above two sermons this twelve months, and in most of them none at all; yet the inhabitants pay their tythes still as formerly. Their complaints have filled the ears of men long since, and have no doubt before this ascended to the ears of the Lord of Sabboth; we shall therefore in compassion to these souls adventure to bestow our paines upon them, and put ourselves upon the candour and clemency of our present governour, from whom we do expect (and doubt not to find) better measures than you forebode us, or than our fellow ministers received (last spring) when other powers swayed; to wit your own. That there are more sermons preached now in a month than were formerly in twelve will hardly find credit with any one that knows this country, and is such a story as men will admire to have proceeded from your pen; since that we do not know of above two itinerant preachers resident in the countrey, and one of those two hardly worth the name of a preacher; whereas there was formerly a preaching minister almost in every parish, some impropriations except, and most of them graduated in the universities, and able and painfull men in their callings. Consider better of that passage of your letter, and consider what spirit *you* are of, for the spirit of God is a spirit of truth, *nec mendax nec mordax*.

Your loving friends,

THOMAS LEWIS,
THOMAS POWEL,
GRIFFITH HATTLEY.

For this steadiness in the cause of the Established Church and for the loyalty he showed to his king, Charles the Second, for once, condescended to be grateful, and recommended Mr Thomas Powel (one of the above clergymen) to the chapter of Bristol, soon after the Restoration, as a proper person to fill the episcopal chair of that see; but he died before consecration. The other two outlived the troubles and were restored to their benefices.

To form an estimate of the religion of Breconshire in 1800, it may be said that two parts out of three of the inhabitants called themselves of the Established Church, the other third Anabaptists, (a sect which at that period rapidly increased), Methodists, Presbyterians, and Independents; of the two latter, the Presbyterians were the most numerous. But in this calculation of the numbers of the Church of England we include a sect who may (if it be not a solecism) be called no religionists; persons who, when it is necessary to make a profession of their faith, say, they are of the Protestant Established Church, but who, in fact, never attend the worship of the Church or, indeed, any other place of worship; it is much to be lamented that this sect (if we may so call those who are neither *gregarious* or *systematic*) are yet increasing very fast, particularly in towns; some are corrupted by superficial writers and superficial thinkers; these constitute the majority of this description; others

again are led into this error from indolence and thoughtlessness; both are equally mischievous to the community, independent of the doctrines of rewards and punishment in a future state: it is with sorrow we observe, that this example of inattention (to call it by no worse name) is most frequently seen among those of superior stations in life; in which however they will find, they are followed closely, by those below them, down to the dapper tradesman and his spruce apprentice and shopman; a consequence which naturally follows, and which sooner or later, in proportion as the evil increases with more or less rapidity, must terminate in infinite mischief to the peace and happiness of society."

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY OF BRECKNOCK.

Of the introduction of Christianity into Wales little is known. In all probability the earliest missionaries reached this island from Gaul, the Church finding its earliest home amid Roman settlers and in Roman stations. How and when the Roman-British Church passed over to the British population there is no evidence to show.

The word Llan is derived from the Latin planum, an enclosure. It is the most ordinary commencement of Welsh parochial names; it suggests the formation of parishes at some date subsequent to the Roman occupation, when corrupted Latin words had been incorporated with the Welsh language. The distribution of the word may also indicate the extent of country over which the Welsh language prevailed at the date of the formation of the parishes. In every Welsh county, except Flint, *Llan* is a common prefix; in Flint it occurs only twice, and that on the Welsh side of the county. In Monmouth there are 53 parishes thus named; in the south of Hereford there are seven instances, and in Salop four. These counties, though forming no part of Wales, all abut upon the Principality; in no other part of England is there any instance of the word being used.

Deducting from the parish the syllable *Llan*, the remainder represents the name of the saint who was the first parochial priest, the founder of the Church. Thus, where a parish bears the name of a Welsh saint, it may be considered as dating from before the Norman Conquest. The names of parishes in Brecknock are frequently derived from the immediate descendants of Brychan, and preceded the foundation of the See of St. David's, the saint himself being, on the female side, a grandson of Brychan. The story of Brychan, already given, is thought by some to indicate an incursion of Irish missionaries. There seems no reason to depart from the traditional narrative.

A second origin of parish names represents the Bishopric to which the parish was affiliated. Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (the grey bard of Brecknock), writing in the latter part of the 12th century, mentions twenty churches "owned" by St. David ("Dewi the Great of Menevia"). Amongst them in Brecknock—

> Llanfaes, a lofty place, shall not suffer by war,
> Nor the church of Llywell from any hostile band;
> Garthbrengu, the hill of Dewi, void of disgrace,
> And Trallwng Cynfyn by the dales.

In the case of a divided parish, the later church may retain the name of the mother church with some descriptive addition—Llandefaelog tre'r graig (St. Mailog on the rock); Llandewi'r Cwm (the Church of St. David in the valley). Where many churches are named after the same Bishopric such a distinction is very necessary. Many of these Bishop-named parishes may have been so-called at a date when the boundaries of the Sees of Llandaff and St. David's were in dispute, to establish, if possible, the ownership of the parish. Thus a district west of Brecon is styled in *Liber Llandavensis* Llangurnact, though by the boundaries given we are enabled to identify it with the present parish of Llandeilo'r fan (the Church of Teilo on the Brân). The churches of St. Michael (the fighting archangel), popular amongst the Welsh, are generally—next to the Welsh saints—the earliest dedications; sometimes, as in the case of St. Michael Cwmdu, they can be shown to have preceded the coming of the Normans. Their number, again, necessitates some further local description: Llanfihangel Cwmdu (the Archangel of the Black Valley); Llanfihangel Tal y llyn (St. Michael at the Lake head).

