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Cymmrodor

The Magazine

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion

FOR 1890—1.

EDITED BY

EGERTON PHILLIMORE.

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PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

BY

GILBERT & RIVINGTON,

Limited,

ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, LONDON, E.C.

1892.

THE Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

President.

The Most Hon. The MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

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NOTICE.

All Editorial Communications, Books for Review, &c., should be addressed (till further notice) to the Editor of the Society's Publications, EGERTON PHILLIMORE, Esq., at 14, Worcester Place, Oxford.

* * * An Index to Vol. XI. of "Y Cymmrodor" will be issued under cover of one of the numbers of Vol. XII.

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Cymmrodor

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Society of Cymmrodorion

FOR 1890—91.

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VOL. XI.

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R E P O R T
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,
For the Year 1889—1890.

THE Council deeply regret that their first duty this year is to announce to the Members a long list of losses by death.

The Rev. John Davies, M.A., an early and devoted friend of the Society, and one of the hardest-working Members of its Council for eleven years past, ended a long and honourable life in the month of September last.

Mr. Alexander Ellis, LL.D., F.R.S., one of the Honorary Members of the Society, passed away in the month of October at a still riper age, having just completed a monumental life-work.

All Welshmen will have learned with sorrow of the early death of the talented and genial *Eisteddfodwr*, the Rev. Glanffrwd Thomas, which took place a few months ago.

One of our earliest supporters has been lost to us in the person of Mr. Charles H. James, formerly well known as M.P. for Merthyr Tydfil.

In Mr. J. A. Corbett, of Cardiff, we lose, indeed, a younger Member, but one whose literary talent and anti-

quarian skill had made him eminent in the Society's chosen fields of study.

Mr. Henry Davies, of Cheltenham, who had been a Member of the Society since the year 1874, and was a Member of the Second Cymmrodorion Society early in the present century, died in March last. In pursuance of his wishes, his daughter has presented to the Society the whole of his Welsh books and books relating to Wales. The thanks of the Society are due for this generous gift.

Forty-five new Members have been added to the Society in the course of the past year.

The Lords Bishop of St. Asaph and Bangor have been appointed by the Council, Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The Council are pleased to say that Mr. Phillimore has resumed the duties of the Editorship of the Society's publications, having been formally re-appointed by the Council in January last.

Mr. J. A. Bradney, of Tal y Coed, has been appointed a Corresponding Member for Monmouthshire.

The following Meetings have been held during the year :—

In London :—

- On December 18th, 1889, the late Mr. J. A. Corbett in the Chair.—
Mr. Frederic Seebohm read a Paper on "The Celtic Open Field System."
.. January 8th, 1890, Professor Rhÿs in the Chair.—Mr. Joseph Jacobs read a Paper on "James Howell and the *Familiar Letters*."
.. January 29th, 1890, Mr. Stephen Evans in the Chair.—Professor Dobbie read a Paper on "Scientific Farming as applied to Wales."
.. February 26th, 1890, Dr. Isambard Owen in the Chair.—The Rev. E. T. Davies, M.A., read a Paper entitled "A Study in Early British Christianity."

- On March 12th, 1890, Mr. Edward Owen in the Chair.—Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., read a Paper on “The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Wales.”
- „ April 12th, 1890, the Rev. Robert Gwynne, M.A., in the Chair.—Mr. J. E. Lloyd, M.A., read a Paper on “Welsh Place-Names.”
- „ April 23rd, 1890, Mr. Stephen Evans in the Chair.—Mr. David Lewis read a Paper on “The Legal Side of Welsh Social Life in the 15th Century.”
- „ May 14th, 1890, Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwallia*) in the Chair.—Mr. D. Emlyn Evans read a Paper on “The Development of Music in Wales from an Historical Point of View.”
- „ June 4th, 1890, The Earl of Powis in the Chair.—Mr. William Edwards, M.A., read a Paper on “The Settlement of Brittany.”
- „ June 25th, 1890, the Annual Conversazione; held at the African Exhibition, Regent Street.

In Bangor, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of 1890 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

- On September 1st, The Lord Bishop of Bangor in the Chair.—An Inaugural Address on “The Development of Technical and Intermediate Education in Wales” was given by Mr. Arthur H. D. Acland, M.P.
- „ September 3rd, The Rev. Principal Rowlands in the Chair.—A Paper on “Linguistic Training in Welsh Intermediate Schools” was read by Dr. Isambard Owen.
- „ September 4th, Principal Reichel in the Chair.—Papers on “The Study of Welsh Dialects” were read by Professor Rhŷs, Mr. J. E. Lloyd, Mr. J. Morris Jones, Mr. Darlington, and Mr. Owen Edwards.

The thanks of the Society are due to Principal Reichel, who kindly acted as Honorary Secretary of the Cymmrodorion Section; and also to the Senate of the University College of North Wales for the use of the rooms in which the Meetings were held.

The following publications have been issued during the year:—

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. X. (for 1889), Parts 1 and 2, and Reports; pp. 284.

On the Construction of Educational Systems, by Isambard Owen, M.D., M.A.; pp. 20.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XI. (for 1890), Part 1; pp. 102.

The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Wales, by J. Romilly Allen, Esq., F.S.A.; a separate issue for circulation among the members of the County Councils of Wales and Monmouthshire.

In accordance with the announcement made at the meeting on January 8th, when Mr. Joseph Jacobs read a paper on "James Howell and the *Familiar Letters*," a complete edition of the *Epistolæ Ho-elianæ* has been issued by the house of David Nutt.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. XI., Part 2, is in the press.

The Council desire to recall to the attention of Members the paragraph in last year's Report referring to the formation of a special Section with a special fund for the publication of Welsh Historical Records and MSS. They have pleasure in informing Members that the first number of the "Cymmrodorion Record Series:" *The Description of Penbrokshire, by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes*, is now in the press. It is edited by Mr. Henry Owen, B.C.L., and will be published at the Editor's own expense.

In pursuance of a desire expressed at the Meeting of March 12th, the following letter was addressed, at the instance of the Council, by the President of the Society to the County Councils of Wales and Monmouthshire. A copy of the letter, with a copy of Mr. Romilly Allen's paper, above referred to, was forwarded to each member of the above-named County Councils.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN WALES.

To the County Councils of Wales (including Monmouthshire).

THE attention of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion has been

directed to the desirability of arresting the destruction of the ancient remains with which every part of Wales abounds by a paper read before the Society on the 12th of March last by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., of which a copy is herewith enclosed. In deference to the suggestions then advanced by several distinguished antiquaries, the Council of the Society begs to bring Mr. Allen's paper under the notice of the County Councils of Wales, in the hope that the influence of the members of the County Councils, in their individual as well as their corporate capacity, may be exerted for the preservation of the monuments of antiquity that still exist within the area of their jurisdiction.

The Council of this Society considers it unnecessary to dwell at any length upon the value of the monuments of a past age to the students of comparative archæology and its kindred sciences, or upon the extent to which the interest of a neighbourhood and its attraction to strangers are enhanced by the existence of such monuments. Their preservation has been recognized as an imperative duty by the most enlightened nations of Europe, and is especially incumbent upon the inhabitants of a country so richly endowed with ancient remains of all kinds as Wales.

The County Councils, representing as they do every section of the community, and acquainted, as they must be, with every local feature of interest, appear to the Council of this Society to be eminently capable both of creating and influencing public opinion within their several spheres of activity, so as to ensure the results which it must be within the desire of all to attain.

The machinery at present existing for the preservation from destruction, and the subsequent care, of ancient monuments was created under the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, the provisions of which are thus summarized by Mr. Allen :—

1. To enable the owner of any ancient monument, by deed under his hand, to constitute the Commissioners of Works its guardian; the owner, by doing so, relinquishing no right he previously possessed with regard to the monument, except that of being able to destroy it; and the Commissioners of Works, on the other hand, to maintain it.
2. To enable the Commissioners of Works to purchase any ancient monument.
3. To enable owners to bequeath ancient monuments to the Commissioners of Works.
4. To enable the Commissioners of Works to appoint one or more Inspectors of ancient monuments.

5. To enable local magistrates to punish with a fine or imprisonment any person convicted of injuring or defacing an ancient monument.

The comparative failure of the Act is due to its permissive and non-compulsory character, to the scantiness of funds allotted by the Government for its working, and to the absence of any incentive by which the owners of ancient monuments may be induced to place them under the Act.

The Council of this Society is aware that amongst the powers of the County Councils there does not exist any under which the objects contemplated by the Ancient Monuments Act can be immediately promoted, though it trusts that whenever further functions are delegated to the County Councils, care will be taken to include that of the custody of local monuments of historic or scientific value. But the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society ventures to suggest that even now, in the management of county affairs, many occasions arise upon which the County Councils could interfere with propriety and success for the preservation of a threatened monument, the destruction of which would be a serious loss to scholars, and to the neighbourhood in which it forms a point of interest. This is especially the case where such monuments are situated upon waste lands, or upon the sides of highways.

The enlightened action of the County Councils in thus constituting themselves guardians of the ancient remains in each district in the interest of the public would undoubtedly have a beneficial effect in stimulating the study of local history, a knowledge of which cannot fail to be of material assistance in the work of local self-government.

(Signed) POWIS, *President*.

E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary*.

Offices of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

27 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.,

November, 1890.

The Council, having taken into consideration the rules of the Society, which have stood almost unchanged since the year 1873, beg to make certain suggestions for their alteration, which will be laid before this Meeting in the form of a special report.

The following presents have been received and acknowledged by the Council on behalf of the Society :—

Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition, vol. II.: Gaelic Folk- and Hero-Tales from Argyllshire. Collected, edited and translated by the Rev. D. MacInnes. With notes by the Editor and Alfred Nutt. London, David Nutt, 1890. Presented by Mr. ALFRED NUTT.

The Welsh books and books relating to Wales from the Library of the late Mr. Henry Davies, of Cheltenham. Presented by Miss C. E. G. DAVIES.

Bye-Gones relating to Wales, &c. Presented by Messrs. WOODALL, MINSHALL, & Co.

The Wrexham Advertiser. Presented by the Publisher.

The Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald. Presented by the Publisher.

The Welshman. Presented by the Publisher.

The North Wales Observer. Presented by the Publisher.

The Cambrian (Utica, N.Y.). Presented by the Publisher.

The Council have pleasure in announcing that the following arrangements have been made for Meetings in London during the Session of 1890-1 :—

1890.

Dec. 17.—Annual Meeting of the Members. Inaugural Lecture on “The True Objects of Welsh Archæology,” by J. W. Willis-Bund, Esq., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law.

1891.

Jan 21.—“Celtic Ornament, with Illustrations,” by T. H. Thomas, Esq., R.C.A., of Cardiff.

Feb. 18.—“The Latest Views about Arthur,” by Alfred Nutt, Esq., Author of *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* and *Mabinogion Studies*.

Mar. 11.—*Pennillion Cymreig*, by Edward Anwyl, Esq., B.A., of Oriel College, Oxford.

April 1.—“The Proposed University for Wales,” by Professor T. F. Roberts, M.A., of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

April 29.—(a) “Wat’s and Offa’s Dykes,” and (b) “The Callernish Stones of Lewis,” by Alfred N. Palmer, Esq., F.S.A., of Wrexham, Author of *The History of the Parish of Wrexham, &c., &c.*

May 27.—“Henry Vaughan of Scethrog (1622-1695): Some Notes on his Life and Characteristics as a Poet of Welsh

descent," by Francis T. Palgrave, Esq., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.

June 24.—Annual Rention and Conversazione.

The following members of the Council retire under Rule 5, but are eligible for re-election :

Mr. STEPHEN EVANS.
 Mr. LEWIS MORRIS.
 Professor RHÛS-DAVIDS.
 Dr. FREDERICK ROBERTS.
 Mr. JOHN THOMAS.
 Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS.
 Mr. R. H. JENKINS.
 Major-General OWEN JONES.
 Mr. DAVID LEWIS.
 Mr. H. LLOYD ROBERTS.

A Financial Statement for the past year is appended to this report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1889, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1890.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, Nov. 9th, 1890	126	12	2
„ Subscriptions (including arrears)	369	8	7
„ Sale of Books, Advertisements, &c.	12	12	6
By Printing of <i>Y Cymmrodor</i> , vol. x., and vol. xi., part i.	138	17	6
„ Editorial Expenses	38	15	0
„ General Printing (1890).	22	8	9
„ Rent, Insurance, and Caretaker	75	10	0
„ Library Expenses	3	6	0
„ Lectures and Meetings	39	4	11
„ Eisteddfod Section Meetings	8	9	6
„ Stationery, Cheque and Receipt Books	11	10	2
„ Postage of Publications, Circulars, and Letters; and Petty Expenses	35	3	0
„ Secretary's remuneration (Bal- ance, 1889)	22	6	3
„ „ „ (1890)	41	0	0
Balance carried forward	436	11	1
	72	2	2
	£508 13 3		

Examined and found correct.

JOHN BURRELL, }
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, } *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, } *Secretary.*

R E P O R T
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,
For the Year 1890—1891.

THE Annual Meeting of 1891 cannot but form a somewhat sad epoch in the history of the Society, on account of the many losses by death from its ranks to which the Council are fain to allude.

The past twelvemonth has deprived the Society of one of its earliest members and one of its strongest supports. The death of the Earl of Powis, our late President, has been mourned by all classes and parties in Wales as a national loss, and nowhere, perhaps, has the loss been more keenly felt than among the Members of this Society, at whose meetings he was so regular an attendant, and to whose proceedings he seldom failed to contribute some suggestive thought or some expression of practical wisdom.

A few months later the news came that the hand of death had removed the first of our roll of Honorary Members, a scholar equally illustrious by his birth and by his attainments, H.H. the Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, who was a frequent attendant at the Meetings of the Society as long as his health permitted him to stir abroad. The

Members of the Society will be gratified to learn that even in his last hours the thoughts of the distinguished philologist were turned towards our country and towards his numerous friends among our compatriots.

Two of the Society's Corresponding Members appear in the long death-roll of the year: Mr. Richard W. Banks, the distinguished antiquarian and archæologist of Kington, Herefordshire, and Mr. J. R. Humphreys, of Shrewsbury, whose kindly hospitality and genial welcome no Member of the Society who attended the Education Conference of 1888 will be likely to forget.

The Society has also to mourn the loss of Colonel Alexander Ridgway, a genealogist of repute and an enthusiastic student of Welsh History.

It is a gratification to the Council to be able to announce that the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute, K.T., upon whose services to Wales and to Celtic literature it were superfluous to enlarge, has accepted the invitation of the Council to assume the office of President of the Society. The Council are also pleased to announce that the nephew and successor of the late President has accepted their invitation to become a Member and a Vice-President of the Society.

It cannot but be a matter of congratulation to the Members of the Society that one of its honoured Vice-Presidents has, during the present year, attained to the historic office of Lord Mayor of the City of London, and that in this capacity he has consented to preside over the Annual Dinner of the Society on December 16th.

With deep regret the Council has to announce that for the future the Society will be deprived of the active ser-

vices of two of their oldest and most valued colleagues, Mr. W. E. Davies and Mr. John Owens, both of whom are quitting London, and to both of whom the Society will wish every success in the new positions which they will occupy in the old country.

Notwithstanding the losses by death and by other causes the list of the Society shows a satisfactory increase of numbers, the new Members elected during the past year amounting to thirty-five.

The following Meetings have been held during the year:—

In London:—

- On December 17th, 1890, Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P., in the Chair.—The Annual General Meeting of Members was held. Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A., gave an Inaugural Address entitled: “The True Objects of Welsh Archæology.”
- „ January 21st, 1891, Mr. W. Cave Thomas in the Chair.—Mr. T. H. Thomas, R.C.A., read a Paper entitled: “Celtic Ornament, with Illustrations.”
- „ February 18th, 1891, Mr. Edward Clodd in the Chair.—Mr. Alfred Nutt read a Paper entitled: “The Latest Views about Arthur.”
- „ March 11th, 1891, Mr. Stephen Evans in the Chair.—Mr. Edward Anwyl, B.A., read a Paper entitled: “*Pennillion Cymreig*.”
- „ April 1st, 1891, Major Jones in the Chair.—Professor T. F. Roberts, M.A., read a Paper on “The Proposed University for Wales.”
- „ April 29th, 1891, the Right Hon. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P., in the Chair.—Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer, F.S.A., read Papers on (a) “Wat’s and Offa’s Dykes,” and (b) “The Callernish Stones of Lewis.”
- „ May 27th, 1891, Mr. Lewis Morris in the Chair.—Professor Palgrave read a Paper entitled: “Henry Vaughan of Scethrog (1622-1695): Some Notes on his Life and Characteristics as a Poet of Welsh descent.”
- „ June 24th, 1891, the Annual Conversazione; held in the Hall of the Drapers’ Company.

In Swansea, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of 1891 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

- On August 17th, Sir J. T. Dillwyn Llewelyn, Bart. (Mayor of Swansea), in the Chair.—Mr. Lewis Morris gave an Inaugural Address on “The Proposed University of Wales.”
- „ August 19th, Mr. C. H. Glascodine in the Chair.—Papers on “The Improvement of Orchestral and Instrumental Music in Wales” were read by Mr. C. Francis Lloyd, Mus. Bac., of Bristol, Mr. Squire of Swansea, and Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwallia*). A discussion followed.
- „ August 20th, The Ven. Archdeacon Griffith in the Chair.—Papers on “Home Reading for Wales” were read by the Rev. J. S. Lidgett, M.A., Mr. J. E. Lloyd, M.A., and Mr. F. S. Hobson. A discussion followed.

Three numbers of *Y Cymmrodor* are at present wholly or partially in type at the Society’s printers’, but have been delayed for the collation of original MSS. in various libraries, and the completion of notes and references. The Council regret that an apparent *lacuna* has thus resulted in the regularity of the series, but trust to issue the three numbers to the Members within a short period either simultaneously or in rapid succession.

The First Part of the Edition of *Owen’s Pembrokeshire* undertaken by Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), being the first number of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, will be completed before the close of December. This admirable reproduction has been edited by and published at the sole expense of Mr. Henry Owen, who most generously offers a copy of the work free of charge to every Member of the Society. The Editor of *Y Cymmrodor* has contributed to the *Pembrokeshire* a number of topographical and historical notes of great value and interest.

The following presents have been received and duly acknowledged by the Council on behalf of the Society.

A copy (imperfect) of the first Welsh Bible. Presented by Dr. POWELL, of Newcastle Emlyn.

Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition. No. iii. *Folk and Hero Tales.* Collected, edited, translated and annotated by the Rev. J. MacDougall, with an Introduction by Alfred Nutt. London: David Nutt, 1891.—No. iv. *The Fians, or Stories, Poems, and Traditions of Fionn and his Warrior Band,* Collected entirely from Oral Sources by John Gregorson Campbell, Minister of Tiree, with Introduction and Biographical Note by Alfred Nutt. London: David Nutt, 1891. Presented by Mr. ALFRED NUTT.

Critique by A. Nutt: *Les Derniers Travaux Allemands sur la Légende du Saint Graal.* Presented by the Author.

The Ideal of Man, by Arthur Lovell. London: Chapman and Hall, Limited, 1891. Presented by (the author) Mr. D. COETHYR WILLIAMS.

Cæsar Borgia; a Tragedy; and other Poems. By William Evans, B.A., Oxon. 1890. Presented by the Author.

The Calender of the University College of North Wales, 1891-92. Presented by the Registrar.

Bye-Gones relating to Wales, &c., presented by Messrs. WOODALL, MINSHALL, & Co.

The Wrexham Advertiser, the Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald, the Welshman, the Cambrian, and the North Wales Observer, by their respective Publishers.

The Council have much pleasure in announcing that papers have been promised for the ensuing Lecture Session by:—

Mr. J. W. WILLIS-BUND, on "The Early History of the Celtic Church."

Mr. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, on "The Sin-Eater."

The Rev. Professor G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A., on "The Place of the Welsh Laws among Early Aryan Systems."

Mr. F. YORK POWELL, M.A., on "Early Welsh Poetry," and

Mr. J. GWENOGVRYN EVANS, M.A., on "Welsh Proverbs."

It is hoped that the President of the Society will deliver his Inaugural Address before the end of the Session.

Under the Laws of the Society as revised at our last General Meeting the terms of office of the following officers expire :—

The PRESIDENT ;
 The VICE-PRESIDENTS ;
 The TREASURER ;
 The AUDITORS ;

and ten Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election, viz. :—

Mr. STEPHEN EVANS.
 Mr. W. E. DAVIES.
 Mr. HUGH EDWARDS.
 Mr. E. VINCENT EVANS.
 Mr. J. MILO GRIFFITH.
 Mr. ELLIS GRIFFITH.
 Mr. R. H. JENKINS.
 Major-General OWEN JONES.
 Mr. DAVID LEWIS.
 Mr. OWEN LEWIS.

A vacancy also occurs through the resignation of Mr. John Owens, who has removed to Wales.

A Financial Statement for the past year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1890, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1891.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, Nov. 9th, 1891 . . .	72	2	2	By Rent, Insurance, &c.	70	0	0
„ Subscriptions (including arrears) . . .	271	12	6	„ Library Expenses	2	13	0
„ Sale of Publications	2	15	0	„ Lectures and Meetings	33	12	0
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VOL. XI.

“CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.”

PART 2.

THE TRUE OBJECTS OF WELSH ARCHÆOLOGY.

BY J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.¹

WHEN I was invited to address this Honourable Society on Welsh Archæology, I felt at first inclined to refuse, on the ground that I was not “sufficient for these things.” On reflection, however, I considered that although I should properly be here to-night rather to be taught than even to hope to teach, yet I ought not to decline, for two reasons: in the first place, as I entertain, I dare say wrongly entertain, opinions on certain points of Welsh archæology that are not in accordance with the received ideas, I ought to have the “courage of my convictions,” and not be afraid to state my views as to the aims and objects of Welsh archæological research; and, in the second place, as I have the honour of holding the office of Local Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries for South Wales, I should be wanting in my duty if I failed to try to help on, however little, archæological research in Wales, and to give to would-be explorers any aid or assistance in my power. I must, therefore, ask the kind indulgence of this Society, if in what I am about to state I at all run counter to the views of any of the members,

¹ The Inaugural Lecture of the Session 1890-1; read before the Society on Wednesday, Decciaber 17th, 1890.

or state nothing but what they already know, and must beg that if we "differ" we may "agree to differ."