The Normans, in church dedication, used saint names from the Roman calendar: St. John, of the Priory, Brecon; St. Mary, both at Brecon and Hay; Llanfair (Church of Mary) at Builth; and St. John, at Tretower; in each case the church being situated close to a Norman castle, or in the town which nestles under its walls. In the case of St. Edmund of Crickhowell the consecrating bishop selected a saint whose name corresponded with his own, and thus preserved his fame to a date when his contemporaries are well nigh forgotten.

BRECONSHIRE PARISHES AS GIVEN IN THE "LIBER LLANDAVENSIS."

A more certain method of fixing the date of Welsh parishes is their mention in ancient authorities. The *Liber Llandavensis* bears date A.D. 1132. The early gift to the Church by Welsh princes, as claimed in the book, may sometimes be open to doubt, but it is certain that the parishes must have

been in existence at the date when the book was written, and for so long a time before as to make the statement contained in it impossible of contradiction. The evidence of the antiquity of various parishes is the written form of dedication which, in the cases of Crickhowell and Hay, fixes the exact date, and describes minutely the circumstances under which the parish was formed. Lastly we have a list of incumbents of the various parishes preserved in the archives of St. David's, dating in many cases from the 14th and early part of the 15th centuries. Armed with these authorities, let us consider the early parochial Christianity of Brycheiniog, Builth, and Ystradyw, which three districts constitute the modern county of Brecknock.

To Vaynor, a date of A.D. 874 is ascribed by the late Rev J. E. Jenkins, its rector for many years, who wrote a book on the parish. The first known incumbent was in A.D. 1400. Neither this parish, nor Penderyn, nor Ystradgunlais, are mentioned in Pope Nicholas's Taxation A.D. 1280. Of Penderyn and Ystradgunlais, the first known incumbent was inducted about 1490, and we have been unable to trace any earlier history. Ystradfellte was formerly reckoned a chapelry of Defynock, and it seems not unlikely that that parish may have originally extended to the southern boundary of the present county.

Defynock (Ty Cynog), the house of Cynog. The eldest son of Cynog, who, being illegitimate, and therefore unable to succeed to his father's honours, seems to have become the missionary priest of a district having its centre at Defynock, and including the neighbouring parishes. It is mentioned in the *Taxatio*. The name indicates a pre-Norman origin, perhaps of the sixth century. Merthyr Cynog, the site of the martyrdom of Cynog, is probably part of the district of Cynog, named obviously after his death. It is mentioned in the *Taxatio*, and must therefore have had a separate existence before the year A.D. 1288.

Llanfihangel Nant Bran and Llandeilo'r Fan have been consolidated and seem to have formed part of Merthyr Cynog. Llandeilo'r-fan is mentioned in the *Liber Llandavensis* under the name of Llangwrnaet, recognised by the boundaries as already mentioned, and is there stated to have been "restored to God by Awst King of Brecknock." This gives a date A.D. 566, which may indicate the time of formation of both these parishes. The name Llandeilo may have been given at a time when the dioceses of St. David's and Llandaff (Teilo) contested the supremacy of the district. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions the church as burned in warfare about the year 1200 A.D.

Llywel takes its name from a saint, the companion of St. Teilo about A.D. 512. It is mentioned in the *Taxatio*. Giraldus writes of the church being burned in warfare about A.D. 1100; its list of clergy commences in 1403. It is probably a primeval parish. Traianglas is modern; it was made an ecclesiastical district in the year 1890, and the church was built by subscription at the same date.

Of Trallong, the first known incumbent was about 1497. It is mentioned by Gwynfardd writing in the 12th century. Llanspyddid is mentioned in the *Taxatio*. The tithes of the parish were given by Milo Fitzwalter to the Monks of Malvern. Milo died in 1143. This carries Llanspyddid back to the early part of the 12th century; the church being dedicated to St. Cattwg, a Welsh saint, may indicate a pre-Norman foundation. Penpont, also called Bettws Penpont, was a chapelry of Llanspyddid; it was elevated into a parish in the year 1889.

Cantref, the Hundred Houses, is not mentioned in the *Taxatio*. Its list of incumbents commences in A.D. 1400, prior to which there is no information. Llanfrynach, commemorating Fernach, one of the companions of Brychan, and Llanfeigan, named after Mengant, said to be a saint of the Fourth Century, are both mentioned in the *Taxatio*; their names indicate a Welsh or pre-Norman origin.

Llanthetty, named from St, Tetta, a saint of the 8th Century, fixes the earliest date of this parish. It is mentioned in the *Taxatio*.

Of the parishes within the town of Brecon, Llanfaes, dedicated to St. David, is probably of native origin. It is mentioned by the Grey Bard in a line which breathes defiance against the Normans, and it occurs in the *Taxatio*. The dedication of the Priory to St. John indicates its Norman origin. It was built by Bernard Newmarch towards the end of the Eleventh Century. St. Mary's, Brecon, is said to have been erected about a hundred years after the Priory; in the *Taxatio* the parishes occur at Brechon. Battle being a chapelry of the Priory is not mentioned either in the *Taxatio* or in the *Valor* of King Henry VIII. The earliest recorded incumbent is in A.D. 1624.

Llandefailog (the Church of Maelog, a saint of the Sixth Century). The church is mentioned in the *Taxatio*, and may date from the days of the saint from which it takes its name.

Aberyscir, some think, is mentioned in the *Taxatio* under the name of St. Kenes; the present appellation gives no hint of its antiquity. In the Diocesan Register it occurs as early as 1490.

Of Garthbrengy, Gwynfardd sings, "Garthbrengu, Hill of David, void of disgrace." This is earlier than the *Taxatio*. The list of incumbents commences in 1254. It is probably of pre-Norman origin.

Talachddu has a list of incumbents commencing A.D. 1400, the earliest date to which the parish can be traced.

Llanddew was the residence of Giraldus Cambrensis in 1188. The name Dewi gives no further indication of antiquity; and the date of its foundation is lost in the shadow of antiquity.

Llanhamlach is mentioned in the *Taxatio* 1288.

Llansaintfraed has its first recorded incumbent in 1569, beyond which date its history cannot be carried.

Llangorse, with its valuable fishery, was early sought by the Church. Its dedication is given in the *Liber Llandavensis* as about A.D. 566. It is probably the earliest church in the immediate neighbourhood.

Cathedine (Land of the Bondman) was the property of Gurgan, then a political prisoner. This would give a date at the end of the 11th Century. The list of incumbents carries us as far back as A.D. 1400.

Llangasty Tal-y-llyn (the Church of Gastayn, at the lake head). Though the name seems to indicate a dedication in the time of Brychan, Llangasty is not mentioned in the *Taxatio*, the first incumbent mentioned being in 1605.

Llanfihangel Talyllyn is also unmentioned in the *Taxatio*. The first recorded incumbent being in A.D. 1486.

The Register of Llanywern (the Church in the Marsh) commences in 1653. The dates on an old monument carry its history back a few years further to 1615.

Talgarth, dedicated to Gwen, daughter of Brychan; the parish may be of ancient Welsh foundation. There are records of the Parish in the Diocesan Register as early as 1152. Portions of the present church were erected in the 13th Century.

Llanelieu is dedicated to a Welsh saint. It is not, however, mentioned in the *Taxatio*, 1288. The first recorded incumbent bears date 1410.

Glasbury is mentioned in the *Taxatio*, and as its chapelry Aberllynfi is separately mentioned, the mother parish may be of much earlier foundation.

Llanigon, named after Eigen, a daughter of Cradoc ap Bran, is a pre-Norman parish, out of which was carved, about 1115—1135, the parish of Hay.

Hay is of Norman foundation, the church being probably erected to serve the needs of the Norman Castle and the town which sprang up under its walls.

Bronllys; its dedication to St. Mary, instead of to a Welsh saint, indicates its Norman origin. Bronllys Castle was erected in 1080, and the parish may have been formed shortly afterwards.

Llanfilo, dedicated to St. Milburg, a saint of the 7th Century, and mentioned in the *Taxatio*, is probably a pre-Norman foundation.

Llandefailog Tre'r Graig is a chapelry of Llanfilo.

Llyswen, representing the district formerly called Llan-coed, A.D. 560, ascribed by the *Liber Llandavensis* as the date of its dedication.

Llandefalle, dedicated to the same saint as Llandefailog, is mentioned in the *Taxatio*, and is probably an ancient Welsh parish.

In the Builth district, Llangammarch, dedicated, it is said, to Cammarch, grandson of Brychan, is the only church "owned" by that family north of the Eppynt Mountains. It is named in the *Taxatio*, and is probably of ancient Welsh foundation. From this parish were separated its curacies, which have been elevated into parishes.

Llandewi Abergwessin, separated from Llangammarch by Order in Council in 1860.

Llanfihangel Abergwessin. These two chapelries were united by Order of Council in 1865.

Llanwrtyd was separated from Llangammarch in 1870.

Llandulas, or Tyr yr Abad (Land of the Abbot), given by Rhys ap Gruffyd to the Abbot of Strata Florida about A.D. 1164; which fact accounts for the name, and probably fixes the date of foundation.

Llanwrthwl, dedicated to a saint called Mwrthwl and by Rees Gwrthwl, of whom nothing is known save that he owns a church in Carmarthenshire. There is some reason for thinking that Llanwrthwl is of more ancient foundation than Llanavan, because Llanlleonfel, lying south of Llanavan, is a chapelry of Llanwrthwl instead of to Llanafan, to which geographically it would belong.

Llysdinam, in the north of Llanavan, is a modern parish joined with Newbridge, and a church built within the borders of Radnor in A.D. 1882.

Llanavan Vawr, founded by Afan, son of Cedig ap Ceredig by Tegwedd, daughter of Tegid Foel of Penllyn, and therefore uterine brother of St. Teilo. This would make Llanafan a foundation of the Sixth Century. Its most distant dependency is Alltmawr. Similar reason to that which has been applied to Llanwrthwl and Llanlleonfel would indicate that Llanafan, more recent than Llanwrthwl, is of earlier date than the parishes intervening between the mother parish and Alltmawr. Llanafan is mentioned in the *Taxatio*.