It may sound something like a paradox to assert that there is no field of archaeological research which is really richer or is more explored but which yields less than Wales and Welsh antiquities. The fault lies more in the mode than in the matter of exploration. Most of the workers have some special reason in view for their search; it may be a desire to make out the grandeur and greatness of what they term the Welsh nation, or to evolve an ideal hero of romance out of an ordinary Welsh chieftain. For each of these classes of searchers Welsh archæology must be barren ground. The Welsh nation, in the modern sense of the term, never existed; so the attempt to prove its grandeur and greatness must necessarily be unsatisfactory, if truth is in any way regarded. As the Welsh chieftain was "half a robber and but half a knight," any attempt to idealize him into a hero, if there is any adherence to accuracy, cannot be a success. Persons who enter upon antiquarian or historical research in order either to support particular views or to maintain particular opinions on special subjects, are foredoomed to failure. It is only to such as seek to ascertain the truth for the truth's sake, without any preconceived theories to maintain or purposes to serve, that antiquarian or historical research is really profitable. To such persons no richer or more tempting field exists than that of Welsh archæology, as almost nothing has been done, and the ground to be worked is most ample. The direction which Welsh archæological research should take, and the results that may be expected to follow from it, form the subject of this paper.

The modern Welsh habit of speaking of Wales as a nation, besides being historically inaccurate, is also objectionable as tending to keep out of sight the real key to all Welsh

history, the fact that it is the history of a number of distinct tribes. In the earliest existing records of Wales traces of the tribe appear, and even at the present day these traces are to be found among the Welsh. One of the primary aims of Welsh archæology should be to work out the history of these tribes. Cian societies exist in Scotland for preserving and publishing the records and history of the clan. Although patriotic Welshmen may deny the tribal theory, they cannot explain away the fact that in all Celtic countries the tribe forms the unit. In Scotland the clan, in Ireland the sept, form the basis of the nationality; and it seems clear that in Wales the unit is the tribe. So far from this being derogatory to the pride of the country, it is the reverse; for the tribe is the distinctive feature of Celtic history, the distinguishing mark of a free, as opposed to a conquered people. The tribe-theory shows a continuous thread running through the history of Wales, and this thread should form the real base from which research should be conducted.

I. EARLY INHABITANTS.

One of the primary and most interesting points of Welsh archæological research is the inquiry into the question as to who were the prehistoric inhabitants of Wales. The most bigoted Welshman will admit that the Welsh of to-day are a race sprung from different stocks. No one could pretend that the red and the black Welshman, or the North and the South Welshman, were sprung from a common ancestor. Who then were their respective progenitors? This it is the object of archæological research to discover. Is it true to say of the Welsh, as we English say of ourselves, "Saxon and Norman and Dane are we," or are the Welsh drawn from yet earlier invaders of these islands? There are plenty of existing data to determine who these early inhabitants were; they only require to be worked up.³ Beyond

this there is the still more important question : Is any trace to be found of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country ? If such trace is to be found anywhere it is in Wales ; for as invaders came from Europe the inhabitants would be driven further and further west, so that in the fastnesses of the Welsh hills, if anywhere, remains of the original people must be sought. One object of Welsh archæology should be to make this search. In the numerous Barrows, Cairns, and Stone Monuments that exist on the Welsh hills traces of the early inhabitants may probably be found. All these barrows and cairns require the most careful investigation ; as it is from their contents that the early history of the country has to be compiled. In England a good deal has been done in this direction by Canon Greenwell and others. Barrows have been opened and their contents examined and compared ; and the result has been that it is possible to assign to their proper period and place many of the barrows, and to say with a fair amount of certainty that a particular race of men made the barrows at a particular time. By comparing the results obtained in different districts it becomes possible to say that a particular tribe of men were found only in particular parts of the country ; and so the limits of the territory of a tribe may be to some extent inferred. The same process should be applied to Wales and the same results would be obtained, and the limits of the territory of the early tribes might be in some degree made out. For this purpose there should be a systematic examination of every barrow, cairn, and Stone Monument in Wales. Something has already been done in this direction with regard to the ancient Inscribed Stone Monuments in Professor Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, and some work has been done by Professor Rhÿs and others towards elucidating Welsh History from the point of view of Philology, aided by the evidence of the barrows and the monumental inscriptions ; but there is no

one who has paid any attention to the subject who will not admit that this branch of Welsh archæology has so far been scarcely begun. The work is much needed. In the western extremity of England the barrows and inscribed stones have been carefully examined and the contents of the former classified. The work that Borlase and Lukis have done for Cornwall some competent person should do for Wales. There is, however, need for caution; it would be more than a pity, it would be almost sacrilege, if the work were allowed to fall into incompetent hands. Only those who are experienced in such work can extract from the barrows and cairns all their contents. Workers who are zealous but ignorant destroy or overlook much that is important without knowing it. They displace or fail to note the arrangement or the construction of the barrows, and by not noticing all the contents, or misdescribing what they notice, do far more harm than good. It would be a public misfortune if the examination of the Welsh barrows fell into incompetent hands; for probably evidence as to the early inhabitants of the country which could never be recovered would perish. While, therefore, it is most important that the work should be done, it would be far better that it should remain undone than that it should be done by incompetent or inexperienced hands. If a practical suggestion may be made on the subject, the best course to take would be to prepare a list of all the barrows, cairns, *maenhirs*, mounds and Stone Monuments in Wales, and then let the Cambrian Archæological Association, or some other competent body, arrange for a systematic investigation, in order that the largest possible amount of information might be gained. There is also another reason why it is desirable that the investigation should be undertaken by a public body rather than by an individual. If an individual directs the investigation he usually keeps either the whole or part of whatever

may be found, with the result that the remains are stowed away in his house and in time get lost, broken, or mislaid, or, if preserved, are wholly inaccessible to students, and cannot be examined or utilized as they would be in a public museum. Before any fresh excavations are attempted, some steps should be taken to provide a place to receive the results of the explorations, or, better still, to form a Welsh National Museum, in which it should be a rule, to which no exception should be allowed, that all objects found in Wales should be placed. Such a collection would be of the highest value and interest, while the same objects, scattered here and there about the Principality, would have but little value and less interest. Not only should the contents of barrows and cairns be placed in a Welsh Museum, but it should also contain models of all the Welsh inscribed and sculptured stones. In these Wales is especially rich; and although an attempt has been made to make a list of them in the *Lapidarium Walliæ*, no one would admit more readily than Professor Westwood that a revised list is an urgent need. General Pitt Rivers, the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, has prepared a series of models of some of the Welsh inscribed stones to illustrate the development of the figure of the cross. If this series were extended so as to include every Welsh inscribed stone, a student would be able to study these most important antiquarian monuments. It is by no means clear that a careful examination and comparison of these inscribed stones will not lead to the conclusion that many of them are of a later period than is usually assigned to them; but such a result would also have its value, for on their true date being ascertained their historical importance to some extent depends. If the series of models were extended so as to include the Scotch and Irish stones, to enable these to be carefully compared with the Welsh, important results would doubtless

follow. One of the first aims of Welsh archæology should be to collect, so that it might be utilized by students, all existing evidence, much of which is now inaccessible. If this were done, there can be no doubt that new and important light would be shed on the early inhabitants of Wales, and on other matters of which we are now comparatively ignorant.

II. THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF WALES.

A kindred subject to which Welsh archæology should be specially directed, and one which the work already suggested would help to elucidate, is the details of the Roman occupation of Wales. This is a matter of more than mere antiquarian importance. If the limits of the Roman settlements in Wales were ascertained with precision, a great step would be gained in coming to a conclusion as to whether any parts of Wales could be regarded as free from Roman occupation; if so, it is to such parts, and the relics of antiquity in those parts, that we have to look for traces of the early Celts. But further, the question of the limits of the Roman occupation would throw great light on the question of the extent of the Roman civilization. What was the effect of the Second Legion garrisoning South Wales? what positions did they occupy? how far did they settle the country and—more important than all—how far did they Christianize it?—these are all subjects of the greatest historical importance. No one can pretend that as yet the question of the Roman occupation of Wales has been worked out on a satisfactory basis. It is true that there is plenty of literature with more or less tall writing and conjectures on the subject; but real accurate work, giving the details of what the Romans did, is sadly wanting. Recent excavations at Cardiff have shown that the works of the Romans were adapted by their successors; so that it becomes more than ever necessary accurately

to distinguish between Roman and British work. There is some evidence that in Glamorganshire a high degree of Roman civilization existed; it is important to ascertain how far any such civilization reached beyond the course of the so-called Via Julia. From every point of view, religion, language, civilization, it is important to ascertain with all possible precision the nature and limits of the Roman occupation. There are also such questions as these: Were the camps in North Wales more than forts to protect the mineral works, were they towns as well as camps? Have we to look to Chester, Uriconium, and Caerleon for our knowledge of the domestic life of the Roman settlers? Were Caersws and Loventium also important centres of civil life? Was the country so settled and so secure that the Romans found it safe to live in detached country houses, or were they, from the wildness of the Welsh, compelled to live in stations or camps? At present our knowledge of Roman domestic life in Wales is almost a blank. The excavations now being carried on at Silchester are bringing to light various points as to the condition of a Roman town in Britain. Nothing could be more interesting than that some excavations should be undertaken to ascertain if the Roman houses in Wales resembled or differed from the houses in the other parts of Britain, and how far the appliances of life were similar. It is also more than likely that in an examination of the relics of Roman occupation traces of the Celtic inhabitants will be found, and new light shed on the manners and customs of the country during the Roman period. There has been no lack of Roman houses found in Wales, but these houses have never been systematically examined; they have usually been excavated and destroyed, and all that we might have learnt from them has perished. Recent excavations in England that have been systematically conducted have shown that earthworks which were attributed to a prehistoric period were really of a later

date than the Roman occupation. Whether a like result would follow the examination of Welsh earthworks is questionable. But if by proper excavations an approximate date could be assigned to them, a flood of light would be thrown on Welsh archæology. For instance, the term *Castell* may now mean earthworks of any date from the earliest period to the Norman. If in each instance the real date could be fixed, a most important point would have been settled; very likely it would be found that the same works have been successively occupied by Briton, Roman, Dane, and Norman.

III. THE WELSH CHURCH.

The two objects of archæological research already mentioned, although both of great interest and importance, cannot compare either practically or historically with that of the Welsh Church. I use the term advisedly, and with full knowledge that the existence of this Church is denied by superior persons, who tell us that there never was any such Church; that the ecclesiastical establishment in Wales represents, not a Church, but merely four dioceses of the province of Canterbury which form an integral part of the Anglican establishment. This statement is strictly legal and strictly accurate, having regard to the legislation of Henry VIII., his son and his daughter. But "The Welsh Church" is the correct name by which to describe the form of Christianity that existed in Wales before the Anglican establishment was invented, before Canterbury was a Bishop's see. The popular idea, the one usually taught, is that the Welsh Church existed in a sort of semi-Christian state before the time of Augustine; that it differed only in some unimportant matters from the Latin Church, such as Tonsure, the date of keeping Easter, and unction in Baptism; that it soon adopted the Latin rule and became incorporated in the Latin communion. Nothing more

false has ever been passed off as history ; and I know no worthier object of archæological research than to show, as can be shown, the independence of the Welsh Church from that of Rome, and to narrate its struggles for freedom and existence. For patriotic Welshmen there is no nobler field in which to display their country's glory. The history of the Welsh Church has been deprived of its interest, and the documents relating to it rendered obscure and meaningless, by the zeal that writers have shown to maintain its identity in doctrine and discipline with the Latin Church. Pages have been written to prove its orthodoxy and its unity with the Latin communion. Its real interest has been wholly ignored ; it lies in the fact that the Welsh Church was entirely independent of the Latin ; that its customs, its usages, its rites were all at variance with those of that Church ; that it presents the almost unique spectacle of a Church that did not teach nor inculcate as part of its system Roman Law or Roman ideas, but adapted itself to, instead of destroying, local laws and local customs. It retained its independence longer, and fought a more stubborn fight for it, than almost any other of the Western Churches. The Norman tried to stamp it out, but he can hardly be said to have succeeded. It was not until Henry VIII. willed that Wales should be an integral portion of England, and that his laws for England should apply to Wales, that the Church of England in Wales became substituted for the Welsh Church.

It is doubtful, and will probably always remain so, from whence Welsh Christianity came ; but whatever was its origin, whether it was some relic of early British Christianity, driven to seek refuge in the Welsh hills, or whether it came from Gaul, is really unimportant. It existed as a Church before the Latin Church had laid hands upon Gaul or penetrated into Britain. How much of the old

Pagan worship it assimilated, how far its faith was orthodox according to Latin ideas, is very questionable. It seems to have possessed its own version of the Bible and its own liturgy. It is certain that it had two distinctive features which separated it from the Latin Church, the enormous number of its saints and the enormous number of its monks. No subject of Welsh ecclesiastical archæology deserves more careful study than that of the Welsh saints; they had special peculiarities; they were born, not made. It would seem that the true explanation of their origin and of their number is that each saint was not a saint at all according to our meaning of the word *saint*, but that the term was the title of the ecclesiastical head of the tribe, just as the chief was the temporal head. The fact of the saintship being hereditary and confined to particular families shows that the qualification for a Welsh saint did not necessarily consist in personal holiness, but in real or imaginary descent from some heroic or kingly ancestor, from Cunedda Wledig or Brychan Brycheiniog.¹ It is far from improbable that on the tribe becoming Christian the saint took the place of the Druid, the wise man of the tribe, the person who stated what was right to be done, what would please the God of the tribe. All early tribes have in some form or other a wise or holy man to direct them. The heathen Celts were no exception, and had their Druid; the Christian Celts were no exception, and had their saint. But such a saint in no way resembled the Latin or mediæval saint, who, irrespective of birth or descent, attained by a life of austerity and sanctity to the position of becoming a pattern of life for future ages. The idea of such a saint seems to have been wholly absent from the Welsh Church until Norman monks and Latin scribes undertook to supply the Celtic saints with what, in their

¹ See note (a) at end of article.

opinion, it was essential that they should have to fill that position. In the lives of Welsh Saints written by Latin monks we find acts of sanctity and austerity, and miracles, in abundance; but these are the transparent forgeries of lying monks.² There was, in fact, as great a contrast between the Welsh saint of fact and the Welsh saint as described by a Latin monk, as there was between the Welsh Church of the fifth century and the Church in Wales of to-day. If the tribal character of the Welsh Church explains its saints, it also helps to explain its other great feature, its monks. No one can fail to be struck in the history of the Welsh Church by the large number of its monks. We may safely deduct a considerable percentage from the reputed numbers of the inmates of the Welsh monasteries, but after making every deduction the fact remains that Wales was intensely monastic. Not the least striking fact is that the number of monasteries existing before the Latin Church came to Wales exceeded the number after its introduction. The explanation of this number of religious persons has always been a source of difficulty. The reason seems to be that the Welsh monasteries were not monasteries as we understand the term, not establishments where a body of men lived in accordance with a definite rule, but were the residences of the Priests of the tribe, or clan, inhabiting the district. Each tribe had its own territory, its own chief that ruled over its temporal affairs, its own saint that ruled over its religious affairs, its own monks who were its priests. Properly speaking, though monastic, these priestly establishments were not monasteries at all, but the residences of the religious men of the tribe under a religious head. Wherever the tribe had a settlement, there it had a temporal and spiritual establishment, an establishment of its wise men or priests. It was the custom to speak of establishments of

² See note (b) at end of article.

religious men as monasteries, and so the name became used to designate these establishments without regard to its fitness or to the confusion it caused. The fact of the Church being tribal, and the saint and the monastery being a necessary part of the tribal organization, led to another peculiarity in the Welsh Church, the mode in which its dioceses were formed. If the Celtic rule prevailed in Wales that the Abbot, not the Bishop, was the head of ecclesiastical affairs, it follows that the Abbot's jurisdiction extended not only over the original establishment, but also over its offshoots. Wherever there was an offshoot from the monastery, the Abbot had a claim to exercise jurisdiction over that offshoot, and to have the right of succession to its headship.

It often happens that the localities where these offshoots were placed were scattered all over the territory of the tribe. From originally holding a post as an official of the monastery, in time the Bishop became its chief, or, to speak more accurately, the Abbot assumed episcopal functions. It is one of the most curious facts in Welsh Church History that there is no trustworthy account of the consecration of the early Bishops, or of their transmutation into Abbots, or of the consecration of any Abbot as Bishop. The whole of this idea seems to have been the invention of a later age. As intercourse with England increased and the Welsh Bishops saw what the English Bishops really were, they sought to imitate them and, forgetful of their origin, claimed to exercise, as the English Bishops exercised, not merely a jurisdiction over certain religious establishments, but also over certain definite territory. Hence arose the disputes as to the boundaries of Welsh dioceses, disputes that lasted until the Welsh Church passed into other hands. If the ordinary episcopal point of view is taken as the standpoint, the contention of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, as to the boundaries of his see is unintelligible. But if Urban is regarded as the head of

the chief religious establishment of St. Teilo^{2a} and as the head of all the offshoots from it, the reason why he claimed jurisdiction in places outside his diocese becomes clear, which on mere territorial grounds it never was.³

This view of the tribal origin of the Welsh Church, viz., that the saints were the head of the priests of the tribe, the monasteries the residences of the priests, it need hardly be said, is not the one usually adopted. It is, however, strengthened by passages in the Welsh Laws, and serves to explain various statements therein that are very hard to be understood. Should Welsh archaeological research establish this to be the true account of the Welsh Church, a good deal of what is usually accepted as the history of that Church must be discarded—such as the archiepiscopal claims of Caerleon⁴ and St. David's, indeed all ideas of any Archbishop in the Latin sense of the term. But the loss of Archbishops, and the doubt as to the apostolic succession of the Welsh Bishops, will be more than compensated if it is shown that the Welsh Church was an instance of Western Christianity that withstood the influence of Rome. Without some such hypothesis it is difficult to account for the anger and hatred with which the Welsh regarded the Norman occupants of their sees, their intense dislike to Urban of Llandaff and Bernard of St. David's. The Welsh opposition to these men was not merely opposition to Norman prelates, but hatred of men who had destroyed their Church. There is no field of antiquarian research likely to yield a richer

^{2a} See the *Life of St. Teilo* in MS. Cott. Vespasian, A. xiv., fo. 58^a, where Llandaff is termed *archimonasterium*. The text of the *Liber Landavensis* is here defective. The correct reading of the passage printed at ll. 3-4 of p. 73 is: "nisi *archimonasterio* Landaviæ et archiepiscopo Dubricio," &c.—ED.

³ See note (c) at end of article.

⁴ We know of no real evidence outside Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *race moutonnière* of his copyists, that there ever was even a *Bishopric* at Caerleon.—ED.

harvest to an explorer than Welsh ecclesiastical history. For Ireland much has been done: Celtic scholars have given us glowing accounts of the Irish Church. The Welsh Church is as interesting and as important, but it has yet to find its historian. Among Welshmen who profess to have the glory of Wales so much at heart it is to be hoped that some one will devote himself to the task of writing the history of the Welsh Church, and showing that Anglican Christianity in Wales is really an alien Church in a sense very different from that in which that expression is ordinarily used.

IV. THE NORMAN SETTLEMENT.

Another object of Welsh archæological research to some degree forming part of the history of the Welsh Church, is one that has been so far only partially investigated, namely, the Norman settlement of the country. In almost every other place which the Normans invaded they succeeded in establishing their system of administration and in settling the country in accordance with their ideas. For 400 years, from 1066 to 1485, their system was tried in Wales without success. Ample materials are in existence for a complete history of that period, but as yet no one has undertaken the task. That the labour would be great may be admitted, but mere labour should not deter those who desire to elucidate Welsh history, especially when that history forms the best record of the power and the glory of the Welsh tribes. If Welsh writers, instead of making everlasting moans over the death of Llywelyn and writing high-flown panegyrics on Owen Glendower, would devote their time towards working out parts of the Norman history of Wales, they would be rendering real service to their country. Granted that the narrative is largely made up of intrigue and treason; still there is something more: there

is the fact to be accounted for that outside the moats of their castles the Norman rule never extended. The position of the Welsh chieftain, both before and after the Edwardian conquest, is also an important matter. The dealings of Henry II. with the Welsh, and his negotiations and wars with them, deserve most careful study. The position and jurisdiction of the Earls on the Welsh border, the conflicts that were always going on between Norman law and Welsh custom, also require investigation. The progress and extent of Norman castle-building in Wales, and the system on which the castles were extended along certain lines of country to the exclusion of others, are also points worthy of notice; as are the special circumstances that led to the erection of each of the Norman castles, the ruins of which are still so conspicuous.

If the Norman tried to settle the country by means of his castles, it was only one of his modes; he also used another that is equally deserving of archaeological research, the establishment of cells of foreign religious houses, a mode which had some effect on the history of the country. Unlike the case of England, where Benedictine monasteries had existed before the Normans were heard of, where all the greatest and richest foundations dated from a period anterior to the Norman conquest, it was not until Wales knew the Norman invader that she became acquainted with this great religious order of the Latin Church. On their introduction the Benedictines were distinctly hostile to the Welsh. The monastery was the religious, the castle the civil fortress of the conquerors. Hence also it was probably owing to the existence of the Welsh tribes that the influence of the monastery was confined to its own possessions. How certain of the monasteries, notably the Cistercian, subsequently won over the Welsh princes to their side and

induced them to become most generous benefactors to their enemies is a point in Welsh history that has been too much neglected. The modern historian of the great monastic movement treats the establishment of monasteries in Wales in the same way as the establishment of monasteries in England, and sees no distinction between the endowment of a religious house by a Welsh chieftain and an English landlord. This is certainly not the true view. In England piety or superstition led the landowners to endow a religious house. What was the motive in Wales—where the monasteries were founded, and the order of monks selected, so that they might assist in the Norman settlement—which induced Welsh Princes to endow these hostile establishments, it is hard to say. Yet the history of the attempt, and its failure, to establish an alien aristocracy, alien monks, and alien laws in Wales is one that, from whatever side it is regarded, is full of interest, and will amply repay the most minute investigation. But it must always be remembered that it is not the history of the dealing of the English king with a people or nation; it is the history of his trying to play off one tribe against another; and to this fact is due in a great degree the protracted and successful resistance to English domination. Had the country been united under the rule of one man it could have been dealt with once and for all; as it was, to deal with the tribes in detail was more than the English kings could manage. The story of how they succeeded and how they failed; how they tried resort to force, and when that failed to flattery, and when that did not succeed tried force again, is most curious and instructive. Any one who will work out the history of this period in relation to some town, some castle, some monastery, deserves well of his countrymen. At present any such work has this great advantage; the worker is obliged to have recourse to the original authorities, as the materials are to a large extent unpublished.