Round Llanafan are grouped its curacies of Llanvechan and of Llanfihangel Bryn Pabuan, neither of which occur in the *Taxatio* or *Valor*.

Llanganten, dedicated to Cannen or Canten, a grandson of Brychan. It is mentioned in the *Taxatio*, and has a date probably of the Sixth Century, certainly previous to 1288.

Llanynis and Maesmynis, the Church of the Island, and Mountain Field, are coupled together in the *Taxatio*; the names give no clue, but they are dedicated to St. David, which leads us to attribute to them a date earlier than the Normans; possibly they may have been founded by the Saint himself.

Llandewi yr Cwm, (St. David in the Vale), adjoins the preceding parishes, and may have originally formed one district with them, as the dedication is the same; it is mentioned in the *Taxatio* in connection with—

Llanfair in Builth (the Church of St. Mary in Builth). St. Mary, being a saint of the Roman Calendar, indicates a Norman origin. The first mention of Builth Castle being in 1209, we may perhaps ascribe to the parish of Llanfair a similar date.

Llangynog, a mountain parish dedicated to St. Cynog, though in the Hundred of Builth, may be the northern extremity of the Cynog group lying west of Brecon. There is nothing but the name to guide a historian; it is not mentioned in the *Taxatio* or the later *Valor*.

Gwenddwr, to whom dedicated is unknown, but the church is now described as "the Church of Saint Dubricius." The first incumbent is given as in 1571.

Crickadarn is stated to be dedicated to St. Mary, but upon what authority is not known. It was not mentioned in Pope Nicholas's *Taxatio*.

The last remaining section of the county is the Hundred of Crickhowell. Here the dates of the parishes can be given with greater certainty.

Llangynidr is a primeval parish, dedicated to Cynidr, grandson of Brychan; he was probably its first pastor. It is mentioned in the *Taxatio*, and the list of clergy commences in 1397.

Beaufort, a modern town of ironworkers, was separated from Llangynidr, and elevated into a parish in the year 1846.

Llangattock, dedicated to St. Cattwg, grandson of Brychan, is of the same date as Llangynidr; it was a large parish including Crickhowell, Llangenny, Llanelly, and Brynmawr.

Llanelly, dedicated to Ellyned, grand-daughter of Brychan, formed part of Llangattock, the rector appointing a curate until in 1851 it was elevated into a separate parish.

Brynmawr, a town of mineral workers, dating from the early part of the 19th Century, was in 1875 elevated into an Ecclesiastical parish, carved from the ancient parishes of Llangattock and Llanelly, together with a small portion of the parishes of Aberystruth, formerly in the county of Monmouth.

Llangenny, the abode of Cenau, daughter of Brychan, who is said to have been buried here by her nephews Cattwg and Cynidr; has always formed part of the parish of Llangattock. The same argument used to trace the comparative antiquity of Llanavan and the neighbouring parish would hold good here, and we are able to fortify it with the facts surrounding the carving out of Crickhowell.

Crickhowell is a Norman foundation, being carved out of Llangattock in 1303 by the Patron, Lady Sibyl Pauncefoote. The dedication deed is still in existence, and the facts beyond dispute. The church is dedicated to St. Edmund, not a Welsh saint, which, in itself, would tend to prove the origin of the parish, were better evidence not forthcoming.

Cwmdu, Llanbedr, Llancetwin (doubtfully Llangenny) and Patricio, are stated by the *Liber Llandarensis* to have been dedicated by Bishop Herewald. The correctness of the book quoted is sometimes regarded with suspicion, but in this case it is confirmed by the inscription on the ancient font at Patricio, which fixes the date as about 1060.

Tretower, a chapelry formerly attached to the Norman Castle, the dedication of which to St. John further attests its Norman origin; has recently had a district attached to it, within the limits of which stands the Church of Penmyarth, with a consecrated graveyard, the private burying place of the family of Glanusk. It was erected by the late Sir Joseph Bailey, Bart., in 1852.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LIBER LLANDAVENSIS.

The *Liber Llandavensis*, or Register Book of the Cathedral of Llandaff, called also Llyfr Teilo, (the Book of Teilo), after one of the most eminent of its prelates, is said to have been compiled by Gatfrid, a brother of Urban the last Bishop mentioned therein. Urban died A.D. 1133, and the date of the last document quoted in the book is 1132, which may be taken as the date of the manuscript, the death of Urban being recorded.

Many of the grants recorded were made to St. Dubricius and St. Teilo when they were Archbishops, and exercised their jurisdiction over the greater part of South Wales, which included the Diocese of St. David as well as that of Llandaff. St. Teilo having succeeded St. David as Archbishop, on his death obtained in addition to his jurisdiction over the Diocese of Llandaff, which he held as its Bishop, also that over St. David's. He having removed the Archiepiscopal See to Llandaff, the members of that Church were disposed to consider a portion of the Diocese of St. David's, which was in his jurisdiction when it extended over the two Dioceses, as included in the Diocese of Llandaff, and to claim it accordingly. Claims to this effect seem to have been made by divers Bishops of Llandaff. Bishop Urban preferred his complaint to the Papal See. The *Liber Llandavensis*, compiled by his brother, may be presumed to have been written in support of Urban's claim.