V. THE TUDOR SETTLEMENT.

The failure of the Plantagenets did not deter the Tudors from trying their hand at settling Wales. The legislation of Henry VIII. made, as far as statutes could make, Wales a portion of England, treated the Welsh Church as part of the English Church, and dealt out to each the same degree of justice or injustice. To the present day these statutes are law, and form the basis on which the government of Wales is carried on. It cannot be said that the Tudor settlement has been an entire success. Its failure is due in a great measure to a statute for the further extension of which Wales is now agitating, the statute that disestablished and disendowed the monastic part of the Church. The result of the measure was to transfer a large part of the property and a larger part of the revenue of the Church to absentee landlords. The Church was so impoverished that the clergy have ever since had to struggle with poverty; the lands passed into the hands of English courtiers who knew little and cared less about Wales, whose sole object was rent. The effect of the dissolution of the monasteries in Wales forms a very interesting point for antiquarian research.

VI. LOCAL CUSTOMS.

The three centuries of the Tudor settlement by no means did away with distinctive Welsh customs and ideas. Probably up to fifty or seventy-five years ago there was but little change in the remote parts of Wales from the habits and customs that had existed under the Tudors. Now Railways and School Boards have altered all this, and the old customs and ideas are fast dying out. A most important task for Welsh archæologists is, before it is too late, to collect and record the customs, legends, and superstitions of Wales. Nothing can be more valuable and more important; they contain traces of popular ideas and beliefs that are fast

disappearing, but which are the relics of ideas, beliefs and customs that have prevailed in the country for centuries. If the opportunity is lost and no steps are now taken to record them, they will perish, and Welsh history will suffer a grievous loss ; for these legends and customs form links between the present and the past, and throw a cross light on the investigation of historical matters, which if once allowed to go out cannot be relit. Much of what has already been done in the direction of collecting them has been the work, not of any learned society,⁵ but of the energy and spirit of a local newspaper, *The Oswestry Advertiser*; and no one who knows *Bye-Gones* but will admit the value of the work. I am aware that there are one or two periodicals in South Wales which to some extent deal with the same subject ; but they merely make a selection from the local customs and legends, and do not record them all. Another branch of the same subject should not be forgotten : the importance of collecting and preserving a record of the various local peculiarities in buying and selling, in measuring land and crops. The old local names of fields should not be allowed to perish, as they are most valuable in tracing out and identifying past events in connection with localities.

The proper and systematic investigation of the different matters already mentioned with relation to Wales and Welsh archæology must be done by united, not by individual effort. There are plenty of persons who would willingly devote, who even do devote, time and labour to the subject, but who do not obtain any, or, if any, but very slight results from not working on any method or plan. I

⁵ *Non detrahère ausim*, &c., from *Bye-Gones* ; but it should be pointed out that a most valuable and exhaustive collection of one class of Welsh folk-lore (including many items never previously printed) has been contributed by Professor Rhys to *Y Cymmrodor* ; which has also printed many smaller contributions by others to Welsh folk-lore.—ED.

have tried to-night to indicate six main subjects of Welsh archæology, to some of which a person desiring to work might devote his attention. These subjects are :

1. The early inhabitants.
2. The Roman occupation.
3. The Norman settlement.
4. The Tudor settlement.
5. The Welsh Church.
6. The collection of the local customs, legends and beliefs of Wales.

Each of these subjects, if investigated in a proper and systematic way, will lead to important results. I shall not, I hope, be considered impertinent if I venture to state that it would be a great help to any such work if this Honourable Society would try to organize systematic research on these points of Welsh archæology. To two points its attention might be specially directed, both of the utmost importance, and both essential to any really good work. One has been already referred to; the establishment of a National Welsh Museum, in which whatever antiquarian objects are found in Wales should be placed. The other: the establishment of a National Welsh Library, which should contain all books and publications relating to Wales. I am well aware of the difficulties in the way of carrying out both or either of these objects. Yet unless something of the kind is done, Welsh archæology can never be properly studied. One practical suggestion I may perhaps be allowed to make: that pressure be brought to bear on the British Museum authorities to place all the various antiquities from Wales that are at present scattered about that collection in one room. We should then get some sort of idea of what Welsh art was and what Welshmen were. The other suggestion is the setting apart of a Welsh room in the Library, where all books relating to Wales should be placed; or, if this cannot be done, the making of a

separate catalogue of all books, MSS., and documents relating to Wales in the Museum might be insisted upon. No one who has not gone into the matter has any idea of the mass of materials for Welsh History that lies stowed away in the British Museum and at the Record Office.⁶ Until this store of materials is utilized, little really good work can be done; and the difficulty of access to the materials deters many workers.

Another thing which urgently requires to be carried out in the interest of Welsh archæology, and which some of the Welsh societies might reasonably be asked to undertake, is the making of an archæological survey of Wales, in which should be mentioned every earth-work, *maen hir*, camp, cairn, and all that is of importance or interest in churches, houses, or elsewhere, and all the contents of private collections. The destruction of antiquities that has been going on and that is still going on is deplorable, and in the interest of the country should be stopped. A list that was gone over and revised from time to time would tend greatly to stop the destruction or appropriation of antiquarian objects. This is a matter that almost admits of individual exertion. An archæological survey has already been made in several English counties, and in others is in course of being made. Will not some patriotic Welshman make a beginning on some Welsh county, or even on some Welsh town? Every Welsh antiquarian, nay every Welshman, should determine to do all in his power to prevent any further destruction of Welsh antiquities, and do his best to render those that remain accessible to study. It is not the more important objects that are in such great danger; it is the smaller ones, the

⁶ And in many private collections, especially that of the Hengwrt MSS. at Peniarth, which, as a Welsh collection, is equal in value (if we except the one item of "Welsh Records" such as those preserved at the Record Office) to all the other existing Welsh collections, public and private, put together, as is well known to scholars.—ED.

fragments, the odds and ends that are often considered useless, but which may yet serve to give the clue to some difficult questions in Welsh archæology. For it is the duty of the antiquary, by means of such different fragments, to piece together, bit by bit, the subject on which he is at work, until at last he is able, in fact as well as in fancy, to reproduce the whole by means of the process that is thus well described: ⁷ "Often, when wandering through our villages or fields, despoiled of their ancient glories, where every day the traces of our ancestors are in course of demolition, some relic is met with that has escaped the destroyer; it may be a moss-covered figure, a pointed door, a traceried window. Whatever it be, our imagination begins to work, our sentiment and our curiosity are alike aroused. In fancy we begin to wonder what part the fragment served in the whole; involuntarily we are driven by reflection and study bit by bit to picture the whole building to our imagination, until the complete work of reconstruction is accomplished. We then see some abbey, some church, some cathedral, restored in all its noble beauty; we imagine ourselves wandering under the gorgeous roof, joining in the prayers of a faithful people, surrounded by the symbolical pomp and the ineffable harmony of the ancient worship." Thus out of the fragments we have left we have to reconstruct the history of early Wales. The task is not easy, but by a careful comparison of each fragment, however insignificant, it is far from an impossible one, particularly to any student who has no special end in view, no direct purpose to serve, and who cares not what may be the result of his work on present theories or existing history, whose only object is to ascertain "*y gwir, yr holl wir, a dim ond y gwir.*"

⁷ Montalembert's *Histoire de Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie*, p. 11.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

NOTE (a) (on p. 113, *supra*).

The only instances we can think of in Welsh hagiology where both father and son are authentically recorded as having been termed or considered as "saints" are: that of St. Cadoc and his father St. Gwynllw; that of St. Llywelyn and St. Gwrnerth, father and son, the patron saints of Welshpool, from whom the speedwell (*Veronica officinalis*) is called in Welsh both *Llysiau Llywelyn* (whence our English name *fluellen*) and *Gwrnerth*; that of St. Gildas (who however is not, or at least not now, commemorated in Wales) and his sons Sts. Gwynnog and Noethon; and that of St. Teilo and his father Usyllt, commemorated at St. Issel's (in Welsh *Llan Usyllt*) near Tenby; to which we must add the case of St. Nonn (or Nonnita), mother to St. David.

On the other hand, the oldest Welsh *Bonedd y Saint* (with which may be included the old version of *Cognatio de Brychan*) furnishes several instances where all or many of the children of one man became saints; and there were certain families in particular (not all mentioned in the *Bonedd* itself) which each produced a very large number of saints. The best known of these families are:

(1) That of Brychan Brycheiniog, very many of whose children, and some of whose grandchildren, became saints. But it should be stated that the numbers are not nearly so great as is stated in the modern lists cherished and quoted as authentic by your average Welsh antiquary, the products of hundreds of years of blunders, duplications, and forgeries, elucubrated by innumerable scribes, compilers, and "editors." Most of the best-authenticated saints descended from Brychan are commemorated in South Wales. The question of these Brychan saints is a very puzzling one. As we have pointed out (*Y Cymmrodor*, xi., 100-1), the best-authenticated ones are pretty clearly the children of at least two distinct Brychans, one belonging to Breconshire, the other to what is now Southern Scotland. But this is not all. In Irish, in Cornish, and in Breton hagiology we find a King Brychan with many children, who all or mostly became saints. The Breton one (the names of whose children are mostly not preserved to us) is traced to Scotland, and admits of being plausibly identified with one of the Brychans who together made up the composite Brychan of Welsh hagiology; but the names of the children of the Irish and Cornish one respectively differ entirely (except one or two) both from each other and from those of the Welsh Brychan's progeny.

(2) The children of Caw, father of Gildas. Mostly commemorated as saints in Anglesey, and, all but one, omitted in the old *Bonedd*.

(3) The descendants of Ceredig of Ceredigion, son of Cunedda.

(Putting these aside, the saints descended from Cunedda are only about six in number.) Mostly commemorated in Central Wales, with the grand exceptions of St. David and St. Teilo.

(4) The descendants of a Breton (unknown to Breton records, though others of his sons occur in Welsh legend and tradition) known as Emyr Llydaw ('Emyr of Brittany'), who came over *en masse* (probably with St. Teilo in about 550), and are mainly commemorated in Central Wales.

The following is the original and genuine form of the often-quoted Triad of the "Three Holy Families of Britain":

"Teir gwelygordd Seynt Kymrn. Plant Brychan; a phlant Kunedda Wledig; a phlant Kaw o Brydyn ('The three stocks of Welsh Saints; the children of Brychan, those of Cunedda, and those of Caw of Pict-land')." This is found first in the *Hanesyn Hén*, a now lost MS. of the 13th or 14th century (once forming Hengwrt MS. 33), and occurs at pp. 11, 44, of the Cardiff copy of that MS., and likewise in the *Book of Ieuan Brechfa* (Hengwrt MS. 114=414), a great part of whose contents is copied from the *Hanesyn Hén*. The late and made-up document known as the "Third Series of Triads" purports to be partly based on the "Book of Ieuan Brechfa" (perhaps the MS. now known as such); but in Triad No. 18 of the Series (*Myr. Arch.*, ii. 61) the "stock (or family) of Caw" of the original Triad is deliberately replaced by the "stock of Brân Fendigaid," the importation of whom from Welsh legend into Welsh hagiology (only found in the latest hagiological documents concocted in Glamorganshire or thereabouts, and not countenanced by anything in the genuine literature of the subject), and the ancillary details connected with the process, especially the links by which Brân and his son Caradog are connected with the Lucius Christianization-legend, form altogether what is perhaps (next to Geoffrey of Monmouth's performances) the most impudent forgery in Welsh literature.

It should be added that in the same documents which contain this master-forgery and many minor ones, numerous fathers, mothers, and ancestors of authentic Welsh Saints, who themselves never had the slightest claim to sainthood (or to any but a purely secular reputation), are deliberately or ignorantly added to the ranks of Welsh Saints. Often they are identified with real Saints (or at least with persons after whom particular churches were named, who were not necessarily the saints to whom those churches were dedicated) who in name happen to be identical with, though in personality they were wholly distinct from, these new candidates for saintship. (A great many of these and similar forgeries of the Glamorgan documents will be found pointed out by the present writer in *Bye-Gones* for 1890, pp. 448-9, 482-5, 532-6.)

NOTE (b) (on p. 114, *supra*).

We should like to say a few words as to the date when the few Welsh Saints' Lives (often, alas! but meagre epitomes of lost Lives, or mere commemoration homilies) that time has preserved to us were composed. The oldest of them are those of Welsh Saints who went to Brittany and became naturalized there; of whom the chief were St. Samson, St. Brienc, St. Pol de Léon, and St. Malo. The oldest life of St. Samson was written in about 600 (shortly after his death), in Brittany, but by an author who himself informs us that he had visited Llanilltyd Fawr in search of materials for his biography (much of which was based on the information of a cousin of the saint), and also parts of Cornwall; this life will be found printed in the first volume of Mabillon's *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti* (and see *Revue Celtique*, vi. 4, note 3). St. Pol's Life was compiled (partly from an older one then existing) towards the end of the ninth century, and St. Malo's Life exists in a MS. of the eleventh century at the British Museum (Royal MS. 13 A. X.). But perhaps it is to the Welsh Saints' Lives of (at least locally) purely Welsh *provenance* that Mr. Willis Bund's remarks mainly apply. As to the two most important of these, it should be pointed out that we know their authors to have been men who, though they survived the Norman Conquest, belonged by birth and education to a period before that of Norman influence on the Welsh Church. We refer first to the Life of St. Cadoc (infinitely the most important of all the Welsh Lives of Saints written in Wales). With the exception of the last fifteen sections (which are on their face but a kind of appendix, mostly drawn from some lost Chartulary of Llancarvan), this Life is stated at its conclusion (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 80) to be the work of one *Lifris*, whom it is almost impossible not to identify with the *Lifricus*, son of Bishop Herwald (Bishop of Llandaff 1056—1104; he died at a great age in the latter year)¹, who is stated (*Lib. Land.*, pp. 261-2) to have been "filius Episcopi, Archidiaconus Gulat Morcant, et magister Sancti Catoci de Lannearuan." Secondly, we refer to the Life of St. David, written by Ricemarchus or Rhygyfarch (yclept by the charlatans *Rhyddmarch*), who died in 1097-9, aged 43, and was the son of Sulien, who himself died in 1089, aged 75 or 80, and was the last Bishop of St. David's under the pre-Norman *régime*,² as Herwald had been of Llandaff; they

¹ See *Lib. Land.*, 84, 254-5, 268. He had held the Bishopric 48 years.

² He was consecrated in 1071. See *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion* under the years 1071, 1076, 1078, 1083, 1089; also the

were succeeded by Bishops Wilfred and Urban respectively. Leofric himself was presumably the last Abbot of Llancarvan. These two lives are preserved in the great collection of Welsh Saints' Lives (now forming part of the volume numbered "Vespasian, A. xiv." in the Cottonian MSS.) written (we suspect at Brecon) in about 1200, but largely, if not entirely, transcribed from earlier documents. Without having made a detailed examination of the only other two lives in this volume which are of any length or pretensions (those of St. Gwynllyw and St. Illyd), we should judge from pp. 155-6, 181, of the *Cambro-British Saints* that they were originally composed in their present form at about the same period as the Lives of St. David and St. Cadoc, viz., not far from the year 1100. With regard to the other Lives of Welsh Saints in the MS., they are quite short, mostly very short, epitomes. They consist of Lives of St. Brynach, St. Carannog, St. Tathan, St. Padarn, and St. Cybi; a second Life of St. Cybi, a Life of St. Dubricius, a second Life of St. Dubricius (taken largely from Geoffrey of Monmouth), and Lives of St. Teilo and St. Clydog. All these, except the five last-named documents, are shamefully edited in the *Cambro-British Saints*, in which are also printed the two remaining Lives of the MS. volume, those of St. Aidan of Ferns and St. Brendan (only the first leaf or two of the last is preserved), two Irish Saints specially connected, the one with St. David's and parts of Dyfed, the other with Llancarvan. As for the Lives of St. Dubricius, St. Teilo, and St. Clydog, they are copies (abridged in places) of the same lives in the *Lib. Land.*, transcribed, not from the present *Lib. Land.*, which is itself a transcript not earlier than 1150, but from an older MS., probably the original compiled by Bishop Urban in 1132 or thereabouts. That these three lives (and also a Life of St. Oudocens or Euddogwy, found in the *Lib. Land.*, but not in Vesp. A. xiv.) were compiled under Norman influences there can be no doubt; and the same remark applies, only to a still greater degree, to the Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern (both written in the North of England or the South of Scotland) and the various Lives of St. Winifred. John of Tinmouth's collection, made in the fourteenth century,

former chronicle under 1099 and 1115, and the latter one under 1097 and 1112. Wilfred is called *Wilfre* in MS. B, and *Wilfridus* in MS. C, of the *Annales* (p. 35), and *Wilfre* in the *Brut*, p. 52; but at p. 118 of the *Brut* his name is corrupted into *Ieffrei* or *Geffrei*. Rhygyfarch also had a son called Sulieu, who died (see the *Brut*, p. 166) in 1145. There was another "Rigeware clericus," who delivered up Cardigan-Castle to Rhys ap Gruffudd (*Annales*, under 1166).

contains a few other short Lives of Welsh Saints, as well as those epitomized from the works already mentioned: viz., the Lives of St. Petrock, St. Keyne (in Welsh St. *Cein*, who has nothing to do with St. *Ceneu* of Llangeneu, as Welsh antiquaries and English guide-book hacks are apt to inform us), St. Justinian, and St. Cenydd; and Capgrave, who printed John of Tinmouth's collection in the following century, adds Lives of St. Decumanus, and of St. Dochan, alias Cyngar, the saint who gave name to Congresbury in Somersetshire, and to the Llandough's, which are called in Welsh *Llandochoa*. All the originals of these six epitomes have perished; but John of Tinmouth tells us that he used an old and often illegible Life of St. Cenydd (commemorated at Llangenydd in Gower), existing "in one place only in Wales" (Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglia*, fo. ccvi^b). The only other Life of a Welsh Saint (except the Welsh Life of St. Collen and a few shorter ones, also in Welsh, and not found in MSS. earlier than the sixteenth century) preserved to us is that of St. Beuno, the compiler of which Life (written in Welsh) expressly states that he had many more materials before him than those of which he made use; this Life is of the thirteenth century. We have made no mention of the other Lives of St. David, either Welsh or Latin; for they are all mainly based upon Rhygyfarch's work, though here and there they contain details (such as names of persons or places) which are not in the older work (at least as we now have it), and must have been drawn, directly or indirectly, from still older sources. There are also extant some details of the life of St. Beuno not found in the now existing biography of that Saint, and clearly traceable to the original documents or traditions on which the latter work was based.

NOTE (c) (on p. 116, *supra*).

The claims of Bishop Urban of Llandaff were twofold: (1) for episcopal jurisdiction within a certain boundary, comprising considerably more territory than the present limits of the diocese, which boundary is set forth in *Lib. Land.*, pp. 126-7, and abstracted and confirmed in the bull of Pope Honorius II. on pp. 41-2; (2) for the ownership, as Bishop, of certain estates (most of them including, and named from, churches), the majority of which estates were inside the diocesan boundaries claimed, but many of which were not.

It is very noteworthy that not one of the places specified as "confirmed" to Bishop Urban in the above-named bull and two others (commencing at pp. 31 and 85 respectively, the first of which contains a virtually identical list, and the second an abridged list, the same so far as it goes) is outside the diocesan boundaries claimed by the Bishop. There seems to have been some reason for the

omission in these bulls of the places claimed by him outside these boundaries. On the other hand, there are two bulls of Innocent II. addressed to Bishop Bernard of St. David's (pp. 54, 59), in which he is summoned to answer the claims of Bishop Urban to several places inside the narrowest possible limits of Bernard's, but outside the widest limits of Urban's, diocese ("quæ omnia [loca]," say the bulls, "juris Landavensis ecclesiæ, sicut ipse asserit Episcopus, esse videntur").³

³ One of the places stated in the *Lib. Land.* to have been granted to the Bishops of Llandaff (by Awst, king of Brycheiniog, and his sons; see p. 138) was Llangors (corruptly spelt Llangorse) in Breconshire, which lay just outside the limits claimed for his diocese by Bishop Urban. Professor Rhys has, with reference to the statements in the above note, directed our attention to the passage in *Lib. Land.*, 227-9, where Tewdwr ab Elisise, king of Brycheiniog, at the beginning of the 10th century, inflicts an insult on Bishop Llibio of Llandaff, while the latter was staying "in monasterio suo Lancors." Lumberth, Bishop of St. David's (who died in 944), is thereupon called upon to arbitrate between Llibio and Tewdwr, and the matter is settled by the grant by the king to Bishop Llibio of Llanfihangel Tref Ceriau (this would now be *Tre Geiro* or *Tre Giro*), otherwise Ll. Meibion Gratlaun (see also *ib.*, 244), which had previously been granted by another Tewdwr, the son of Rhain, to Gwrfan, Bishop of Llandaff (see pp. 158-160). This place is in the *Lib. Land.*, pp. 413, 499, doubtfully identified with Llanfihangel Cwm Du, on the ground of one of the MS. transcripts of the original MS. reading the name of the stream mentioned in the boundaries at pp. 160, 228, as "Riangoll" (which is the name of the river at Ll. Cwm Du) in the first of these two places; but the MS. reads *Tauquel* at p. 160, and *Taugeiel* at p. 228 (see Rhys and Evans' *Book of Llann Dav*, pp. 168, 238), and there can be little or no doubt that the word *tawel*, 'quiet,' is intended; that the stream meant is identical with the *Nant Tawel* in the boundary of Llangors at *Lib. Land.*, p. 138, a tributary of the Llyfni; and that the church meant is Llanfihangel Tal y Llyn, which is situated on a tributary of the Llyfni and adjacent to Llangors. It is worth mentioning that the church of the parish adjacent to Llangors on the other side, viz., Cathedine (anciently Llanfihangel Cathedine, as in Leland's *Itinerary*, 1769, vol. v., fo. 69), is also dedicated to St. Michael; it and Llanfihangel Tal y Llyn are just outside the boundaries claimed by Bishop Urban, whilst Llanfihangel Cwm Du was just within them. It should be added that Llanfihangel Cwm Du is mentioned in the *Lib. Land.*, at

Another noteworthy point for students of the *Liber Llandavensis* (of which a thoroughly trustworthy edition is now being brought out by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans, to supersede the old edition, which swarms with textual blunders) is that while the lists in the Bulls on pp. 31, 41, and 85 contain some places which are not elsewhere in the *Lib. Land.* specified as having been granted to the see, they omit far more places lying within the limits claimed for the diocese, the grants of which places to the See of Llandaff are recorded or fully set forth in the same book.

With reference to the theory that some of Urban's claims really represented the survival of the jurisdiction of the *archimonasterium* of Llandaff over the subordinate establishments both within and without the diocese, it is a very striking fact that every place now or ever called "Llandeilo," or known to be dedicated to St. Teilo (with the exception of Llandeilo at Hentland⁴ in Herefordshire, and the possible exceptions of Trelech a'r Bettws in Carmarthenshire, which we suspect to be identical with the Llandeilo Tref y Cernyw

p. 267, where it is described as the "ecclesia Sancti Michael" "in Istratyn;" the other two Llanfihangels just mentioned were outside the limits of Ystrad-yw. At p. 244 a third church in this part of Brycheiniog, Llan y Deuddeg Saint, is also mentioned as claimed by Llandaff; it was within or adjacent to Llangors, as may be seen by a reference to the end of p. 138. It is interesting, by the way, to note that the church of Llangors is dedicated to St. Paulinus, a saint chiefly known as the teacher of St. David.

⁴ This church was in the same enclosure (*in eodem cœmeterio*) as the earlier church dedicated to St. Dubricius. See *Lib. Land.*, p. 263, where a list of the churches of Erging or Archenfield will be found. In that list *Henllan Dibric* or Hentland and *Lunn Tydiuc* (or *Lanntidwic*, p. 264) are mentioned as different churches; and it seems almost if not quite certain that the *Henllann Tituic* (also on the Wye) of *Lib. Land.*, pp. 174, 221, which was granted to the Bishops of Llandaff, was identical with Llandydiwg, not with Hentland. Probably Llan-dydiwg is identical with *Dix-ton* (called *Dukeston* in the *Tax. Eccl.*, p. 160, col. 2), which was in Erging, and whose church adjoins the Wye.

Since writing the above we have found two more exceptions, viz., the church of Brechfa, dedicated to St. Teilo, and Chapel Teilo in the parish of Talley (*Tal y Llychau*). But it is by no means certain that these places may not be identical with some of the places in Cantref Mawr claimed by the Bishops of Llandaff in the *Lib. Land.*, which places there bear other names that cannot now be identified.

⁵ *Lib. Land.*, 117, 244, 363, 521.

claimed by Urban, Llandeloi, the derivation of whose name from St. Teilo we doubt without further evidence, and Merthyr Dovan, which presumably had an earlier dedication to Dyfan), was claimed by Bishop Urban as the property of his See. It would be interesting to know whether any of the many places called "Llanddewi," or dedicated to St. David, within the diocese of Llandaff were ever claimed, either ecclesiastically or otherwise, by the Bishops of St. David's. But we only have one side of the case presented to us, the old records of St. David's having long since perished.⁶

It is of course possible that in some cases where no grant of the estates has been preserved to us, but we simply have the statement that such and such a church (or maybe parish—for if we are merely given such a name as *Llandeilo Cilrhedyn*,⁷ it is impossible to say whether church, or parish, or merely territory inclusive of the church is meant) was claimed by the Bishop of Llandaff, the claim may not have been one for more or less complete ownership, but for some kind of dues, or merely for some ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But in truth the whole subject requires working out by some one who will make it the object of special research, and bring to his task a thorough knowledge, not only of Welsh (ancient and modern) and of Welsh topography, but also of the history and antiquities of the English, Irish, and Scottish churches. But unfortunately Wales has as yet shown no disposition to produce Todds or Reeves:

⁶ It appears from Giraldus' *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesie*, &c., that the first non-Welsh Bishops of St. David's, Wilfred (we presume he was not a Welshman), Bernard, and David, were more noted for parting with than for reclaiming the possessions of their See. Amongst these possessions was Cenarth (anciently called *Cenarth Mawr*, to distinguish it from a *Cenarth Bychan*, near Pembroke), which was also claimed by the Bishops of Llandaff. See the Rolls Edition of Giraldus' Works, iii. 152, and *Lib. Land.*, 120-2, 244.

The *manerium* of St. Ishmael's in Rhôs or Roose (Giraldus, iii. 154), if (as appears from passages in the *Life of St. Caradoc* in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie*, fo. lv^b., and in Owen's *Welsh Laws*, i. 558, ii. 790) identical with the "Lann issan mainaur" in Rhos of *Lib. Land.*, 54, 60, 117, 244, was also claimed by both Bishops. Mathry (see *Lib. Land.*, 120-2, 244) was also, we believe, so claimed.

We may add that there was at least one, and probably were two or three places, which were claimed both by Llancarvan and by Llandaff. At p. 232 we actually find a grant of Llancarvan itself to Llandaff; but made to Bishop Gwgon, who also held the Abbacy of Llancarvan.

⁷ *Lib. Land.*, 117, 244.

THE PUBLICATION OF WELSH HISTORICAL RECORDS.¹

BY THE EDITOR.

I HAVE been asked to contribute some recommendations as to "The Publication of *Welsh Historical Records*." The field embraced by this term is a very wide one; but I propose to confine my present remarks to records (1) the *historical* character and importance of which is beyond all question, (2) the interest of which is such as to appeal to the greatest number both of historical researchers and of general readers, and (3) which I see no present prospect of being adequately edited and presented to the world by any form of private enterprise.

I refer to the two series of Welsh historical Chronicles, one in Latin, the other in Welsh, which together embrace the period between the departure of the Romans and the death of Llewelyu ap Gruffudd; and are known respectively by the loose generic names of *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion*.

The general public is under considerable misapprehensions on the subject of these Welsh Chronicles. First, it is supposed that all of them have been printed; and secondly, that

¹ Read before the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod at Brecon on August 29th, 1889. The attention of readers of this paper is particularly called to note 7 on page 152, and the last paragraph of note 3 on page 160, *infra*.

such of them as have been printed have been adequately and competently edited. How far both these ideas are from the truth it will be my endeavour to show you in this paper. To that end I will now proceed to give you a brief account of the nature of the various chronicles, the MSS. in which they are contained, and of the so-called editions in which some of them have been given to the world. And I will append some suggestions as to how these works ought to be brought out in a complete and scholarly form, and so as to be of general use and interest, not only to scholars and students, but to the public at large.

And first I will take the series of Welsh annals written in the Latin language and generally known as the *Annales Cambriæ*.

The oldest document now existing which bears any resemblance to a chronicle of Welsh affairs consists of some loose historical memoranda², tacked on with little arrangement and little or no chronology to a series of genealogies of several of the dynasties of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. These genealogies are shown by their contents to have been originally composed by some Welshman of Northumbria or Cumbria, perhaps at Lindisfarne, towards the end of the seventh century, and subsequently added to by some other Welshman or Welshmen, the last additions whose date we can fix having been made about 100 years later. The latest-dated person named in the newer portion (§ 60) is king Ecgrith of Mercia, who died in 796, in the same year as his father, the celebrated Offa.³ Some of the disconnected memoranda, such as

² Relating mainly to early Northumbrian history, and to the wars of the Northumbrian kings, first with the Welsh princes of "The North" (*Y Gogledd*), whose territories they largely annexed, and subsequently with Penda and the kings of Gwynedd.

³ Mr. Skene entirely overlooks the passage in which Ecgrith and

the well-known one (§ 62) which records the conquest of Gwynedd by Cunedda and his eight sons (the date of which event is there fixed at a period not later than *circa* 401), and mentions the poets Aneurin and Taliessin and three other poets less known to fame⁴ (all of whom

Offa are mentioned when he says (*Four Books*, i. 37-8) that this document "must have been compiled shortly after 738, as that is the latest date to which the history of any of the Saxon kingdoms is brought down." What he refers to is the mention (§ 61) of Eadberht, who succeeded to the kingdom of Northumbria in 738, abdicated in 757, and died in 768; his brother Ecgberht, also there mentioned as "Bishop," was Archbishop of York from 735 to 766. M. de la Borderie, when he says in *L'Historia Britonum*, pp. 10-11, that, after the *Genealogies* had been completed in about 685-690 (which may be correct enough), "there were added to them in the eighth century certain names of princes which carry the succession of the kings of Mercia down to 716, and of those of Northumbria down to 738," copies Mr. Skene's mistake and adds another of his own. His date 716 must refer to the succession in that year of Æthelbald, whose name begins the last sentence but one of the section (§ 60) relating to the Mercian kings. But M. de la Borderie has omitted to read the last sentence of the section, which gives the genealogy of Ecgferth, son of Offa.

⁴ Viz. Talhaiarn Tad Awen, Cian Gwenith Gwawd, and "Bluchbard." It is the last name which used to be—and probably is still by many—considered to represent *Llywarch Hên*; as to which it may be said that *Loumarch* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 171 top) or *Leumarch*, the old forms of the name which we now write and pronounce *Llywarch*, are words extremely unlikely to have been scribally confused with *Bluchbard*. With the formation of the last word we may compare that of the name of "Tristfardd, the poet of Urien" (Triad No. 11, in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 458), and with *Bluch-* (which *per se* might be either *Blwch* or *Bluch* in modern Welsh) the Breton word *blow'h* 'beardless.' Possibly we have the same word in the epithet of *Eli Fluch* (*Book of Llann Dâr*, p. 277, l. 1), and (in a corrupted form) in that of the personage variously named in the pedigrees of the Demetian royal line "Elgan Wefys *Fflwch*" (*Twm Shôn Catti's Tonn Book of Pedigrees*, pp. 6, 9) and *Elgan Wefyl-Hwch* (Cardiff copy of *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 77). As to *Llywarch Hên*, there is no evidence that he ever was a poet, beyond the fact that

it places in about the middle of the sixth century), may (but equally well may not) be subsequent additions, made from 100 to 150 years later.⁵ The whole of this short composition has providentially escaped destruction by an accident which caused it to be tacked on as a sort of historical appendix to the tract on the *Battles of Arthur*, which itself forms the final chapter of the romantic, and therefore popular, work known as Nennius' *Historia Britonum*.

But I do not propose to dwell further on this document, which has been printed (with a smaller percentage of mistakes than is unhappily usual in the editing of any document of Welsh interest) in Stevenson and San Marte's editions of Nennius (§§ 57—66), is preserved in four MSS.⁶

some old poetry exists which is put into his mouth by Welsh tradition—poems of which he figures as the spokesman. Hence it has become the fashion to ascribe to Llywarch Hên all old or oldish Welsh poetry similar in metre, apparent age, and style, to the poetry which really has some claim to be connected with his name.

⁵ It is worth pointing out that the passage in § 63: "In illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives, vincebantur," though placed in quite a different context from that in which it occurs in the authors now to be cited, is obviously taken either from Gildas' *Historia*, § 26: "Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant." or from Bede's *Hist. Eccl.*, I. 16 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 122 A): "Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant;" a passage where Bede is of course only copying Gildas.

⁶ Viz., in the following MSS., the dates appended to which below are those given in the "Class-Catalogue" of MSS. in the British Museum by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson (now Principal Librarian), when he was Keeper of the MSS. there :

Stevenson's A, i.e.,	Harleian MS. 3859	(early 12th century).
„ B „	Cottonian MSS.,	Vespasian D. xxi. (Ditto).
„ C „	„ „	„ B. xxv. (late 12th cent.).
„ F „	„ „	„ Vitellius A. xiii. (Ditto).

The *Genealogies* do not occur in the Nennius of Caligula A. viii. (Stevenson's D), as wrongly stated by Stevenson (Preface to his *Nennius*, p. xxiii., repeated by San Marte, in his *Nennius et Gildas*, p. 20), though there are other genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kings in quite another article in the same MS. volume.

(two of the early twelfth century) in the British Museum, and could be reprinted with notes in the compass of half

M. de la Borderie, in his *L'Historia Britonum*, pp. 7, 9, 59, states that the *Genealogies* are found in six MSS., and in his note to p. 59 he specifies five of these MSS. as being the four we have given above plus the one in which Stevenson wrongly states the *Genealogies* to occur. At pp. 113-4 the same list is given, but with the addition of another MS., only mentioned in the following note (on the word "Martiano" at the end of *Nennius*, § 31) in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 63, note a: "In MS. Coll. C. C. Cantabrigiæ No. CLXXXIII. circa finem sæculi decimi exarato, post regum Saxonum genealogias hæc occurrunt: 'Quando Gratianus consul fuit secundo, et Æquitius quarto, tunc his consulibus Saxones a Wyrtegeorno in Brittannia suscepti sunt, anno CCCXLVIII. (sic) a Passione Christi.'"

The C.C.C.C. MS. in question is described in the printed catalogue as being written "vetustioribus literis Saxonis," and commencing with "Liber Bedæ presbiteri de vita et miraculis S. Cuthberti," followed by a number of lists of names, chiefly of English prelates, the last of which lists (No. 14) is styled "Genealogiæ regum Britanniæ regnantium in diversis locis." This is the only tract in the MS. which can possibly be meant by the "Genealogiæ Regum Saxonum" of the note quoted from the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* It cannot be a text of *Nennius*; and M. de la Borderie should have consulted the C.C.C.C. catalogue from which we quote before including the MS. in his list of the MSS. of *Nennius*, as he does on his p. 114. If the "Genealogies of kings of Britain" which the MS. contains are really our Nennian *Genealogies*, all one can say is that it is extraordinary that this MS., of the tenth century, should never have been used for the editions either of Petrie or of Stevenson, especially when we consider that three other C.C.C.C. MSS. were used by Petrie, viz., Nos. CXXXIX. (his B), C. (his E), and CCCLXIII. (his O). The first of the three was also used by Stevenson, who refers to it as "K."

There are of course other collections of the royal genealogies of the Heptarchy besides the one in "Nennius;" and perhaps the document contained in C.C.C.C. MS. 183 is one of these. In any case it is noteworthy that the words quoted from the tract by the Editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* agree in the corresponding passage of *Nennius*, § 31 ("Regnante Gratiano secundo Æquantio, Saxones a Guorthigirno suscepti sunt, anno cccclvii^{mo}. post passionem Christi"), with the MSS. of the edition of *Nennius* which contains the

a dozen pages. My excuse for dwelling on it thus far is to be found in the facts, *first*, that it lies at the foundation of all strictly Welsh history, and, *secondly*, because much the oldest of the three chronicles on which I have next to dwell is not only appended to it as a direct continuation, but in its earlier parts largely based thereupon.

The earliest known *Annales Cambriæ* (styled in the *Rolls* and *Monumenta* editions "MS. A") are annexed as a continuation to this little Chronicle (if it may be called so)⁷ in Harleian MS. 3859,⁸ one of the two oldest of the four MSS. which I have lately mentioned. They exist in no other known MS., and have been recently printed in a form which

"Saxon Genealogies" in reading *Gratiano*, whereas other MSS. (notably Stevenson's D and E—Cott. Caligula, A. viii. and Nero, D. viii.—two of the most important MSS. of the previous edition) read "*Martiano*." The Vatican MS. also reads "*Gratiano*" (see Cardinal Mai's text in *Appendix ad Opera edita ab Angelo Mai*, 1871, pp. 102-3).

⁷ More strictly speaking, they form the direct continuation of a little series of *Calculi*, or brief chronological data (themselves appended to the "*Saxon Genealogies*"), which chiefly relate to the years 425-436, whilst the *Annales* begin with the year 444. The *Calculi* in question are appended to the so-called *Saxon Genealogies* in all the known MSS. thereof, but are in themselves quite a distinct composition. They form § 66 of Stevenson's edition of Nennius, and are also printed (from Harleian MS. 3859) in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 152 (and cf. *ib.*, p. 143-4).

⁸ This MS., owing to a slip of Aneurin Owen's, is miscalled No. "958" in his *Introduction to Brut y Tywysogion* (for which see p. 151, *infra*), p. vii. Harleian MS. 958 is a MS. of the Dimetian Code of Welsh Laws. See his *Preface to Ancient Laws of Wales* (8vo edition), p. xxxi., and my list of the MSS. used by him and their exact designations, in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 298-9. Aneurin Owen was unfortunately very prone to make this kind of mistake; see the same *Preface*, p. xxvii., where he twice writes "Harleian" instead of "Cottonian," and likewise the *Introduction*, p. xviii., where he makes a similar error to that recorded above, and miscalls MS. Cleopatra, B. v. "Cleopatra, A. xiv," which is a MS. of the Gwentian Code of Welsh Laws. And cf. pp. 147-8 (note 5), p. 154 (note 6) and pp. 161-2, *infra*.

exactly reproduces every feature of the original MS. (except the shape of its characters) in the ninth volume of *Y Cymmrodor* (pp. 152-169), where it is attempted to be shown (pp. 144-5) that the composition of these *Annales* in their present form is to be dated between 954 and 988, and probably in 954 or 955. The known sources used by the compiler are, first, the little Chronicle to which his *Annales* were annexed; secondly, the tract *On the 12 battles of Arthur*, immediately preceding that Chronicle in the MSS., and forming, in fact, the concluding chapter of "Nennius'" *Historia* properly so called; and thirdly, some lost Chronicle or Chronicles used by the Irish Annalist Tighearnach in the 11th century and probably by other Irish Annalists, such as some of the lost chroniclers whose works were among the originals used in the compilation of the *Annals of Ulster* in 1498. The two other chronicles loosely included under the same title of *Annales Cambrie* are carried down to the year 1288, and exist in contemporary MSS., one (styled "MS. B") in the Record Office,⁹ the other ("MS. C") in the British Museum.¹ They are both largely based on the older *Annales* ("MS. A") so far as those go, and on a MS. (or MSS.) of those *Annales* that is now lost, and was in places a more correct transcript than the now unique existing one.² Both these Chronicles begin

⁹ It is written on the fly-leaves of a certain volume known as the "Breviate of Domesday," and containing an abridged copy of Domesday Book. See *Preface to Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 93 (a passage cribbed by Mr. Ab Ithel in his *Preface*, p. xxv.); and for some account of the other contents of the fly-leaves see Mr. Arthur Roberts' remarks in *Y Cymmrodor*, x. 201-3, and the footnotes appended thereto.

¹ Where it forms part of the miscellaneous contents of the volume of the Cottonian MSS. numbered "Domitian A. i."

² See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix., note 8 to p. 163, and note 6 to p. 165, for cases (under the years 813 and 865 respectively) where MS. B has the correct reading, and MS. A a corrupt one. The first of the two instances is a case of homœoteleuton; and in both it is highly unlikely,

with the Mosaic beginning of the world, and each is taken up with a short epitome of sacred and profane history till the period, approximately coinciding with the commencement of the older *Annales* in 444, when the entries begin mainly to be confined to British and Irish events. In the precious Rolls Edition, these epitomes, instead of appearing in the text, are relegated to an appendix.

These three chronicles have been edited in a sort of way, that is to say the three separate texts have been artificially combined into one whole, with the usual elaborate system of collations by figures and ticks at the foot of the page (so admirably adapted to confuse all but the initiated !) in the publication of the Rolls Series, issued in 1861 under the name of *Annales Cambriæ*, and purporting to be edited by the Rev. Mr. Williams Ab Ithel of Llan y' Mawddwy. The portions of both *Annales* and *Brut y Tywysogion* up to the Norman Conquest had, however, been previously printed in a similar manner, and with short prefaces, under the unacknowledged editorship of the celebrated Welsh scholar, Aneurin Owen, in the massive official tome known as *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, volume i., published in 1848, and containing a complete collection of materials for the history of England and Wales from the earliest times to the Norman Conquest. Now the two later Chronicles, during the period common to them and the older *Annales*, viz., between 444 and 954, differ little in substance from the latter or from one another,³

if not impossible, that the correct reading of *B* can be accounted for in any way but by supposing that the scribe of that MS. had some other text (or at least other source of information) than our MS. *A* before him. Most probably he was copying from some sister-MS. to *A* or from the lost archetype of *A*.

³ The earliest important secular entry found in either of the later MSS. is *Guentis Strages* in *B* under the year 649. Nothing else is known of this battle, or with whom it was fought. Another valuable entry, also in *B*, is "Ceniul regiones Demetorum vastavit" under

but very much in phraseology and the orthography of proper names. As they proceed, however, the differences of every kind become progressively greater and greater, till finally, after 1203, they part company and become entirely different.⁴ This being the case, it will be clear that any one text formed by a fusion and collation of the three must

818; Kenwulf, King of Mercia, must be meant, who reigned from 796 to 819 or 822, when he died; but no campaign of his against the Welsh is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. According to MS. *C*, Offa had in 795 devastated *Riennuch*, i.e., *Rheinwg*, which was a name for Dyfed from about 800 onward (apparently the name was derived from the *Rhain* ap Meredydd, king of Dyfed, who died in 808, and not from *Rhain* ap Cadwgan, his great-grandfather—see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 163, 171, 175); and it is interesting to know that the same policy was pursued towards that kingdom by Cenwulf, who practically succeeded Offa on the throne of Mercia. The entries in the *Annales Cambriæ*, under 778 and 784 (respectively), that the “Southern Britons” and the “Britons” were harried by Offa do not necessarily imply that the ravages mentioned extended into Dyfed, which was only a part of the land of the “Southern Britons.” It would be interesting to know between whom was fought the Battle of Rhuddlan, placed by the *Annales* in the same year as Offa’s death (796). Caradog, king of Gwynedd, who is commonly said to have fallen in it (on the authority of some miserable hash-up of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, such as that used by Powel in his so-called “History” of Wales; see ed. 1584, p. 20), was not, according to the *Annales Cambriæ* and the genuine *Brut*, killed by the English till two years later; nor have we any information as to where or why his slaughter took place.