Part of what afterwards became the county of Brecknock, viz., the districts of Builth and Crickhowell and perhaps a portion of the Upper Usk Valley, was included in the territory claimed for Llandaff. The dates of the formation of some of our parishes can be inferred from entries in the book. The antiquity of many place names is demonstrated, with other matters of interest to the County of Brecknock. This information is here given as nearly as possible in the words of the *Liber Llandavensis*.

CONVERSION OF WALES TO CHRISTIANITY AND FOUNDATION OF LLANDAFF.

In the year of our Lord 156, Lucius King of the Britons (Lcurwg ap Coel) sent Ambassadors, Elfan and Medwg, to Eleutherius, who was the twelfth Pope of the Apostolic See, imploring that he might be made a Christian. To which request the Pope acceded. The Ambassadors were baptised; Elfan was ordained a Bishop and Medwg a doctor. On their return to Britain, Lucius and the nobles of all Britain received baptism. The Pelagian heresy having afterwards arisen, St. Germanus and Lupus were by the clergy of Gaul sent to Britain. They consecrated, amongst other Bishops, the eminent doctor St. Dubricius over the Britains of the Southern part. He was afterwards elected by the King [Meurig] and the whole district to be Archbishop. The Episcopal See was founded [*circa* A.D. 427] in the district of Llandaff with these boundaries. From Hen-riw-gunna to Rhiw-ffynon, and from Cynlais (a river in the S.W. corner of Brecknock) to the sea, the whole district between the Taff and the Ely (rivers in Brecknock and Glamorgan) with their fish and wears for fisheries (and many other rights and duties). The Diocese to have five hundred Wards, the bay of Severn, Ergyng and Anergyng (Archenfield or Inchenfield, S.W. of the Wye in Herefordshire), from Mochros on the Wye (Moccas in Herefordshire—Moch-rhos, pigs moor) to the Island of Terthi (probably the Barry Island). Mochros, on the banks of the Wye, where Dubricius first dwelt, was by grant of King Meurig given to the Church of Llandaff for ever.

Dubricius migrated to the Lord 612, and was succeeded in the Bishopric of Llandaff by his pupil Teilo. The Holy Church which had been dispersed for a long time was exalted by the coming of Teilo, to whom came those who had been disciples of St. Dubricius, namely Gurmalt Llywel and many others. [Gwrmalt was patron saint of a church called in a grant to the Bishopric of Llandaff, Llan-gurnact: its situation corresponds with Llandilo'r fân, Brecknockshire. Llywel was the saint of Llywel, a church in the western part of Brecknock.]

Oudoceus, the nephew of St. Teilo, succeeded him at Llandaff, being consecrated at Canterbury. For some time he held in peace the whole diocese from Mochros to the island Teithi, until King Cadwgan, by the instigation of the Devil, wounded one of the clergy. Thus a spark of mischief arising, the King was desirous to expel the holy man from his country beyond the Towy. From that time the diocese remained divided into two kingdoms, that of Meurig on one side and of Cadwgan on

the other. After a time Cadwgan repented of what he had done and restored the lands to the church of Llandaff. In his time the Saxons plundered the diocese from Mochros as far as the river Dore and as far as Gurmwy [the river Worm in Herefordshire] and to the mouth of Taratyr at the river Wye [Taratyr is supposed to be a brook dividing Holm Lacy from Dinedor, entering the Wye about five miles below Hereford. By this the diocese seems to have lost territory in Herefordshire.] Afterwards this is its division (? boundary). From the estuary of the Tywi (Towy) to the influx of Piscotue into Tywi (five miles west of Llanwrtyd), from the Piscotue to the three alders of Buell [Builth], from the three alders of Buell upwards along the Castell Teirtut [a boundary which we fail to identify), that is Cantref Bychan, Cantrel Selyff, and Buell. From Castell Teirtut upwards along to Doulwyn Helig, from Doulwyn Helig to the source of the Uyse [Usk], to the Black Mountain, along the Black Mountain to the source of the Twrch [which river forms the western boundary of Brecknock]; along the Twrch downwards to the Tawy, along the Tawy to the Cynlais to its source; from the source of the Cynlais to Allungwernen; from Allungwernen to the source of the Powrdin [which rivulet forms part of the southern boundary of Brecknock]; from the source of the Pewrdin to where it falls into the Ned. The Ned upwards to the Mellton [Mellte], along the Mellton upwards to the Hepstue [Hepste]; the Hepston upwards to the Gwyragon, the Gwyragon to its source from its source to Gauanhawc, from Gauanhawc to Deri Emreis, from Deri Emreis to Ceein Clysty, along Ceinin Clysty to the source of Fruit y guidon, along it to the Taf mawr [the river Taff], the Taf mawr downwards to Cymmar, from Cymmar upwards along Taf Bechan [the lesser Taff], along Taf Bechan to Rhyd y Cambren, from Rhyd y Cambren to Hal du, from Hal du to the long Comyn to the brook Crafnant [now the Crawnon in Llangynidr], along the Crafnant to the Crafnel [Carfenell] until it falls into the Uyse. Through the Uyse to City [? Chilston], to Allt Lwyd [now the Allt] above Bychlit [Buckland], to Ceeynypynmarch to Guomoyd, to Rhyd nant, to Dinmarchythan, to Olygabr, to Bron Cater [the Gader mountain] upwards to the source of Gwerinon [Grwyne fawr], to the top of Bwch y Vyneul [Bwlch y Fingal, a pass at the head of the Llanthony valley], to the Brydell, to the Hal Ruma, to Maeny Bardd [on N.W. slope of the Black Mountains], in the spring of Nant y bardd [rising on Cusop Hill, Herefordshire]. Thence the boundary followed Nant y bardd to the Dowr to the influx of the Worm, thence to Cair rein, to the Taratyr, to the Wye, and down the Wye, to the Severn.