Under 817 (the year previous to the entry about the devastation of Rheinwg by Kenwulf in MS. *B*) all the MSS. of the *Annales* mention a “Battle of Llanfaes”—but we are not told whether Llanfaes near Beaumaris or Llanfaes near Brecon is meant, or between whom the battle was fought.

Most of the independent entries in MSS. *B* and *C* up to 954 are of little historical interest; some are stupid blunders, and others derived from sources which still exist.

⁴ *Preface to Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 93, copied by Mr. Ab Ithel in his *Preface to Annales Cambriæ*, p. xxviii.; see the two passages in parallel columns in *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, pp. 328-9.

largely constitute a mere mosaic of disjointed fragments, without entity or unity of its own ; from the like of which it is absolutely impossible for any one to take a bird's-eye view, far less form a comparative and critical estimate, of any one of the separate works, its nature or value. The plan of adopting one MS. as the text, and putting the variants of other MSS. in the notes, is of course an excellent one when the collated MSS. are substantially identical ; but when they are very substantially different, and especially when, as with our *Annales*, each text contains orthographical peculiarities of the highest value for the history of the little-known stages of a language, the system is an utterly inadequate one. The process of forming one text out of such discordant materials may be compared to that of making an elaborate knot with threads of various colours. The trouble of making the knot is vast, but the trouble of undoing it when once made is so much vaster, that there is little likelihood of its ever being undone to any purpose. The only adequate plan in such a case is to print the various texts in parallel columns, as was done by Thorpe in his edition for the Rolls Series of the six versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, notwithstanding the fact that in the previous edition of the early part of that *Chronicle* in the *Monumenta*, these six texts had been mixed up into one mongrel whole. And here one may aptly pause to ask : Why were the early Welsh Chronicles, both *Annales* and *Bruts*, not considered by the official luminaries of that epoch worthy of the same scientific treatment as the early English ones ? However this may be, an edition of our *Annales*, similar to that of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but with notes (which are not permitted in the Rolls Series, except to illustrate the various readings)⁵ is now

⁵ The official system, while not permitting the simplest topographical and genealogical notes, without which such chronicles as our

required to furnish a solid basis to Welsh History ; and, to make the work complete, the oldest *Annales* should be prefaced by a reprint of the short tracts which preface them in the original MS., and which they continue and illustrate—namely, the very short tract on the *Battles of Arthur*, and the so-called *Saxon Genealogies*, which I have already described to you. Such an edition of the *Annales* would be urgently required even had we reason to believe that the printed text, such as it is, had been accurately edited from the MSS. Unfortunately, it seems certain that at least the portion of the text after the Norman Conquest, i.e., that for which Mr. Ab Ithel was solely responsible, teems with mistakes, which, even if they are in the MSS. (which I for one cannot believe), should have been pointed out and corrected in the critical notes. Some of the hugest blunders are pointed out by the late Mr. Longueville Jones in his incisive review in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1861, p. 331. Among the most ridiculous is the torturing of *Pascha*, meaning ‘Easter,’ into a man’s name “*Pusetra*,” which last duly appears in the *Index* in a summary of the passage which shows the Indexer’s entire innocence of the rudiments of Latin grammar ;⁶ but whether the Indexer was Mr. Ab

Annales or *Brut* are almost useless to almost all, permits of any desired quantity of irrelevant bosh being dragged into a so-called preface (which is paid for at so much a sheet or page!) by the padding sciolist. See Mr. Ab Ithel’s prefaces (or rather such parts of them as are his own composition) ; and see his so-called glossaries, where nearly sixty pages are devoted to giving us such information as that *Dies Jovis* means Thursday, or that *ymenyu* means butter—such facts as could mostly be acquired from the commonest dictionaries or books of reference—and “etymologies” à la Dr. Pughe ! In the Rolls edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we have a very different sort of Glossary, viz., an index of the place-names with their modern equivalents ; and likewise an elaborate chronological index.

⁶ The passage is printed as follows (*Annales Cambriæ*, p. 103) :—
“Sexto Idu Martii G. comes Gloverniæ cum magno exercitu

Ithel or his friend Mr. Kenward of Birmingham,⁷ I do not know. In another place (p. 99), *quorum*, meaning ‘of whom,’ is calmly altered in the text into *equorum*, meaning ‘of the horses’!

I cannot exactly say upon whom the responsibility for *all* these blunders rests, as the circumstances attending the editing of the *Annales* (and likewise of the *Brut y Tywysogion*) were peculiar. The task of transcribing and editing both works was originally entrusted by the Government authorities to Aneurin Owen, with a view to their complete publication in the *Monumenta*, a work mentioned above. I have already told you how both *Brut* and *Annales* up to 1066 appeared under his virtual editorship in the first volume of that great work in 1848. But no second volume thereof was ever issued; the plan of making vast collections of historical materials in vast volumes having been abandoned in favour of the one now in vogue of issuing each work in a separate 8vo. form. It was then proposed to bring out in this shape the whole *Annales* and the whole *Brut*; and Aneurin Owen had all the materials ready for the press when his further progress was cut short by his untimely death in 1859. Thereupon they were handed over

per cautelam intravit in civitatem Londoniæ, domino Oto legato existenti in turri Londoniæ, ubi tenuit comes Pasetra [*read Pascha*] suum contra voluntatem regis.” This is indexed (*s.v.* “Pasetra”) thus: “Pasetra detains Otho the pope’s legate in the Tower of London against the king’s will!”

⁷ Who assisted Mr. Ab Ithel in compiling the Index to the *Brut y Tywysogion*. See the *Preface* to that work, p. xlviii., where we find also adequate acknowledgements to Lady Llanover, for the use of her transcripts; to Jesus College, Oxford, for the use of the *Red Book of Hergest*; and to the late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, for the facilities afforded by him for the examination of the Hengwrt MSS. (which did not then belong to him) at his house; but none to Aneurin Owen for the wholesale use of his brains and appropriation of his brain-work.

to Mr. Ab Ithel, who was commissioned to bring out the two works in Owen's stead, which as you know he did, but without saying a word in acknowledgement of Owen's part in their production.⁸ It will thus be evident to you that while Mr. Ab Ithel had the text of the *Monumenta* to rely upon (in so far as it was trustworthy) up to 1036, he would for the remainder, amounting in bulk to more than three-quarters of the whole, have been compelled, to ensure accuracy, to make a collation of the transcripts or proofs with the original MSS. But Mr. Longueville Jones states, obviously as the result of his own inquiries at the Record Office, that it is certain that Mr. Ab Ithel never collated a line of the MS. there; and he adds his suspicion (which we may be sure was well grounded) that he never collated the other MSS. at the British Museum.⁹ I may add that there are grounds

⁸ At the end (p. xxx.) of Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface to Annales Cambriæ*, acknowledgement is made of the help derived in the composition thereof from the *Preface* in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*; from which indeed (pp. 92-4) and from Aneurin Owen's *Preface to the Ancient Laws of Wales* (see p. 148, *infra*) all that is of any value in Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface* is copied. As his originals were in print, that "great Welsh scholar" could hardly get out of making this acknowledgement; but in his *Preface to Brut y Tywysogion*, nearly all the valuable portion of which was taken, largely verbatim, from Aneurin Owen's then unpublished *Introduction* to that *Brut*, there is not a word of acknowledgement, or any hint to lead the reader to suspect that the *Preface* is not what it purports to be, entirely Mr. Ab Ithel's own composition. We should add that of the 48 pages of which the *Rolls Preface* to the *Brut* consists, three are made up of a quotation from the *Preface* to Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, and three more of apocryphal stuff quoted from the *Iolo MSS.*; but these quotations are properly made and acknowledged. It should also be stated that the remarks about the five editions of *Nennius* at pp. xv.—xvii. are silently abstracted (not "textually taken," as is erroneously stated in *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, p. 96) from those of Mr. Duffus Hardy in the *Preface* to the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. 109-112.

⁹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1861 (3rd series, vol. vii.) pp. 330-1; and cf. *ib.*, p. 264.

for suspecting that he may have done with the *Annales* what he acknowledges¹ having done with the *Brut*, viz., have used, not Owen's transcripts, but copies of them at Llanover, previously made by Mr. W. Rees of Llandovery from the originals, lent by the Record Office to the late Lord Llanover for the purpose.² And here the question forcibly occurs: Where, unless Owen's original transcripts had been lost, was the necessity or advantage of using any mere copies of them? Perhaps the Record Office could throw some light on this point, and inform us whether they still have Owen's transcripts and other editorial papers, which I have understood were either lost or destroyed.³

¹ See his Preface thereto, p. xlviii., and his letter in *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, p. 170; and also the references in the following note.

² *Ib.* pp. 94-5; and cf. 103, 170, 264, 330-1.

³ According to *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, pp. 94-5, 264, Owen's original transcripts were all returned to the Record Office in 1848, except that of the *Achau y Saint* [from Harl. MS. 4181, miserable texts still more miserably "edited"], which was retained by Mr. W. J. Rees of Cascob for inclusion in his so-called "*Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*" (published in 1853), where the *Achau* will be found at pp. 265-271.

The result of inquiries made at the Record Office by more than one person leads me to suspect that Aneurin Owen's transcripts are no longer there, and have probably been destroyed. From the list of them given on p. 94 of *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, it will be seen that they embraced many things besides (1) the materials for the official editions of *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion*, utilized by Mr. Ab Ithel, (2) the *Gwentian Chronicle*, printed as a supplement to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1864, and (3) the *Liber Landavensis*, some of Owen's translations from which were utilized by Mr. W. J. Rees of Cascob in the wretched edition of which he was the titular editor for the *Welsh MSS. Society* (see the *Preface*, at the bottom of p. xliii.). Moreover, Owen had made extensive researches into the topography of the *Annales* and *Brut*, and had added brief footnotes to these chronicles. Up to 1066 these were printed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*; but the official Rolls system forbids such notes, and none were consequently reproduced in the Rolls Editions. (See *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, end of p. 267). Hence it seems but too

There is yet a further question to be considered: Is the accuracy of Aneurin Owen's work above suspicion? I fear it is not. The two later MSS. of *Annales* I have never examined, but having had occasion to edit those in the oldest MS. (Harleian 3859) for the *Cymmrodor*,⁴ I noticed that Owen's edition in the *Monumenta* had no less than three serious blunders, two of which could not possibly be printer's errors. All of them are of course slavishly reproduced in the Rolls edition of Mr. Ab Ithel, who can never have looked at the original MS. The repetition of one of them (the one which *might* be a printer's error), *Loyer* for *Loyer*, now *Lloegr*, meaning 'England,' furnishes a good measure of the real character of Mr. Ab Ithel's "editorship."⁵ But to

probable that all Owen's valuable notes for the period 1067—1288 are hopelessly lost. The correspondence between Aneurin Owen and Mr. W. J. Rees of Cascob, printed in *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, pp. 245-9, shows that as early as 1831 Owen was engaged in making inquiries with a view to the identification of the places named in the Welsh annals. There is some more interesting correspondence between Owen and Rees on the subject of the Welsh chronicles and the MSS. thereof at pp. 208-12 of the same volume, and another interesting letter of Owen's to the Record Commission in the vol. for 1860, pp. 184-6, relating to his transcripts and other work undertaken for the Commission.

⁴ See vol. ix., pp. 152-169. I should state that I have never collated Owen's edition with the MS. or searched for mistakes in the former; but merely stumbled upon the three blunders to which I allude. There may be many more.

⁵ Under the year 895. See *M.H.B.*, p. 836; *Rolls Annales*, p. 16; *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 167. Nor could Owen's blunder (under the year 630; see *M.H.B.*, p. 832; *Rolls Annales*, p. 7) of *Meiceren* for *Meicen* (now *Meigen*), for the source of which see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix., note 4 to p. 157, have "passed" a competent revision of the proofs against the MS. The imaginary "Battle of Meiceren" has been adopted by Skene in his *Four Books* (1868), i. 70 (though in the extracts from the MS. at p. 14 of his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, printed in the previous year, *Meicen* is correctly given), and even by Professor Rhys in his *Celtic Britain*, 2nd edition (1884), p. 131.

The mistake of miscopying or slavishly repeating the gibberish

return to the question of Aneurin Owen's accuracy, I also recently collated his reproduction (in his *Preface* to the *Ancient Laws of Wales*, 8vo. ed., pp. xiv.—xvi.) of the first two genealogies which immediately follow the *Annales* in the same MS., Harl. 3859, and are thence correctly printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 169-172, and I then found that he had made no less than twenty-five blunders of transcription in the course of one hundred and twenty-five words, i.e., an average of one mistake for every five words. If, then, he made so many mistakes in copying this beautifully-written MS., what are we to expect to find in his transcripts of far later and worse-written MSS., abounding in contractions? His worthless edition of the genealogies in question has, by the way, been exactly reproduced, but without any acknowledgement of the direct source whence it was taken⁶, by Mr. Ab Ithel in the *Preface* to the *Annales Cambriæ*, of which he claims the authorship (p. x.).

I have necessarily had to go into all these details, for without doing so I could not show you what a strong case there is against trusting in the present editions of the *Annales*. Unfortunately I have never collated either of the later MSS. of the *Annales* myself, or I could have put my case in a shorter and more direct form.⁷

Meiceren for *Meicen* is a particularly inexcusable one for any Welsh scholar to make: as the battle is alluded to under the name of *Meigen* more than once in well-known Welsh poems: in the *Englynion Cadwallon ap Cadfan* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 277), and in Cynddelw's two poems on the "Tribes" and "Privileges" of Powys (*Myv. Arch.*, i. 256-8), where *Ueigen* is the last word of each poem. What makes Owen's blunder the more extraordinary, is that he had himself previously edited and translated the last-named of these poems in his *Welsh Laws* (8vo. ed., ii. 742-7).

⁶ As pointed out in *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, p. 326.

⁷ Since writing the above I have examined a few passages of MS. C (in Cott., Domitian A. i.) with the printed edition, and satisfied

I now proceed to consider the Chronicles of Welsh affairs written in Welsh, and known collectively as the *Brut*^s *y Tywysogion*, or 'The Chronicle of the Princes.' This term is of such general and indefinite application as to be sometimes positively misleading in its use. It is properly the generic term for every chronicle of Welsh affairs *in Welsh* which begins with the death of Cadwaladr Fendigaid in 681-2⁹ (since when the rulers of Wales have been technically known as *Tywysogion*, or 'Princes,' instead of *Brenhinoedd*, or 'Kings'), and ends either with or previously to the death of Llywelyn ab Gruffudd in 1288. It was begun as a continuation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's so-called *History*, the Welsh translations of which are collectively known as *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, or 'The Chronicle of the Kings,' and accordingly commences at the exact point where Geoffrey's work leaves off. All the chronicles called *Brut y Tywysogion* are apt to be promiscuously ascribed in common parlance to Caradoc of Llancarvan, author of a well-known *Life of Gildas*. Geoffrey of Monmouth, his contemporary, says at the end of his *History* (which appeared in the first half of the twelfth century) that he leaves to this Caradoc the task of writing the history of the Welsh kings after Cadwaladr¹;

myself that the proofs cannot have been collated competently (if at all) with the original MS., owing to the inexcusable mistakes which here and there occur.

⁸ For the meaning and origin of this word *Brut*, see Gwenogvryn Evans' *Preface to The Red Book of Hergest*, vol. ii. (*The Bruts*), pp. v., vi.

⁹ See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 159; *Rolls Annales*, p. 8; *Rolls Brut*, pp. 2-3.

¹ Book xii. chapter 20. "Reges autem illorum qui ab illo tempore [sc., morte Cadwalladri] in Gualii successerunt; Karadoco Lancarbanensi contemporaneo meo, in materia scribendi permitto. Reges vero Saxonum Guillelmo Malmesberiensis et Henrico Hun-

and it seems probable that Caradoc was the author of the oldest form of the *Brut* as far as 1120, at which date the change of authorship becomes very marked.² Later on, the work was continued by various hands, and there are strong grounds for believing the work of compilation of at least one version, namely, that of which a copy is found in the *Red Book of Ihergest*, to have taken place at Strata Florida or Ystrad Fflŵr after its foundation in 1164.³

tingdonensi, quos de regibus Britonum tacere jubeo," &c. As if any of Geoffrey's contemporaries would have ventured to infringe on his prerogative as *facile princeps* in the art of historical lying!—or perhaps it would be more polite to say "romancing."

² See Owen's *Introduction to Brut y Tywysogion*, pp. x.—xiv.; he points out that Geoffrey's *History*, in which the allusion to Caradoc is found, was published circa 1128. On p. viii. he quotes Guttyn Owain's opinion (but he does not state where this opinion is recorded) to the effect that Caradoc's work ended with the year 1156; but no change of style is said to occur at this date in the narrative.

³ See Owen's *Introduction*, pp. xv., xvi. (=Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface*, pp. xxxvi.-vii.). The word *Ystrad* has nothing whatever to do with the Latin *stratum* or *strata*, as certain antiquaries do and still more did vainly talk; *strata* would become *ystrawd*, *yströd* in Welsh, as its derivative *stratura* has become *ystrydyr* (for *ystrydur*). *Ystrad* means, like *dyffryn*, 'a vale,' and its translation into *strata* in such cases as *Strata Florida* and *Strata Marcella* is as much a fancy translation as is *Rose of the Quarter Sessions* from *Rose des quatre saisons*. In older Welsh the form *ystrad* (if indeed this is a bye-form of the same word) is found as well as *ystrawd*, but never *ystrawd* or *yströd*. *Ystret*, by the way, occurs in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 172) in *Katellig ystret* 'the vale (or the stream?) of Cadelling' (the royal tribe of ancient Powys); and *ystrad* is also found in Lewis Glyn Cothi's *Works*, p. 187 (line 49 of the poem), where he is addressing the river Towy, and the word seems to mean 'a stream.' Presumably the Cornish *stret* 'latex' (i.e., 'a spring of water'), later *streyth*, is the same word. This word, or else the Cornish analogue to the Welsh *ystrad*, occurs (in its latest Cornish form) in the place-name *Penstrassa* or *Penstrassow*, where the final *-a* or *-ow* is the Cornish plural *-ow*, answering to the Old-Welsh *-ou*, now written *-au*. One place called *Penstrassa* is three miles S.-W. of the town of St. Austell. Are these words connected with the common Breton word

I may add that all known forms of the *Brut* are in their earliest portions mere translations, and often very bad ones too, of the edition of the *Annales* now represented by the MS. at the Record Office (MS. B), and these parts have little or no independent value; but that towards the end of the ninth century, or thereabouts, distinct traces of an independent source begin to appear, and the record thus acquires a value of its own.

The only man who has hitherto attempted to go critically into the question of the history and authorship of the oldest forms in which this chronicle is known, is Aneurin Owen. His proposed *Introduction* to the *Brut* (with a letter of his on the same subject ⁴) was posthumously printed as an introduction to his text of the *Gwentian Chronicle* in the *Arch. Camb.* for 1864; and to that *Introduction* and letter I would refer you for further details. I must add that the MS. *Introduction* had been previously lent by the Record Office to Mr. Ab Ithel to aid him in preparing his edition of the *Brut*, and this worthy scholar appropriated it nearly *in toto* in the published *Preface* of the Rolls Edition, of which he professed to be the sole editor, without a word of acknowledgement, but with many additions (mostly valueless) and trivial and meaningless changes, and at least one deliberate and most disingenuous suppression of an important fact.⁵

Whatever is not Aneurin Owen's in the Rolls Preface consists for the most part of mere flatulent dilatation of emptiness,—the sort of unsatisfactory stuff of which those who have read the ridiculous prefaces to the *Barddas*, *Dosparth Edern*, and *Meddygon Myddfai* must already have

ster, 'a river,' or with the Welsh *ystre*, which so often occurs in the old poems, but is (we believe) of uncertain signification, in spite of its Pughese and other interpretations?

⁴ Dated Nantglyn, Jan. 20th, 1829.

⁵ See p. 165, *infra*, and note 6 thereon.

had their dreary fill. And it is much to be wished, in the interests of Welsh historical knowledge, that Aneurin Owen's original preface (with, if possible, the portions thereof annexed and garbled by Mr. Ab Ithel put in parallel columns) should be reprinted in a more accessible and popular form. Tardy justice would thus be done to the memory of one of the greatest of Welsh historical scholars; and those who take interest in Welsh History would have the satisfaction of drinking from the pure stream of Welsh scholarship before the influx into it of the frothy drivel of dishonest charlatanism. Meanwhile you will find a masterly series of exposures of this barefaced act of literary appropriation in the volume of *Arch. Camb.* for 1861,⁶ in three reviews believed to have been written by the late Mr. Longueville Jones. Mr. Ab Ithel's rejoinder to the first of these reviews will be found in the same volume.

I have spoken above of "the *oldest* version of the *Brut*." It would be more correct to say *one* of the old versions, viz., the one printed in the Rolls Edition.⁷ Of this two MSS. were used by Owen and Mr. Ab Ithel. One,⁸ perfect, is found in

⁶ The reviews of *Brut y Tywysogion* at pp. 93—103 and 263—7; Mr. Ab Ithel's rejoinder to the first of them, pp. 169—171; and the review of *Annales Cambrie* (see note 6 on p. 143, *supra*) at pp. 325—332. The volume is the 7th of the 3rd Series.

⁷ The statements in this paper as to MSS. and versions of the *Brut y Tywysogion* have been mostly allowed to stand as they were originally read at Brecon in August, 1889; but a large number of them, derived from the comparatively meagre entries in the printed catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS., and from Aneurin Owen's notes on some of those MSS., require revision and correction in the light of the admirable critical survey which a close examination of the originals at Peniarth has enabled Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans to make of all the versions of *Brut y Tywysogion* preserved there; for which see the *Introduction* to the second volume of the *Red Book of Hergest*, containing *The Bruts* (Oxford, 1890).—E.P., August, 1890.

⁸ Evans' No. 2. *Introd. to Bruts*, p. xxii.

the *Red Book of Hergest*, a MS. of the later, the other,⁹ very imperfect, in Hengwrt MS. 16, a MS. of the earlier fourteenth century. The former, being perfect, was chosen as the text, but every variant from the latter purports to be given in the critical notes. These two MSS. represent a virtually identical text. As to the *Red Book* copy, that had been printed in the *Myryrian Archæology* (vol. ii. pp. 391-467); and it will be exactly reprinted from the MS. in a manner which guarantees absolute fidelity of reproduction by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans in his forthcoming volume of *Old Welsh Texts*.¹ As to the Hengwrt MS., Mr. Ab Ithel, in ascribing it to the *thirteenth* century,² was as far wrong as Mr. Longueville Jones, who in correcting him calls it of the *fifteenth*.³ The late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, in his Catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS., rightly ascribes it to the *fourteenth* century.⁴

Only these two MSS. have been printed or collated in the *Monumenta* or Rolls Editions. The other three MSS. used were only (to use Owen's phrase) "*collated as to facts*,"⁵ the verbal differences between all of them and the version used for the text being so great as to render any collation of verbal differences—in other words, any real collation at all—out of the question. These other three

⁹ *Id., ib.*, No. 1.

¹ This has now been done. See *op. cit.*, pp. 257—384.

² See his *Preface*, p. xlv. His exact words are: "It was probably written about the end of the thirteenth century." Aneurin Owen, who calls this MS. "A," dated it about 1400. (*Introduction*, p. xvii.)

³ *Arch. Camb.* for 1861, p. 264.

⁴ See *Arch. Camb.* for 1869 (3rd Series, vol. xv.), p. 214. Evans says that this MS. was written in about 1335. There is a "facsimile" of a page of the MS. in the Rolls Edition.

⁵ See Aneurin Owen's *Introduction*, pp. xvii.—xviii.; and Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface*, p. xlvii.

versions, therefore (except that one of them was printed in the *Myv. Arch.*), still remain unpublished.

As to the first and most important of the three, the carelessness of Aneurin Owen,⁶ who certainly *could* tell what the age of a MS. was, and the palæographical inexperience of Mr. Ab Ithel, who most probably *could not*,⁷ have utterly blinded the public as to its real importance and value. Owen in his *Introduction* calls it of about the 16th century; and Mr. Ab Ithel, who must have seen the MS., merely copies his statement. The volume now forms Hengwrt MS. No. 51, and the late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth⁸ ascribes it in his catalogue to the earlier 14th century, thus making it as old as the oldest MS. of the earlier printed version.⁹ The MS., which I have seen, is a very fine one written in a large hand in double columns, and is briefly continued in a later fifteenth-century hand from 1287 to 1332; but this appendix has never been printed in any form.¹ What makes this MS. peculiarly interesting is that Owen calls it a “Gwynethian,” or Venedotian, MS.² If it is really a MS. composed

⁶ The mistake must be Owen's, and not a printer's error; for it occurs *both* in the preface to Mr. Ab Ithel's *Brut y Tywysogion* (pp. xlv.—xlvi.), into which the statement was copied from Owen's then unpublished MS., and in the *Introduction* printed by the Cambrian Archæological Association from the same MS. (pp. xvii.—xviii.).

⁷ Mr. Ab Ithel certainly made use of the Hengwrt collection, though apparently before the late Mr. Wynne, who first properly arranged and catalogued it, had become its actual owner. See his *Preface to Brut y Tywysogion*, p. xlvi.

⁸ See *Arch. Camb.* for 1869 (3rd Series, vol. xv.), p. 222.

⁹ Evans (*Introduction*, p. xxii.) makes it, however, to be of the 15th century; he now tells me that there can be no doubt about this (March, 1891).

¹ See its concluding passage printed and translated in note 5 on next page.

² This is confirmed by Evans (*l.c.*), who points out that, while the body of the MS. is in the same hand as the *Dares Phrygius* in

in N. Wales, it is, with the exception of the Venedotian Code, and perhaps Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug's *Grammar*, of which there is also said to be a copy in Hengwrt MS. 51, the only specimen hitherto known to exist of North Welsh prose earlier than the end of the 15th century,³ the Welsh literary *prose* language prior to that date being of South-, not of North-Welsh origin, and most of the specimens of it, I believe, *transcribed* in South Wales too. It occurs to me as not impossible that this MS. may be the actual copy of the *Brut* quoted by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt as the *Book of Conway*,⁴ and that it may have come from the abbey of Conway or Maenan. One of its final entries, describing the discovery of Harold's body in an uncorrupted state in St. John's Church in Chester in 1332, seems to connect it with North rather than South Wales.⁵ I may add that the MS. contains a peculiar

Cleopatra B. v., the continuation is in the same hand as the so-called *Brut y Saeson* (see note 3 on p. 160, *infra*), in the same MS. The *Dares* of Cleopatra B. v. belonged to Humphrey Lloyd, and has his autograph at the beginning.

³ This statement requires modification. Mr. Evans states in his *Preface*, p. xv., that the Dingestow MS. of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* (and therefore the *Triads* and *Bonedd y Saint* in Hengwrt MS. 51, which once formed part thereof: see his p. xiii.) is in the Venedotian orthography. A characteristic of this orthography in the 12th-13th centuries would appear to be the use of *e* to designate the "obscure" sound of *y*, as in *Ewein*, Hengwrt MS. 54, fo. 53^a.

⁴ See Owen's *Introduction*, p. xv.; Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface*, p. xxxvi. But it would be desirable to compare the citations made by Robert Vaughan (in *British Antiquities Revived*, ed. 1834, pp. 14, 37, 44) with the corresponding passages in Hengwrt MS. 51.

⁵ The chronicle ends thus:

"Anno 2 gwedy kalanmei y kat corf Harald brenhyn lloigyr yneglwys Ieuan yn gaer lleon gwedy y gladu mwy no dev cant mlyned kyn no hynny. ac y kat y gorf ay goron ay dillat. ay hossanev lledyr. ay yspardunev evreit. kyn gyuaet ac yn gystal ev harroglev ar dyd y cladpwynt wynt. En yr vn vlwydyn yn gileh gwil vihangel ydaeth Edward de Bailol a bychydic lu git ac ef y geisiav goresgyn

character for the Welsh sound *edd* (or double *d*) which I believe is not found elsewhere, somewhat resembling one of the Latin contractions for *-que* in the sense of 'and.'⁶

The other two versions differ still more widely from the printed version, and, to judge from the collations in places, still more considerably from each other. One is wrongly called the *Brut y Saeson*,⁷ and is found in a Cottonian MS. (*Cleopatra B. v.*) at the British Museum, a fine MS. of the 15th century, and has thence been printed in vol. ii. of the *Myr. Arch.* (pp. 468-582), with what accuracy I cannot say, but probably not up to the standard of modern scholarship. This version is said to be mainly composed by amalgamating one of the older versions with the *Annals of Winton*.⁸

Prydyn:" i.e., "In the second year, after May Day, was found the body of Harold, king of England, in St. John's Church in Chester, buried more than 200 years before. And his body and his crown and his clothes and his leather hose and his golden spurs were found as perfect, and smelling as sweet, as the day when they were buried. And in the same year about Michaelmas Edward de Baliol went with a little army to try and conquer Scotland."

⁶ See a representation of this character in Evans' *Introduction*, p. xxii. end.

⁷ This is the nomenclature of the *Myravian Archæology*; Aneurin Owen (*Introduction*, p. xviii.) extends the term *Brut y Saeson* so as also to include the other MS. (the *Book of Basingwerk*). For the origin of the title, see note 3 on p. 160, *infra*.

⁸ See Owen's *Introduction*, pp. xviii., xxiii.; *Rolls Preface*, p. xlvi. In this MS., as in many others, the *Brut y Tywysogion* immediately follows the *Brut y Brenhinoedd*.

Evans does not include this MS. in his survey of the MSS. of the *Brut y Tywysogion* at pp. xxii.-iii., though he includes it in his list of MSS. of the other *Brut* at p. xvi., of his *Introduction*. His note I on p. xvi. takes for its text the interpolated and composite character of the *Bruts* in *Cleopatra B. v.*; but we do not know what foundation there is for his suggestion in that note that there was any connection between the tampering with and falsification of texts and the spirit of Welsh *Eisteddfodau* or *Eisteddfodwyr* as early as the fifteenth century. The great falsifiers of early Welsh texts and traditions (between whose "spirit" and certain regrettable sides of the modern

The third of the three versions has never been printed in any form. It is that contained in the *Book of Basingwerk* (so called from having belonged to the Abbey of that name in Flintshire), in the autograph of the celebrated Guttyn Owain, who wrote it in the latter half of the 15th century; it now belongs to the Rev. T. Llewelyn Griffith, Rector of Deal.⁹ Some valuable historical information as to the compilation of the *Brut*, quoted by Aneurin Owen¹ from Guttyn, seems to come from this MS.; but unfortunately neither Guttyn's own words, nor the reference to where they are found, is adduced. It differs considerably from *Brut y Saeson*; but how much can of course never be known till the two texts are properly examined and compared.

You will see from what has been said that two of the most important versions of the *Brut*, one of the early, the other of the late 15th century, remain in MS.; whilst a third is only printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. But this is far from fully representing the real state of the case. There are known to be many other MSS. and versions which have never been examined at all, or

revived *Eisteddfod* we admit there is much relationship to be traced) were the later antiquaries of Morganwg to whom we owe the "Third Series" of Triads (ridiculously quoted by outsiders as "The Welsh Triads" or "The Historical Triads" *par excellence*), the *Achau y Saint* (and many other documents) printed in the Iolo MSS., and most of the contents of *Barddas*. The composition of such literature seems to us to have been confined to one of the four chief districts of Wales, and not to have commenced as early as the 15th century, or much before 1600.

⁹ The *Book of Basingwerk* commences with an imperfect MS. of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* written in the 14th century. This was completed, and the *Brut y Tywysogion* added, by Guttyn Owain towards the end of the 15th. (See Aneurin Owen's *Introduction*, p. xviii., *Rolls Preface*, p. xlvi.)

¹ *Introduction*, pp. viii., xiv., xv. (Mr. Ab Ithel's *Preface*, pp. xxvii., xxxvi.); for some account of the MS. Cleop. B. v. and the *Book of Basingwerk*, see Owen, p. xviii., and Ab Ithel, pp. xlvi.-vii.

which Owen cursorily examined, but did not use;² and there is strong reason to believe that proper inquiries and searches would reveal many others.³

Owen, who catalogued the portion of the present Mostyn collection which was then at Gloddaith, but, for some reason with which we are not acquainted, made no use of it for the purpose of his edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, says⁴ that there were (in 1824 or previously) three MSS. of the *Brut* in that collection.⁵ It is understood that none of these MSS. are older than the 15th century;

² These are mentioned by Owen, not in his *Introduction* proper, but in the letter appended thereto (paged xix.-xxiv.), dated Jan. 20, 1829.

³ One of these is the so-called "*Ll. MS.*," inaccurately collated by the editors of the *Myryrian Archæology*, but to which Owen and Ab Ithel had no access. This MS. (once belonging to the Rev. John Lloyd of Caerwys), after having been (apparently for years) kept in so damp a place that many of its leaves are simply rotten and have absolutely grown into each other with quite recent mildew, has now been rescued (just in time) from its tomb, and may at length be said to be fairly *dried*. It is a beautifully written paper MS. of the early 16th century, and is copied from some old text which certainly is not the *Red Book*, though both texts contain the same version of the *Brut*. It is nearly perfect, and has providentially escaped the fate of the valuable paper Court Rolls with which it has been recently kept, a large portion of which is (alas!) past praying for—so rotten and, in parts, grown into one mass with mildew that practically no use can be made of it.—August, 1890.

⁴ *Introduction*, p. xviii.; mostly copied by Mr. Ab Ithel, *Preface*, pp. xl.-i.

⁵ In Anenrin Owen's *Catalogue of MSS. in N. Wales*, in vol. ii. (Part iv.) of the old *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, pp. 400-18, mention is made of the following MSS. of *Dares Phrygius* and the *Bruts*, all of which are now presumably at Mostyn:

(1) In the Gloddaith MSS. (pp. 402-3): *Dares* and both *Bruts* in Nos. 4 (written 1487) and 10 (vellum, 4to); *Brut y Brenkinoedd* and *B. y Saeson* in No. 6 (evidently a modern transcript); and *B. y Brenkinoedd* alone in No. 11 (vellum, 4to); *Dares* and *B. y Brenkinoedd* in No. 23 (small 4to).

(2) In the Bodysgallen MSS. (pp. 400-401); *Dares* and *Brut y B.* in Nos. 4 (Imperfect, vellum, 4to.) and 17 (Imperfect, 4to).

Mention is also made among the Downing MSS. (p. 401) of a MS.

but even if this is the case, they may be copies of older MSS. which have now perished. Owen's next sentence begins with the words, "At Bodysgallen," and then abruptly breaks off; but apparently he was about to mention other MSS. there. In Hengwrt MS. No. 314 he found in 1829 another copy on vellum,⁶ which he says was similar to (but he does not say identical with) the *Red Book* version. This MS. could not be found by the late Mr. Wynne when he concluded his Hengwrt catalogue in 1870, but he had previously identified it, before the MSS. were bequeathed to him in 1859.⁷ Whether it has since been discovered at Peniarth I cannot say; it was on vellum, and therefore probably at least as old as the 15th century. Another MS., of the early 15th century, has quite recently been discovered by

of *Dares* in No. 4, one of *Brut y Brenkinoedd* in No. 5 (this is the original of Evans' No. 22, p. xviii.), and one of *B. y Tywysogion* in No. 6.

We are unable, at the place where this is written, to consult the volume of the *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission* in which is contained some sort of a catalogue of the MSS. now at Mostyn; but we may mention that at the recent visit (in August, 1890) of the Cambrian Archæological Association to Mostyn Hall there were exhibited to us, in a glass case, together with some other MSS., the Gloddaith MSS. Nos. 3 (History of England and Wales, by Ellis Griffith; 16th cent.), 5 (*Sant Greal*, vellum, fo. 14th or 15th century), 14 (Giraldus Cambrensis' *Itinerary and Description of Wales*, vellum, 4to: 14th century?), and a beautiful MS. of *Brut y Brenkinoedd* of the later 13th century, written, as far as we could judge, in the same style, if not hand, as the *Book of Taliessin* (Hengwrt MS. 17), Hengwrt MS. 59, Cott. Cleopatra, A. xiv., and Harleian MS. 4353 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, x. 298). As far as we can make out, this MS. seems to be either Gloddaith MS. 10 or 11. None of the MSS. of *Brut y Tywysogion* now preserved at Mostyn were shown to us on the above-mentioned occasion. The MSS. which were at Mostyn in 1824 (the "Mostyn MSS." proper) were not catalogued by Aneurin Owen; but in Angharad Llwyd's list of those MSS., made at the same date, in her *Catalogue of MSS. in N. Wales* (*Cymmrodorion Transactions*, ii. (Part 1), 47-8) there is no mention of any MSS. of *Dares* or either *Brut*.

⁶ Letter in *Introduction*, p. xxi.

⁷ See *Arch. Camb.* for 1870 (4th Series, vol. i.), p. 96.

Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans in Hengwrt MS. No. 15. And I would draw your particular attention to the fact that the *Brut y Tywysogion* in this MS., as so often, immediately follows the *Brut y Brenhinoedd*; but that both in the case of this MS. and in that of No. 314 the Catalogues of the Hengwrt MSS. (at least Aneurin Owen's and the late Mr. Wynne's) only mention the 'Chronicle of the Kings,' ignoring that 'of the Princes.' Is it not therefore highly probable that some more of the many unexamined old copies of the former *Brut* may also have the latter *Brut* appended to them?

There are several other comparatively modern copies of the *Brut y Tywysogion* at Peniarth. Hengwrt MSS. Nos. 55⁸ and 332⁹ each contain a copy in the hand of that indefatigable transcriber of older MSS. and joint-founder of the Hengwrt Collection, John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy. Owen mentions No. 55, but neither No. 332 nor the early 16th century copy in No. 441,¹ once Edward Llwyd's, from the Sebright Collection; nor another copy in No. 319,² in the autograph of the well-known Gruffudd Hiraethog. The latter MS. also contains a so-called "Chronicle from Cadwaladr to Elizabeth," and I may mention that there is at least one later compilation of this sort in the Earl of Macclesfield's collection at Shirburn Castle, Oxon.

Of the version of the *Brut* known as *Brut y Saeson*³ there

⁸ Owen, p. xxi.; Evans' No. 5; said by him to be a transcript mostly of Hengwrt MS. 15, which is itself a transcript of the *Red Book* copy.

⁹ Evans' No. 10; supposed by him to be a transcript of Hengwrt 51, but supplying certain *lacunæ* which now exist in the latter.

Evans' No. 4. Said by him to be a transcript of Hengwrt MS. 15.

² Evans' No. 6. Supposed by him to be a transcript of Hengwrt MS. 15, but with a great many minor changes.

³ As pointed out by Evans in his *Introduction*, p. xxiii., much confusion has been caused by the adoption of the title *Brut y Saeson*,

seems to be more than one copy at Peniarth. The first of these forms one of the transcripts by John Jones in the above-mentioned Hengwrt MS. 55; it is said by Owen⁴ to differ in language from the copy in the Cottonian collection mentioned above (Cleopatra B. v.). A remarkable feature about this copy is that it is said in parts to agree with the *Red Book* version, in other parts with the inedited 14th century version in Hengwrt MSS. 51.⁵ The second copy, not mentioned by Owen, seems to be of still greater interest. It occurs in No. 318, and is there said to have been trans-

exclusively used in MSS. to designate the epitome of English history (not of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, as stated by Evans) printed at pp. 385-403 of his volume, by the editors of the *Mycyrion Archaeology* to denote the text of *Brut y Tywysogion* which they printed (vol. ii. pp. 468-582) from Cott. Cleopatra B. v., which is headed in the MS. with the words "*yma y dechereu Brenhinedd y Saesson.*" (By these words it was meant to be implied that the rulers of the *Cymry* were no longer *brenhinedd*, or 'kings,' after 681—see p. 149, *supra*). Of the MSS. mentioned in this paragraph of the text the only ones given by Evans as texts of the *Brut y Saeson* proper are Hengwrt MSS. 8 (which he ascribes to the 15th century), 275 (for which Owen's "75" is clearly a misprint), 318, and 441; but he also gives other texts as occurring in Hengwrt MSS. 15 and 218. Aneurin Owen extended the term *Brut y Saeson* (*Introduction*, p. xviii.) so as to include Guttyn Owain's text in the *Book of Basingwerk* as well as that in Cleopatra B. v., both texts being similar; and in the letter appended to the *Introduction* (pp. xxiii.—iv.) he applies the term to Cleop. B. v. and Hengwrt MS. 55, as well as to Hengwrt MS. 275, which contains the real *Brut y Saeson*, and which he there miscalls "75."

Here and elsewhere I have preferred to let my paper stand as it was read in August, 1889, and to ask the reader to refer to my notes, and, where necessary, to the pages cited from Mr. Evans' *Introduction* for the correction of the general errors into which I was inevitably led owing to the imperfect nature of the materials available at the time when, and in the place where, this paper was compiled.—E. P., August, 1890.

⁴ Letter in *Introduction*, p. xxiii.

⁵ Aneurin Owen's Letter in *Introduction*, p. xxiii.

lated from the Latin by one Dafydd ab Meredydd Glais in 1414. One wonders *what* Latin original can here be referred to? A third copy is stated by Owen to occur in MS. 75,⁶ but there must be some mistake as to the number, for neither that MS. (which is lost) nor any of those near it are stated in the catalogues to contain any *Brut* at all. There is a fourth copy in the already-mentioned MS. 441; and, last but not least, Mr. Wynne's catalogue says that a 14th-century *Brut y Saeson* occurs in Hengwrt MS. No. 8.^{6a} I have myself got a copy of some version of the *Brut* written in about 1600,⁷ which seemed to me quite different, where I compared it, from the printed versions. It comes from some North Welsh collection, and has Aneurin Owen's cataloguing label and number on its cover.⁸ There is a quite distinct copy at Tonn, beautifully copied by Wm.

⁶ Letter in *Introduction*, p. xxiv. See note 3 on p. 160, whence it will be seen that Owen's 75 is a mistake for 275.

^{6a} Evans decides this MS. to be of the 15th century (*Preface*, p. xxiii.).

⁷ This MS. is Evans' No. 7 (*Preface*, p. xxii.); he compares its writing with that of Hengwrt MS. 319.

⁸ It was bought at a sale in London in 1884 or 1885, together with an imperfect autograph MS. of John Rhydderch's English-Welsh Dictionary, which also has on its cover Aneurin Owen's descriptive label (just as have some of the Hengwrt MSS.; at least, we remember such a label on Hengwrt MS. 202) and number. But neither MS. is to be found in Owen's *Catalogue of MSS.* mentioned in note 5 on p. 158, *supra*. It is a very curious thing that this Catalogue, which obtained the first prize at the Welshpool Eisteddfod in 1824, should only embrace *seven* collections (including, however, the Hengwrt one, which is a host in itself), whilst Angharad Llwyd's Catalogue (which obtained the second prize) embraces no less than 29. Presumably all Owen's Catalogue was printed; it is printed as perfect, but concludes vol. ii. (Part iv.) of the old *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, no more of which was ever issued, in consequence of the then Cymmrodorion Society coming to an end soon after the issue of the last part of its *Transactions* in 1843. In no case was the same collection catalogued by Owen and Miss Llwyd; and the Brogyntyn and Panton collections were catalogued by neither.