It is scarcely possible to identify all the places named in the boundary claimed by Llandaff. The district in dispute included the Builth Valley and that of Crickhowell; the valley of Brecheiniog was excluded.

GRANTS TO CHURCHES IN THE COUNTY OF BRECKNOCK.

Llan cors [Llangorse]. Know all Christians that Awst King of Brecknock and his sons Eliud and Rhiwallon have given Llancors to Bishop Oudoceus and all his successors in the church of Llandaff, with its fish and its fishery for eels, and with all its territory in the form of an endowment for ever [Circa A.D. 566].

Awst and his sons also restored to God and St. Teilo and all the Bishops of Llandaff in perpetual succession, Llangwmal [Llandeilo'r tân neighbourhood] which formerly belonged to Dubricius. Its boundary is the source of the Ethrin [? modern Eithrin], along it to the ridge of Carn Erchan, from Carn Echan to the old road, along the road to the gate of the hurdle door, along the ridge to the source of the brook Dincant, along the brook to where it falls into the Cilieni, along Cilieni downwards as far as the influx of Nant Iren, along it as far as the Knoll of Hisberun, along the ridge of the mountain to the shaft of the cross of Gwerion, downwards by the three boundaries to the brook Cenon, along the brook Cenon as far as Cilieni to the influx of Post du, along the Post du to the Clontac, along Clontac to its source, to the swamp, across the mountain upwards to Fryn buccilid [the shepherd's hill], along the hill to the source of the Ethrin where it began.

The boundaries are quoted here at length because it is the brook Cilieni and other streams named which enables us to identify the districts alluded to. The gift of this district to the church of Teilo probably affords the reason for the more modern name of Llandeilo.

Llancoit (doubtfully Llangoed, no local names of identification being given).—King Iddon knowing himself to be of perishable nature, and mindful of his evil deeds, became obedient to the commands of God. Therefore on a certain day, when he was among his princes, he said I sacrifice to God, St. Teilo, and to the present Bishop Arwystyl and all his successors in the church of Llandaff, Llann Coit with three uncias of land. [Arwystyl was a disciple of St. Dubricius; he was a bishop in the latter part of the reign of King Iddon, and was probably stationed in the north of Brecknock, *circa* A.D. 570.]

Llanfihangel Tref Cerian in Brecknock.—Tewdwr son of Rhun, and Elgystel son of Awst King of Brecknock, swore by the most holy things, and in the presence of Bishop Gwrwan and his clergy,

that neither should plot against the other, and that if one should deal treacherously with the other, he should quietly give up his inheritance and go abroad. After these things the devil caused King Tewdwr to kill Elgystyl, which coming to the hearing of Bishop Gwrwan he excommunicated the murderer. King Tewdwr seeing that he could not endure the malediction sought pardon with a penitent heart, and the yoke of penance of suitable degree being placed upon him he was allowed to remain in his kingdom on his making amends for the crime by almsgiving, prayer, and fasting. On such remission King Tewdwr granted to God and Gwrwan and to his successors in the church of Llandaff, Llanfihangel Tref Cerian. Its boundary is from the highway which is on the south by the thorn bush, from thence as far as the brook Rhiangoll which is on the north, then along the brook towards the east, as far as the fountain Cenian, afterwards from the fountain Cenian along the dry valley which leads upwards to the aforesaid highway which is on the south.

The parish Tref Cerian is identified with Cwmdu by the brook Rhiangoll, still bearing the same name, which flows through the parish. On the south of Cwmdu parish, adjoining Crickhowell, is still a little wood called "Drain," the thorn bush.

Gwrwan, bishop, was probably stationed at Ystradyw, the vale of Crickhowell. This parish was again granted to Llandaff by Tewdwr son of Eliued King of Brecknock (*circa* A.D. 872) in penance for having sent off the bishop from the monastery of Llancorffs and having taken away from him his banquet by force and violence.

In the year 1022 Joseph was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff by the Metropolitan at Canterbury.

Rhydduch son of Jestin King of All Wales, a pacific and mild man, granted to Llandaff and to Joseph, its bishop, all former rights. And the Church of Llandaff had possession of all the undermentioned, in quiet and tranquil peace in the time when Rhydduch was King of All Wales [of thirty lordships by name in Carmarthen and Pembroke also], in Brecknock Llangurvaet mainawr [Llandeilo'r fân) in Cantref Selim [Selyf], Llangoed in Cantref Talacharn [Talgarth], Llangors, Llanfihangel meibion gratlawn [supposed to be Cwmdu], Llan y ddewdeg Seint [adjoining Llangorse], also in Elfael [now part of Radnor], Llanfeilig, and Llowes, with Llandeilo y Cilian in the valley of the Bachawg [now Llandeilo graban].