Bona of Llanpumpsaint (in Carmarthenshire) in 1766 from a MS. by Iago ab Dewi written in 1717, and by *him* from a MS. of Piers William Griffith of Pen y Benglog, wherever that may be. There is also a bit of the *Brut* in a 17th-century hand at Shirburn Castle,⁹ which, though not itself written by Iago ab Dewi, has a page-heading in his hand. And it is my impression that there are other copies, though not early ones, at Shirburn Castle.¹

I have omitted to mention the short epitome of some version of the *Brut*, known by the name of *Brut Ieuan Brechfa*, and I suppose originally compiled by Ieuan Brechfa towards the end of the 15th century.² This has been printed in the *Myv. Arch.* (vol. ii., bottoms of pp. 470—565) from a MS then belonging to Rhys Thomas the printer, of Carmarthen, but not now known to exist; but search ought to be made both for it and for other MSS. of this version.

Last of all, there is the curious compilation variously known as the *Gwentian* and *Aberpergwm Brut* or 'Chronicle.' This has been printed in the *Myv. Arch.* (vol. ii. pp. 468—582) from a transcript of a transcript of a transcript of the

⁹ In the MS. numbered "113 E. 6."

¹ The Tonn copy and (as far as my extracts go) the Shirburn fragment prove to be identical, as Canon Silvan Evans had suggested to me, with the text printed in *Trysorfa Gwybodaeth, neu, Eurgrawn Cymraeg* (Caerfyrddin, 1770). Aneurin Owen, in his letter to the Rev. W. J. Rees of Cascob, dated March 5th, 1834, and printed in *Arch. Camb.* for 1858 (3rd series, vol. iv.), pp. 211-12, mentions this text, which he says was not printed further than the year 1110 in consequence of the discontinuance of the magazine in which it was appearing. Some passages of this version seem to be more or less freely translated from Powel's so-called *Historie of Cambria* (London, 1584); but probably other sources were also used.

² *The Book of Ieuan Brechfa* (Hengwrt MS. 114 = 414) is in his autograph, and written in a hand of about this period. What remains of the original volume (which is now bound up with No. 113, an entirely distinct MS.) contains genealogies, and no chronicle.

original, which is believed still to exist at Aberpergwm.³ It was again copied from the *Myr. Arch.* by Aneurin Owen, and his copy, with the *Introduction*, &c., that I have already mentioned, was posthumously printed as a supplement to the *Arch. Camb.* for 1864, under the superintendence of Mr. Longueville Jones and Canon Robert Williams of Rhyd y Croesau. This chronicle extends from 660, the mythical date of the death of Cadwallon ab Cadfan,⁴ to the death of Rhys ab

³ It should be mentioned that the Aberpergwm MS. could not be consulted for the edition in the *Arch. Camb.* owing to the minority of the owner, and consequent closing of the library, in 1864.

⁴ The real date was 635; that given by *Annales Cambriae* 631; 659 or 660 is the date based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative (and the Welsh translations of his work which Skene most misleadingly designates "the Welsh *Bruts*") and ridiculously favoured by Skene, *Four Books*, i. 71-3. It is most unfortunate that Messrs. Jones and Williams headed their publication (as the *Myvyrian* editors had done before them) "*Brut y Tywysogion*," as this has caused people who dabble in Welsh history to confuse it with the really old and authentic Strata Florida Chronicle (known as the "*Brut y Tywysogion*" *par excellence*) and to quote the *Gwentian Brut* as an historical authority for some events not mentioned elsewhere, and for which *by itself* it is of no authority whatever.

M. de la Borderie, in his *L'Historia Britonum* (1883), quotes (pp. 19-20) "the *Brut y Tywysogion*, known also under the name of 'Gwentian Chronicle' (*Chronique du pays de Gwent*)" for the death of Merfyn Frych in 844, and then adds a reference to *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 835; whereto he appends a note which runs (as corrected in the *Errata* at p. 127) as follows: "The text of this chronicle (the *Brut y Tywysogion*), printed in 1801 in the *Myvyrian*, has been re-published (*de nouveau publié*) in London by the *Cambrian Archaeological Association*, &c." (Both the *Strata Florida Brut* and the *Gwentian Brut* are printed in the *Myvyrian*; but it would seem as though the author, writing in 1883, had never heard of the Rolls edition of the real *Brut*, published in 1860!) Now as the chronicle he quotes from the *Monumenta* is (part of) the *Strata Florida Brut* (no other *Brut* is printed in the *Monumenta*), it will be seen that M. de la Borderie is here quoting a thirteenth or early fourteenth-century chronicle and a sixteenth-century dressing-up thereof (which bears the same relation to its prototype as an unwhole-

Gruffudd in 1196.⁵ The date of its compilation has been shown by Aneurin Owen to be not earlier than about 1550, though his evidence was dishonestly suppressed by Mr. Ab Ithel in the garbled form in which the passage occurs in the Rolls edition.⁶ The contents of this chronicle are

some hash does to the joint which originally furnished its basis) *as one and the same work!* After this we hardly can feel surprise at the author's quoting (p. 35) the *Brut er Brenined* (*sic!* uncorrected in the *Errata*) as a work of the *tenth* century! Inasmuch as he speaks of this work having been "amplified" by Geoffrey of Monmouth, it is clear that he refers to the so-called *Brut Tyssilio*, also regarded as Geoffrey's original by Mr. Skene (*Four Books*, i. 23-5). The oldest MS. of this form of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* is only of the 15th century (if so early); whereas the other versions (which all seem indisputably to be taken straight from Geoffrey) exist in numerous MSS. of the 13th and 14th centuries. But on what evidence any now existing form of the *Brut* can be attributed to the *tenth* century is a mystery to all scholars but M. de la Borderie.

⁵ This date is a noteworthy one. Mr. Evans states in the *Introduction* to his *Bruts*, p. xxi., "that the earlier edition of *Brut y Tywysogion* ended with the death of the Lord Rhys," i.e., in 1196. Is it possible that the compiler of the *Gwentian Brut* had before him, to work his will upon, an earlier edition of the real *Brut* than is now preserved to us? It might be that a MS. of such an edition existed in the last half of the 16th century; and we suspect that the great Civil War of the next century led to the destruction of a great number of Welsh MSS.

⁶ The evidence in question is the following reference in this chronicle, under the year 1114, to the Gwylliaid Cochion Mawddwy, who did not attain notoriety till the middle of the 16th century: "And with him commenced the Mawddwy banditti, who still continue to ravage the country far and near." On pp. 96-7 of the *Arch. Camb.* for 1861 will be found the whole passage of Owen's *Introduction*, printed in parallel columns with Mr. Ab Ithel's garbled version thereof, in which the fact which showed the late date of the *Gwentian Chronicle* is carefully suppressed. It is perhaps not surprising that those who practise literary piracy themselves should be anxious to conceal literary forgery in others. The respective passages will be found *per se* at pp. viii.-ix. of Aneurin Owen's *Introduction*, and at pp. xxvii.-viii. of that in the Rolls Edition. It is

largely unauthentic, and it forms a member of an extensive class of semi-forged documents written apparently between 1550 and 1650, other members of which are the *Third Series* of Triads printed in the *Myryrian*, and the *Achan y Saint* and most of the other "historical" documents printed in the volume of the *Tolo MSS.* One and all of these documents were put together largely with the object of showing that as large a proportion as possible of the leading characters or events of Welsh History was to be localized within or near the boundaries of the present counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan; ⁷ and to this end many passages which

not pointed out in the *Arch. Camb.* that the sentence of Mr. Ab Ithel which begins with the words "The language" is taken from Aneurin Owen's letter printed in his *Introduction* (p. xxii.).

⁷ One of the most flagrant instances of this sort of barefaced forgery is found under the year 728. In the *Annals of Ulster* (see Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 356; and his *Celtic Scotland*, i. 288-9) a battle is mentioned as having taken place in 729 at *Montcarno*, somewhere in central Scotland, between two rival kings of the Scottish Picts, Nectan, son of Derili, and Angus, son of Fergus. This entry, with others relating to the kings of the Picts found its way into the *Annales Cambriæ* (see *Y Gymnrodor*, ix. 160), where it is entered as "Bellum Montis Carno." In the *Gwentian Chronicle* and in Powel's so-called *Historie of Wales* this battle is deliberately transferred to a place called Carno, not far from the Usk, and the following stories are palmed off on us concerning the event:—

Gwentian Chronicle, p. 7 (728); *Mye. Arch.*, ii. 472:—"The battle of Carno Mountain, in Gwent, where the Britons conquered after a great loss of men: and the Saxons were driven through the river Usk, where many of them were drowned on account of a flood in the river."

Powel, ed. 1584, pp. 14, 15:—"The year following, died Celredus King of Mertia, and Ethelbaldus was made king after him, who being desirous to annex the fertile soile of the countrie lieng betweene Senerne and Wye, to his Kingdome of Mertia, gathered an armie, and entred into Wales, and destroieng all before him, he came to the mountaine *Carno*, not farre from Abergeuenny, where a sore battell was fought betweene him and the Brytaines in the year 728."

the compilers found in their authorities have been unscrupulously altered. These documents, one and all, contain biographical and historical statements which any one conversant with the older Welsh literature dealing with the same persons and events can readily demonstrate to be forgeries; and for this reason it is clearly impossible to be sure that when they make statements (as they often do) wholly unsupported by other authorities, they may not have

(This entry is virtually translated in the Carmarthen *Brut*—see above, pp. 162-3, and note 1 thereon: *Furgrawn*, p. 7, Tonn MS., pp. 1-2).

The genuine *Brut y Tywysogion* alters the *Mons Carno* of the *Annales* into *Mynydd Carn*, which is in reality the name of the celebrated battle where Gruffudd ab Cynan was victorious in 1079. Conversely, the latter-day perverters of *Brut y Tywysogion* have calmly altered into *Carno* the name of this last battle, which is called "the battle of *Carn Mountain*" in that *Brut*, in the thirteenth-century *Life of Gruffudd ab Cynan*, in the *Annales Cambriæ*, and in Meilir's elegy on Trahaiarn (see *Myv. Arch.*, i. 191-2), who fell in the battle. This fictitious battle of the "mountain (or mountains) of Carno" is first mentioned, to the knowledge of the writer, in Powel's so-called *Historie of Wales*, ed. 1584, p. 114 (whence it is freely translated in the *Carmarthen Brut*, p. 74=Tonn MS., p. 8), and in the *Gwentian Chronicle*, pp. 66-7. A further development of this blunder or forgery is found in Pennant's *Tours in Wales* and later writers, who localize the battle at Carno in Montgomeryshire; but these modern wiseacres had evidently never read the *Life of Gruffudd ab Cynan*, written in the 12th or 13th century, where the Mountain of Carn is represented as being a long day's march ("dirfawr ymdeith diwyrnawt") from *St David's* (*Myv. Arch.*, ii. 593)! There is only one "battle of Carno" in strictly Welsh history, viz., that which took place in 948-950.

As for the locality of *Mynydd Carn*, it is unknown; but a place of the same name is mentioned by Lewis Glyn Cothi in his poem to Hywel ap Dafydd of Gwernan (i.e., *Gwernant*; now called Alderbrook Hall) in Tredreŷr (now called *Troed yr Aur*) in Cardiganshire. See his *Works*, p. 215 (ll. 43-4 of poem):

"Nyddu coed ar Vynydd Carn

A wna Huw 'n ei ŵn haiarn."

The place is wrongly identified by the editors with the Carno near Crickhowell.

invented these statements too. Nevertheless, this chronicle has acquired such a fictitious importance, that a new edition of it, based on the original MS., and critically pointing out its relations to the older chronicles and its forged and doubtful passages, would be very welcome to historical scholars.⁸

I think you will agree with me, after all these details as to the unprinted and even unexamined MSS. of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, that what is now wanted is an edition of that chronicle in which the most important versions should be printed in parallel columns, as has been done with the six texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Such an edition, and also the proposed new edition of the *Annales Cambriæ*, to be of any general use and interest, should be adequately illustrated with topographical and genealogical notes, entirely lacking in the Rolls editions, and very scanty in the incomplete editions given in the *Monumenta*. It would also be desirable to add in the notes not only all the parallel entries, but also all other *early* entries relating to Wales, Cornwall, or Cumbria, scattered through the Irish, Scotch, and English Annals. And the old lists of the hundreds and commotes of Wales,⁹ authentic and accurate texts of which are now only just beginning to be printed by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans,

⁸ See note (a) at end of article.

⁹ Three such old lists, each representing a distinct text, are known to me: (1) the text from *Cwta Cyfarwydd*, printed by Evans in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 327—331; (2) the one in the *Red Book of Hergest*, printed very inaccurately at the bottoms of pp. 606-12 of vol. ii. of the *Myryrian Archaeology*, and correctly by Evans as an appendix to the *Bruts* (pp. 407-12); (3) A list copied in the fifteenth century from (ultimately) a lost MS. of the twelfth or thirteenth, preserved in MS. Cott. Domitian, A. viii., and printed in Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. 1769, vol. v., fos. 16-18. A text of this, taken from the original MS. is in print, and will shortly appear in *Y Cymmrodor*. The other or first list in the *Myryrian* (fondly imagined by most writers to have been compiled in the days of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd) is a modern text composed since the division of Wales into counties; and

should be appended either to the *Brut* or to the *Annales*; and likewise perhaps a selection of the oldest pedigrees of the various Welsh kingly and princely families of which members are mentioned in both series of chronicles. Such editions as I have attempted roughly to indicate would constitute truly great and truly national undertakings, to which Welshmen (and also Englishmen) could turn with as great pride as can Irishmen to O'Donovan's magnificent edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

But the first step to be taken towards such an edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion* must necessarily be to set on foot a preliminary inquiry, entrusted to some thoroughly competent Welsh scholar such as Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans (who I may mention, is at the present moment engaged on such an investigation of the MSS. of *Brut y Brenhinoedd*¹), as to what MSS. there are, what their mutual relations are, and what and how many parallel texts an adequate edition would have to comprise. I have given you some grounds for believing that further copies may be found in some of the **unex-**

is not in the *Red Book of Hergest*, as the note (p. 613) "*Ac velly mae yn y Llyvyr Coch yn Hergest*" ('and so it is in the *Red Book at Hergest*'; which words evidently mean that there is a similar list in the *Red Book*) has wrongly led people to infer. This list is practically identical with the one given by Humphrey Lloyd and Sir John Price in their *Description of Wales* (printed in Powel's *Historie of Wales*, 1584), of which the oldest known MS., dated 1559, and signed by Humphrey Lloyd, is found in MS. Caligula A. vi. of the Cottonian collection. Two MSS. of the seventeenth century, containing a list of this type, are known to the writer, who strongly suspects them and the *first* of the two Myvyrian texts (printed at the *top* of pp. 606-13 of vol. ii. of the *Myv. Arch.*) to be copied, with more or less alteration, from the work of Lloyd and Price.

¹ And also of the *Brut y Tywysogion*; but he has hitherto only been able to examine the texts of *Brut y Brenhinoedd* and *B. y Tywysogion* at the British Museum, Oxford, Peniarth, Shirburn Castle, and Dingestow Court, and in one other small private collection.—August, 1890.

plored private collections in Wales, whose contents are as unknown to me as they are to you.

I will add, as a practical suggestion, that the preparation of a proper edition of the *Annales*, all the MSS. of which are known, and all in London, might very appropriately precede one of the *Brut y Tywysogion*; and that whilst the *Annales* were being prepared for the press by one person, the extensive preliminary inquiries towards an edition of the *Brut* might simultaneously be carried on by a second person. Thus, by the time the *Annales* were ready for press, the preparation of an edition of the *Brut* might be commenced; and the person engaged in the latter and far heavier undertaking would find the edition of the *Annales* and its *Prolegomena* of the greatest use to him in the prosecution of his task.

NOTE (a).

No allusion has been made by me to the question of the correctness of the Rolls text of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, which I had had no opportunity of collating with its originals. I may mention here, however, that the Rolls translation contains some most misleading blunders. One is the translation of *Ystrad Tywi* by 'the Vale of Tywi' (see the Index for numerous instances of this mistranslation). Of course this is the original meaning of the two Welsh words; but in the *Brut Ystrad Tywi* does not mean the mere Vale, but the very large district which took its name therefrom, embracing most of Carmarthenshire and part of Glamorganshire.² Thus, when the *Brut* informs us (p. 274-5) that an army marched into this district, the translator informs us that it marched into the Vale of Towy! A similar error occurs at p. 199 (cf. p. 233), where we are told that Dafydd ap Owen Gwynedd removed the people of Tegeingl into the *Vale of*

² Carmarthenshire also includes the large ancient Hundred of *Cantref Gwarthaf*, which was in Dyfed (the county town of Carmarthen was in this division); whilst modern Glamorganshire includes the large commot of Gower, which was in *Ystrad Tywi*. William of Worcester (*Itin.*, p. 327) speaks of "Gowerland" as being in "comitatu de Kaermardyn."

Clwyd. Here the expression translated is *Dyffryn Clwyd*, a district which (conversely to *Ystrad Tywi*) was smaller than the actual "Vale of Clwyd," and (just as does the modern "Deanery of Dyffryn Clwyd") only comprised part thereof. Indeed the statement of the translator is an absurdity, for part of Tegeingl itself was in the Vale of Clwyd! Then at p. 289, *Cantref Gwarthaf* (i.e., 'the Upper Hundred,' sc., of Dyfed) is actually translated "the Cantref of Gwarthaf," which is as though one were to say "the Egypt of Upper" when one meant "Upper Egypt." Is it possible that the translator did not know the meaning of *gwarthaf*? An equally elementary blunder occurs on p. 367, where *tri Chwmwd o Vch Aeron*, 'the three Commotes of (the country) above (the river) Aeron,' is translated 'the 3 C. of Upper Aeron;' and on p. 271, where *Is Aeron* (the country below Aeron) is similarly translated 'Lower Aeron.' Another example of topographical ignorance will be found on p. 197, where the men of Arwystli are made to pursue certain booty "as far as *the bank* of the Severn." This statement seems on the face of it rather superfluous, as Arwystli itself lay mainly along "the bank of the Severn." But on looking at the original Welsh we find the words translated 'the bank of the Severn' to be *Gorddwr Hafren*; and what is clearly meant is that the pursuit extended as far as the *Gorddwr*, the well-known name of the border district between the English and Welsh races to the east of Ceri (now *Kerry*), which itself immediately bounded Arwystli on the east; we have not met with the full name, *Gorddwr Hafren*, elsewhere. In another place (p. 288-9) the Dimetian district-name *Pelunyawc* (which probably stands for *Peuliniog* 'Paulinus' land,' and, whatever its origin and locality, is mentioned several times elsewhere) is deliberately altered into *Penllwynog* ('Fox's Head'); an alteration worthy of another sort of *pen*, viz., a *penbwl*.

One of the most misleading practices in the whole translation (at least for readers ignorant of Welsh) is that the Welsh *Caerllion* meaning Caerleon on Usk, and *Caerlleon*, then as now meaning 'Chester', are both translated by the English 'Caerleon'; that is to say that two place-names which (though of the same origin) are distinct in the original Welsh are both translated by one and the same name, which is only known as the English designation of one of the two places. See for instance pp. 222-5, where 'Caerleon' translates the Welsh *Caerllion* (i.e., Caerleon on Usk); pp. 184-5, where it translates *Caerlleon* (i.e., Chester), or pp. 290-1, where *Swydd Caerlleon*, i.e., Cheshire, is translated 'the county of Caerleon'! So *Gwyddyl* is translated 'Gwyddelians' instead of 'Irish,' and William the Conqueror is styled 'King of the *Albanians*,' the last word being meant to translate *Albanwyr*, i.e., 'Scots' (p. 53).

Then, in an English translation, the English names of places, where they differ from the Welsh, should at least be inserted in brackets. How is any one not conversant with Welsh topography to know, for instance, that *Aberhodni* (pp. 251, 283, 298-301, 318-21; which now, by the way, is called in Welsh *Aberhonddu*) means Brecon, that *Gwyddgrug* (p. 173) means Mold, that *Llanymddyri* means Llandovery, that *Rhoshir* (p. 189; the original, by the way, has *Rossyr*, and the old form, found in the Life of St. Cybi, is *Rosuir*³, i.e., *Rhôs fyr*, which means the exact opposite to *Rhos hir*) means Newborough in Anglesey, and that *Talacharn* (now in Welsh called *Lacharn*), *Trefdraeth*, and *Euelere* (pp. 213, 219, 287, 289, 345; the last would in modern Welsh be *Eselfre*, by the way) are in English parlance Laugharne, Newport (Pembrokeshire), and Velfrey respectively? or that by "the Glen of Teyrnon" (p. 231) Lantarnam is meant? Here, by the way, the Welsh is *Nant Teyrnon*, and *nant* does not necessarily mean 'a glen;' if, indeed, it ever bears that signification in South and Central Wales, where it usually, if not invariably, means 'a brook' nowadays (see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi. 42).—And yet the translator is not even consistent in this sort of mystification; for at pp. 181, 183, 235, *Dinbych* is correctly translated into the 'Tenby' of the hated Saxon, who would have been somewhat puzzled to fix the locality of *Dinbych y Pysgod*, and indeed is given to fondly fancying that *Tenby* is so called from the *Danes*! Likewise on pp. 177, 201, 293, *Croes Hyswallt* is correctly rendered 'Oswestry,' instead of by its modern Welsh name *Croes Oswallt*; and similarly at p. 265 *Treffynnon* is intelligibly translated into 'Holywell.'