When King William conquered England, Bishop Herwald held the bishopric of the Church of Llandaff from the mouth of the Wye to the river Towy. King Caradoc reigned in Ystradyw [Crickhowell], Gwent Uchcoed, and Gwynllwg, and Rhydderch in Ewyas and Gwent Iscoed, which beforenamed kings were subject to King William and died in his time. Whose aforesaid territories, with the district of Ergyng, Bishop Herwald held in episcopal subjection.

In Ystradyw [Crickhowell] Herwald consecrated the Church of St. Michael (Cwmdu) and the Church of Laun Cetguin and Llann Petyr (Llanbedr) and Merthyr Issui (Patri-icio) and committed the churches to Madweith, which churches Herwald held in episcopal subjection in the time of King William and Earl William and Walter de Lacy. [An inscription on the ancient font of Patricio fixes the date with great accuracy. Lann Cetguin may perhaps have been Llangenny, as that chapelry adjoins the parishes named.] Bishop Herwald died 1104. Urban, archdeacon, was consecrated Bishop in 1108. He rebuilt the Cathedral and endeavoured to recover territory of which he thought the see of Llandaff had been deprived. On his fourth journey to Rome on the business he died abroad in 1133.

REQUISITION OF BISHOP URBAN TO POPE CALIXTUS II.

"From the time of the ancient fathers, as the cheirograph of our patron St. Teilo does testify, the Church [of Llandaff] was always the mistress of all other churches in Wales, until at length through seditions and many injuries from wars, and my predecessor Herwald having become aged, it began to decline, and to be annihilated by the cruelty of the natives and the invasion of the Normans. And the church is not only impoverished by having its territories taken from it, but also by being deprived of its tithes by the robbery of the laity and of the monks, and by the great invasion of the diocese by our brethren the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's. Now I beseech you that you will, as far as you are able, succour our church . . . . ."

The case was heard A.D. 1119 at the Council of Rheims. Pope Calixtus II. replied by favourable bulls addressed to the Bishop Urban, King Henry I., and to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He also addressed certain local men of standing—Walter third son of Richard Fitzgilbert, who had licence from King Henry I. to enjoy "what he could conquer" in Wales; Bernard de Newmarch who, acting on a similar permission, had won of Brecknock three cantrefs out of four; and others: "The complaint of your mother the Church of Llandaff has come to us, because it is plundered of its property by you, and reduced to almost nothing, wherefore we have sent these letters to you commanding that you restore without delay the lands and other property which you have wickedly taken

away from the said church. For it is unjust that sons should tear their mother in pieces and steal the property of her whom they ought particularly to defend and assist with their own substance.—Given at Soissons Oct. 16, 1119."

Pope Calixtus II. died Dec. 13, 1124. He was succeeded by Honorius II. before whom the suit was continued. Bulls on the subject were addressed to Bishop Urban, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the King. The following to the clergy and laity of Ergyng is sufficient to show the state of affairs: "Honorius to the clergy and laity resident throughout the parishes of Ergyng Ystradyw (Crickhowell), Gower, Kidwelly, and Cantref Bychan, health and apostolic benediction. Our brother Urban bishop of Llandaff invited Bernard bishop of St. David's and Richard bishop of Hereford, that they should answer respecting the aforesaid churches, but *they neither came nor sent persons to answer for them.* We have therefore fixed the middle of next Lent that then each party being present may obtain what the reason of justice will dictate. Given at the Lateran April 12, 1128."

Dated a week later (19 April, 1128) is a bull from Pope Honorius to Milo of Gloucester and other noble persons throughout the diocese of Llandaff. The Pope again writes that they have offended in robbing the church, and adds "What is infamous when ye come to the thresholds of the saints ye blush not to rob and molest and on the market days take away the property of those who are coming or returning and kill some of them in a cruel manner."

On April 4, 1129, Honorius wrote further to Bishop Urban stating again that the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's had failed to appear before him: "Thou, however, Brother Urban in the appointed term didst present thyself in our sight ready with witnesses, two of whom swore that this portion respecting which the lawsuit had been instituted, that is Gower (in Glamorgan), Kidwelly, Cantrebychan (in Carmarthen), Ystradyw (Crickhowell), and Ergyng was contained within the bounds of the diocese of Llandaff, that is between the rivers Towy and Wye, we therefore have determined that the aforesaid districts shall be held and possessed by thee and successors for ever."

An accompanying order, bearing date the following day, adds: "If any ecclesiastical or secular person act rashly against the instrument and being admonished two or three times will not make amends, may be deprived of the dignity of his power and honour, and being guilty know that he is subject to divine judgement, and be estranged from the most sacred body and blood of God, and in the last judgement be condemned to severe punishment." This is most strongly worded, even for a Pope. Milo of Gloucester, son of Walter, Constable of England, to whom the letter was addressed, had married Sybil, daughter of Bernard Newmarch, and had succeeded to the Lordship of Brecknock in right of his wife.

A.D. 1128, Urban, bishop of Llandaff, went to Rome, due notice having been given to the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's. His complaint having been heard by the Pope Honorius, he returned seized of the districts of Gower, Kidwelly, Cantrebychan, and Ergyng (Ystradyw not mentioned). In the following year (1129), being summoned by Honorius, Urban again went to Rome at mid Lent, with his charters and ancient documents, when the five districts in dispute were adjudged to him.

On the 27th April, 1129, Honorius again wrote to Urban: "After thy departure from us Bernard, bishop of St. David's, came to our presence with letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and from the King, in which was contained the dispute formerly agitated between thee and his predecessor, respecting diocesan boundaries. He represented that it had been decided, and produced witnesses. Accordingly we were very much surprized, and that we should know the truth more fully we have appointed the next feast of St. Luke, in the year to come, to be the term between thee and the aforesaid Bishop Bernard."

Honorius II. died February 14, 1130, and was succeeded by Innocent II. Bull of Innocent II. to Bernard, Bishop of St. David's: "Our venerable brother Urban Bishop of Llandaff came twice with great fatigue to the Apostolic See. And afterwards he was summoned by our predecessor that on the next Festival of St. Luke he should come to the Apostolic See to answer thee respecting the diocesan boundaries, but as he by letters signified that he was weighed down by sickness, old age, and poverty, and asserted that he was not able to come, we have granted him an indulgence for not coming to Rome for three years" (1130).

On the 11th May, 1131, the Pope again wrote to Bishop Urban, "that on the next Festival of St. Luke thou shalt, setting everything aside, appear before us to answer our Brother, Bishop Bernard."

The Pope afterwards summoned the Bishops to Rheims: "It is better that the dispute shall be settled in the Council at Rheims without much fatigue than at Rome with great labour and expense."

The Bishop of Llandaff was, however, detained by illness, and the Pope referred the matter to England to be decided by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and Rouen (21st December, 1131).

DEATH OF URBAN, BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

"Innocent, Bishop, Servant of God, to our Venerable Brother Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, health and Apostolic benediction; as we have commanded thee by other writings, so to thy fraternity . . . . . ." The sentence was never finished, possibly Galfred heard of the death of his brother Urban, troubled himself no further about the matter, but set down his pen at once.

Bishop Godwin informs us that the mandates of the Popes respecting the restoration of the districts of Llandaff were not obeyed in consequence of the death of Bishop Urban, who died in his way to Rome, on the prosecution of the business in the year 1133.

Thenceforward Ystradyw was united civilly with the centre of Brecknock, and shared the ecclesiastical fortunes of that district. It thus became an undoubted part of the Diocese of St. David's, whatever it may have been before.

THE TAXATIO OF ST. NICHOLAS.

In the year 1288 Pope Nicholas the Fourth granted the tenths (of the emoluments of the Church) to King Edward the First, for six years, towards defraying the expense of an expedition to the Holy Land, and that they might be collected to their full value, the Taxatio or Assessment basis, was began in that year and finished as to the Province of Canterbury in 1291. It is the earliest list of the parishes then in existence, and furnishes a true test of antiquity. The following is an extract from the Records in the British Museum so far as refers to the county of Brecknock.—

DEANERY OF BRECON.

Parish as recorded.	*Modern name.*	*Annual Value.* £	*s.*	*d.*
Haya	Hay	14	0	0
Llaneygan	Llanigon	10	0	0
Glasbur	Glasbury	20	0	0
Aberleveney	Aberllynfi	4	6	8
Talgarth	Talgarth	18	0	0
Mara	Llangorse	8	0	0
Brentles	Bronllys	13	6	8
Landevathlin	Llandefalle	13	6	8
Llanvilieu	Llanfillo	13	6	8
Stratden	Cwmdu	20	0	0
Lanpetr	Llanbedr	16	3	4
Lancadoc	Llangattock	16	0	0
Llandetten	Llanthetty	4	6	8
Sco. Mengano	Llanfigan	5	6	8
Sco. Kened	? Aberyscir	5	6	8
Devenac	Defynock	17	6	8
Lanbernach	Llanfrynach	4	6	8
Luel	Llywell	14	0	0
Meithir	Merthyr Cynog	30	0	0
Fractai	? Talachddu	5	6	8
Lande Vayloc	Llandefaelog fach	8	0	0
Lanmaes	Llanfaes	12	0	0
Landon	Llanddew	8	0	0
Lanhamelagh	Llanhamlach	4	6	8
Brechon	Brecon	20	0	0
Landespetit	Llanspyddid	6	0	0
Eglus cyll	Llangynidr	4	6	8
Karpngy	Garthbrengy	3	6	8
DEANERY OF BUELLT.				
Llanavan	Llanavan fawr	13	6	8
Langamaith	Llangammarch	13	6	8
Llanuchul	Llanwrthwl	5	6	8
Maesmences & Lan	Maesmynis & Llanynis	5	0	0
Landewy com and Lanveyr	Llandewi'cum and Llanfair	8	0	0
Languanten	Llanganten	4	6	8
PRIORY.				
Of Brecon		25	19	4

The above list may not be complete. There may have been chapelries, or even parishes that may have escaped notice. Of all those enumerated it can, however, be stated with certainty that they are all at least as early as the 13th century.

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