Then on what principle is the name of a district in Cardiganshire, *Mabwynion*, correctly reproduced in the translation on p. 291, whilst on p. 199 *Castell Mabwynyon* (the castle in, and named from, the said district) becomes 'the Castle of the Son of Gwynion'? *Cwmwd Mabwynion* may indeed have been so called from some 'son of Gwynion' (*Mab Gwynion*), just as *Gwynionydd*, another district of Cardiganshire, means 'the tribe of Gwynion'; but translators have no business to alter established and technical names in order

³ See *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 186. "Et venit ad oppidum, quod dicitur hodie Merthir Caffo, et ibi occiderunt *Rosiur* pastores Caffo." Here the MS. may perhaps be made to read either *Rosiur* or *Rosuir*. The last words mean 'and there the shepherds of Rhosfyr slew Caffo;' the place is now called Llangaffo, the church of which is three miles from Newborough. *Rhos Fyr* would be quite regularly softened into *Rhosyr*, like *Llanfor* into *Llanfor*, *Llanfol* into *Llanol*, &c.

to meet their etymological views—which are matter for notes or a Glossary (and even the Rolls system allows Glossaries, though it forbids illustrative notes).

Not to mention such comparatively well-known names as *Aberteifi* for 'Cardigan' and *Llanelwy* for 'St. Asaph,' which are left untranslated *passim*, other instances of the failure to render Welsh place-names into their English equivalents may be found at p. 321, where we have in the English translation "the Castle of *Maes Hyveidd*" (Radnor Castle; in modern Welsh the name has become *Maesyfed*), *Aberhodni* (Brecon), *Colunwy* (Clun), "the Vale of Teveidiog" (*Dyffryn Tefeiddiog* was the name of a small district, and means 'the Vale of *Teme*,' which river in old English was called *Temede*, *Temde*, and in Welsh apparently **Tefaidd*⁴), *Trallwng* (Welshpool; see also p. 361), "The Red Castle" (Powys Castle), and *Aber Mynyw* (a gross scribal blunder, not even pointed out, for *Aber Mynwy*, i.e., Monmouth).—Also *Llanbedr Tal Pont Stephan* (for Lampeter), p. 317; *Gelli* and *Maes Hyveidd* (for Hay and Old Radnor), p. 293; "the Earl of *Cuer Logw*" (i.e., the Earl of Gloucester), p. 297; *Llanuhadein*⁵ (Llawhaden), pp. 237-9; *Nyver* (Nevern), pp. 237, 241; *Caer Rhiw* (Carew), p. 371; *Aber Corran* (Laugharne), p. 235; and *Trallwng Llywelyn* (Welshpool), pp. 109, 243.

Misleading translations of Welsh place-names are: P. 219, *Newcastle upon Usk*; here the Welsh name, *Castell Newydd ar Wysg*, now survives as *Casnewydd*; but how many English can be expected to know that the place meant is the town of Newport?—P. 205,

⁴ Another derivative form, *Tefeiddiad*, existed, as well as *Tefeiddiog*; it occurs in two of the three old lists of Welsh territorial divisions (for which see note 9 on p. 168, *supra*); see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 329, where the district is called *Dyffryn Teueiddyat*, and Leland's *Itin.*, v. 17, where it is corruptly spelt *Dyffrynsedat*. William of Worcester, also, writing in the 15th century, calls the river 'Tavidiot aqua' (*Itin.*, p. 320). John David Rhys, the grammarian, who lived for a while at Bugeildy in the upper Vale of Teme (then, three centuries ago, a Welsh-speaking district), calls the place in the last paragraph of the Preface to his *Grammar* (1592) 'y Bugeildy ynn Nyphryn *Tubhida*.' The modern English form *Teme* is shortened from an older *Temde*; Leland, *Itin.*, iv. 179-180, uses the forms *Temde*, *Temd*, and *Teme*; and the older Anglo-Saxon form was *Temede* or *Tumede* (see Offa's charter in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, i. 307-8).

⁵ This form is invented by the translator. The original Welsh has *Llan y Hadein*. For the name see Owen's *Description of Pembroke-shire* (1892), Additional Note (a).

Racadyr, 'the cataract'; but the stream called *Rhaiadr* is meant, and *Mochnant* is and *uwch Rhaiadr* mean the part of 'Mochnant below' and 'above' that stream respectively, in accordance with a very common principle of dividing the old Welsh hundreds into comotes.—Pp. 213, 227, 233, 315: *Y Ty Gwyn* (*ar Daf*), 'the White House (upon Tav)', by which *Whitland* is meant (called now, by the way, by natives of Whitland, not *Ty Gwyn*, but *Hendy Gwyn*). And yet, on p. 326-7, the Welsh name appears translated as 'Whitland.'—Pp. 361, 367: *Cwmwd Perfedd* 'the middle comot' (without capitals); but *Cwmwd Perfedd* was the technical name for one of the divisions of *Uwch Aeron* in Cardiganshire.—Pp. 341, 369: *Perfedd-wlad* 'the Midland District'; here again, the meaning of the name is correctly given, but *Perfedd-wlad* was the technical name for a large district which was anything but 'midland,' forming as it did the north-eastern extremity of North Wales, and bounded as it was on three sides by sea or estuary.⁶—P. 301, *Mynydd Du*, 'the Black Mountain.' The mountains called in English the Carmarthen Vans are meant. The Welsh name is still in use; but English people generally mean by the 'Black Mountain' a very different mountain, namely, the long hog's back stretching between Hay and Abergavenny. At p. 261 *Hywel Sais ap yr Arglwydd Rhys* is said to have been stabbed "at Cemaes." But the Welsh is *yg Kemais* 'in Cemais,' and no particular place, but the district of Kemmes in Pembroke-shire, is intended. (For the word *Cemais*, see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi. 42-3.) At pp. 200-1 we find the form *Mochmant*, obviously a scribe's or printer's mistake for *Mochnant*, which, if it really exists in the *Book of Basingwerk*, ought to have been corrected in a footnote; and at pp. 62-3, the fairly correct form *Rychmarch* of the older texts (transliterated from some such older form as *Richemarch*, the first *h* of which is merely orthographical) is altered into the scribe's-gibberish *Rythmarch*, whence springs the ridiculous *Rhyddmarch* of your modern Welsh antiquary; of course the Old-Welsh *Ricemarch* would now be written and pronounced *Rhygyfwrch*.

Non-Welsh place-names occasionally fare badly: thus *Efsam* (p. 352-3) is translated 'Esham,' and *Conach* (p. 184-5) 'Conach'; but one expects Rolls Editors, though born neither in England nor in Ireland, to have heard of the town and Battle of *Evesham*, and the province of *Connaught*. Then what place is meant by 'Brygge,'

⁶ It was perhaps called 'The Middle Country' owing to its partially intermediate position between Powys and the *original* Gwynedd, the eastern boundary of which we believe to have been the Conwy, now the eastern limit of the Diocese of Bangor.

which translates *Bruch* at p. 155? We presume Bridgenorth, anciently called *Brycg*; but it was the business of the Editor to look into this point and enlighten us. And were not Rolls Editors in A.D. 1860 supposed to know Latin? (One would have thought, at least, that such an accomplishment would have been an indispensable qualification for the editing of a Latin text like *Annales Cambriæ*.) In the Latin verses twice printed at pp. 246-9 (both in the Welsh text and in the English translation) we find the following colossal blunders: *foma* for *fama*, *ingeniitum* for *in gemitum* (or *gemitu*?), *inimitus* for *inimicus*, *ipsuis* for *ipsius*, *glistit* for *gliscit*, *testus* for *testis*, and *nestia* for *nescia*. Now if these mistakes really occur in the original MS., Hengwrt 51, they should have been corrected, either in critical notes (allowed even by the Rolls system), or at least in the copy given in the English translation, where on the contrary every one of the barbarisms finds itself slavishly repeated. On p. 245 mention is made in the English translation of "the histories of *Ystas* the historian" and "the odes of *Feryll* the bard." But who except learned Welshmen (few enough, in all conscience!) know that *Fferyll* in mediæval Welsh meant 'Virgil' (for in the modern tongue the name has been degraded till it means nought but 'a chemist'!)? and how many would guess that by *Ystas* is meant 'Tacitus' (for we presume it can hardly mean *Statius*)?

There is a grotesque mistranslation (due, we fear, to the translator's insufficient acquaintance with *English* idiom) in at least two places, viz., at p. 283, where Robert de Bruse is said to have been honourably received by the "*good men* of Brycheiniog," but the Welsh original has *gwyrda Brecheinawc*; and at p. 227, where *acrra ar wyrda Gwent* is translated 'a slaughter of the *good people* of Gwent.' We presume that the perpetrator of these absurdities would have translated *optimates* 'excellent people'! Of course *gwyrda* (in older Welsh *deon*, older *degon*, plural of *da*, older **dag*), meant the same as *optimates*, and what is referred to is the treacherous massacre of the Gwentian *nobles* spoken of by Giraldus, *Itin. Camb.*, i. 4. See note to the Rolls edition of his works, vi. 49. We may add that the Index to the Rolls *Brut* is most inadequate, and omits many place-names occurring both in the Welsh text and in the English translation.

THE CROFTER SYSTEM OF THE WESTERN
ISLES OF SCOTLAND AND THE CAL-
LERNISH STONES OF LEWIS.

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.¹

I. THE CROFTER SYSTEM OF THE WESTERN ISLES OF
SCOTLAND.

I HAVE to begin by making an apology. The title of the Paper I am about to read was announced in the syllabus of the session as "The Western Isles of Scotland regarded from a Welsh standpoint," and I had intended to deal therein with several distinct facts which I had noticed during two successive journeys to the West of Scotland. But when I came to reflect on the first rough account of those facts which I wrote, I found there were several points whereon I had touched concerning which further investigation was desirable; while for an adequate description of other objects I had noted (vitrified forts, rude stone monuments, and the like), the verification of some of my memoranda was absolutely necessary. I therefore felt compelled to restrict myself to giving an account of "The Crofter System of the Western Isles of Scotland," as I observed that system during a visit in the summer of 1889.

Whether there be any truth in the supposition that there is a sort of correspondence between the crofter townships of the Western Isles and the *pentrefi* of Wales,

¹ Read before the Society on Wednesday, April 29, 1891.

and in the further supposition that these *pentrefi* represent the hamlets of the *taeogion* or serfs of the old Welsh social system, a description of these crofter-townships, still existing, which have been least affected by modern changes, will, I think, be interesting to the student of ancient Celtic social systems, especially as in my account of these townships and of various other facts connected with the crofter system I only describe what I saw with my own eyes, or what I was told on the spot, and have not been influenced by what others have written on the subject.

The huts of the crofters of Lewis are arranged in rows at about equal distances apart, forming what is called "a crofter-township," or collection of towns (pronounced "toons"), or houses. The huts stand along a road or way, and often on the other side of the road is another row of similar huts. Each hut is placed in a small enclosure which contains the other buildings, if any, belonging to the crofter, his stacks of peat, of oats, and so forth. From this enclosure, and having an equal width with it, stretches the croft, which is a long strip of land, wherein the crofter grows his oats, barley, and potatoes; for these are the chief, if not the only, crops grown. Often a part of the croft, having the same width as the other part, is on the other side of the road. Near at hand is the turf moor, over which the crofters, as well as all the parishioners, have rights of turbary. And, finally, there is the summer-pasture or hill-pasture, of which more will be said hereafter. The whole settlement, or collection of huts and crofts, is generally surrounded by a rude stone wall.

Having given the foregoing general notice, by way of introduction, I will now descend to particulars.

And I will begin with the crofter's *hut*. Most of the inhabitants of Lewis with whom I conversed told me that this hut had no special name, but was simply called *Tigh*

(‘house’), but one person said it had, in fact, a specific name—*Tigh Dubh* (‘Black House’), and as this name is not likely to have been invented, the houses not being *externally* black at all, it seemed to me worthy of being recorded, though I have the authority of one man only for it. I saw a crofter’s hut being built. Two parallel trenches for each wall were dug in the ground, leaving a core of earth between them. In these trenches big stones were laid, without mortar, for a foundation. The two parallel walls were then continued upwards, the spaces between the big stones used being filled up with smaller stones, leaving a hollow space between, which was filled with soil until a height of five, or at most six, feet had been attained, and the walls of the building, with their inner core of earth, had been completed. These walls are often three feet thick at the surface of the ground, but become somewhat thinner as they get higher. Whether the inner core of earth is continued to the top of the wall, I do not certainly know, but I suppose it is. The roof timbers are then placed all round, with their lower ends resting on the inner edge of the walls, while their upper ends are lashed to the ridge-pole. As the latter is shorter than the length of the building, and the roof-timbers are placed all round the walls of the latter, at its ends as well as at its sides, there are no gables, the ends of the roof being made to incline at the same angle as the sides. The roof-timbers having been fixed, rude cross-pieces are placed upon them, and the whole roof is, not thatched, but simply covered, with a thin layer of straw, which is removed once a year, and used as manure. This covering of straw is held together on the roof by knotted ropes, the ends of which are weighted with stones. As the roof-timbers start from the *inner edge* of the walls, the greater part of the top of the latter is exposed. On this flat top sods are placed and

a kind of shelf formed, on which the chickens feed, and whereon the horse, standing on the ground below, essays to graze. No poles support the roof inside the house, so far as I know.

In some cases the crofter's dwelling-house is distinct from the byre: in other cases the dwelling-house and the byre form a single building. When the dwelling-house and the byre are under one roof, there are sometimes separate entrances for the cattle and the inmates of the house, and sometimes there is but one entrance. The building with only one door for the cattle and the family we may regard as the older type of crofter's hut. As representing this older type also we may mention those huts which have no chimneys, and in which the peat-reek finds its way through a hole left for this purpose in the roof, through various accidental crevices, and through the open door. When there is no chimney, the hearth is sometimes, though not generally, made in the middle of the floor, away from the walls. This again we may suppose to be a more ancient arrangement than that according to which the fire is built up against one of the end walls. The dwelling-house is generally divided into two apartments, called in English "the but" and "the ben," that is, the outer and the inner room.

I have now to speak of *the croft* which pertains to the crofter's hut, and is inseparable from it. This is often called by the English word *Lot* (pronounced "Lote"), but oftener by the Gaelic word *Cruit*,² which I fancy to be merely a variation of the English *croft*. I was told the true Gaelic name for the croft, a name seldom used, but I could not venture to reproduce it, as few of the Gaels with

² Also spelt *croit*, whence *croitear* 'a crofter,' we are informed by a Gaelic scholar to whom we are indebted for other information given in the footnotes to this article.—ED.

whom I conversed could spell or write the language which they spoke.

The crofts, putting on one side the question of their subdivision, are of equal area in the same township, but vary a great deal in different townships. Nor is there any constant relationship between the length and breadth of the crofts. The latter are divided one from another by low banks or by ditches. The crops are grown on what are called "lazy-beds" (as in Ireland, and, I believe, in Northumberland), "lazy-beds" being narrow butts upon which the soil from the hollow reans which separate the butts is annually heaped. As this soil receives the drainage from the "lazy-beds," it is regarded as a form of manure. There is, as a rule, no rotation of crops in the crofts, and the soil is forced by the application of compost. The crofts vary in area in different townships from two acres, or under, to about six acres.

The women do nearly all the agricultural work, and if they do not dig the turf (as to which I can say nothing, most of the men at the time of my visit to Lewis being away at the fisheries on the eastern coast), they certainly carry it from the moor to their houses. The women tramping in single file, bending patiently under their loads, form indeed one of the characteristic sights of Lewis. They work, in fact, in every way inordinately hard. When they have nothing else to do, they knit stockings, or other articles of dress, which they sell at Stornoway, where there is a fair demand for them. When working, they wear short skirts, and dispense altogether with boots, and generally with stockings also, though they sometimes wear stockings *that have no feet*.³ I did not see a single shop in any of

³ Called in Welsh *bacsau*. In Llanbrynmair and thereabouts blue bells (*Scilla nutans*) are called *bacse'r gôg*.—ED.

the crofter villages, though I read of one in a crofter township which I did not visit. Speaking generally, whether the women want to buy or sell, they must go to Stornoway, and when they do this, they don their best garments, and very comely they then look. A short blue skirt, a coloured bed-gown or bodice, and a cap of pure white—such is their attire, while their legs and feet, if not bare, as is generally the case, are encased in home-made stockings and yellow shoes. When their creels are empty, they knit as they walk along the roads. Until the time of the late Sir James Matheson, who built mills in different parts of the island, the women ground their own corn by hand.

The hill or summer pastures remain now to be dealt with. About the end of May or beginning of June the women drive the cattle and sheep to the hills, taking their creels, and often their churns also, with them. Here, I was told, they remain, on and off, for about six weeks. Here the sheep are shorn. Here the women make butter, and take it down to Stornoway to sell, or, if the summer pastures are not too far from their homes, take down the milk thither two or three times in a week, and make butter there. While at the hill pastures they live in a hut called in Gaelic an *airidh*, and in English a “summer shieling.” It corresponds, of course, to the *hafod* of Wales, which was the hut used when the Welsh herdsman formerly in summer drove his cattle to the hills. This custom exists also in Switzerland, the Scandinavian peninsula, and elsewhere. I crossed some of the hill pastures in Lewis, and visited a summer shieling, where I was hospitably received. The walls of the shieling are wholly built of turf; a rude framework of wood covered with turf rests upon these walls, and forms the roof. The doorway of the shieling is so low that one has to crouch in order to enter it.

I learned that, according to the theory of the proprietor

of Lewis, no crofter should keep on the hill pastures more than one cow and six sheep for every pound sterling of rent paid, but that the crofters now persistently disregard this regulation, and keep thereon what stock they please.

There is also, I was informed, "a wintering," or winter pasturage, a sort of links, or grassy sand-hills, the Gaelic name of which I cannot give. In some townships this pasturage is open only to one cow for every croft; and if a crofter grazes thereon more than one cow he has to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* a head for the extra beasts he puts on the pasture into a general fund, which is afterwards divided among those who have rights over the winter pasturage. This arrangement has been made by the crofters themselves, and leads to endless dissensions among them.

When a large district is cultivated or dealt with in the manner I have described, it presents a curious spectacle to one who has been accustomed to the sight of a country in which no such conditions exist. The long lines of strange-looking huts; the many and variegated strips of cultivated land; the black turf-moor, with its stacks of turves; the bare, treeless hills—together make up a picture which, though interesting rather than beautiful, can never be forgotten by one who has noted its main points.

The foregoing observations relate to Lewis. In connection with the crofter townships in the neighbourhood of Portree (in the Isle of Skye), several of which I visited, two points were noticed. *First*, the rows of huts were often down by the sea-shore, the crofts then stretching upwards from them to the main road, and being divided from each other by broad paths leading down to the huts. *Secondly*, the huts were in many cases not arranged in rows at all, but scattered promiscuously about; and the crofts also varied a great deal in area and shape, and were pieces of land which the crofters or their wives had industriously cleared

of stones, leaving, however, often great masses of rock projecting from the ground, presenting thus a state of things very similar to that which I have understood exists in Ireland—especially in Kerry. I should add that there were crofts which were unequal in area, while the huts to which they pertained were arranged all together in a row, representing thus a class of holdings intermediate between the two classes first named.

I saw from the steamer several crofter townships along the sea-coast of the mainland in Ross-shire. Here a state of things was noticed similar to that which exists in Skye. But I observed that in two or three instances, when the houses were arranged in a row with crofts of equal size and shape, these latter were separated from one another by lanes flanked by stone walls.

I am not ignorant of the part played by the Norsemen in Western Scotland, and especially in the Isles; but I imagine them to have been merely a military aristocracy, ultimately absorbed or assimilated by the mass of the population, and that the crofter townships in particular represent the habitations of the Gaelic-speaking people whom the Norsemen found in possession, whom they left practically undisturbed, and whose customs they on the whole respected.

II. THE CALLERNISH STONES OF LEWIS.

I should have preferred, for the reasons given in the first paragraph of this paper, to have said nothing of *The Callernish Stones* in Lewis until I should have been able to make a second visit to them. But as the probabilities of such a visit seem very remote, I will give here the best account I can of this wonderful collection of *meini hirion*. The Callernish Stones are situated immediately adjoining the crofter township of Callernish, in the parish of Uig, about

two miles from the well-known inn called "*Garra na hìne*,"⁴ and sixteen miles from the town of Stornoway. They do not appear to have been described, except very imperfectly, in any book that is easily accessible. Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*—a very unsatisfactory book, by the way—contains merely a passing allusion to them.⁵

If you inquire of such people in the island as are supposed to be learned in local antiquities, you will be informed that the stones, as a whole, are Druidical, and that on the top of the cromlech, beneath the cairn within the circle, human sacrifices were once offered. Indeed the drain was pointed out to me which was provided for carrying off the blood of the victims! The Gaelic name of the stones was stated to be a perpetual witness of their former purpose. This name was *Torsachen*, or rather *Tuirsachen*, which is said to mean "Houses of Mourning."⁶ But a crofter told me that this is really the name, not of the stones, but of a hill a little to the south of them.

The truth is, that apart from the cruciform character of

⁴ Supposed to stand for *Gearradh na h-aimhne*, 'the cutting of the river,' i.e., the ravine through which the river has forced its way, from *gearradh* 'cutting or to cut,' and *aimhne*, gen. sing. of *amhainn* (Welsh *afon*). There is also a Gaelic word *garradh* 'a dyke or rude wall.'—ED.

⁵ Misled by the incompleteness of the index to Mr. Fergusson's book, I had quite forgotten, until the above sentence was in type, that there was in that book not only the "passing allusion" on p. 52, but also an actual description, at pp. 259-60, of the Callernish Stones, illustrated by a small-scale plan of them taken from Sir Henry James' work. But the description in question is very much wanting in detail.—A.N.P.

⁶ The Gaelic *tuirseach* means 'sail, mournful;' its plural would be *tuirseachan*. *Na tuirseachan* would mean 'the mourners,' i.e., the relatives and friends who mourn for a deceased person, and would therefore seem to be a name originally applied to the stones. 'Houses of mourning' would be *tighean bróin*.—ED.

the group and the question as to its builders, there is nothing unusual about the Callernish Stones to those who have seen and studied similar monuments. We have here a cairn, covering a two-chambered cromlech, with the entrance (the "drain" before mentioned) pointing as usual to the east, and a tall *maen hir*, or monolith, which we may for distinction call "the stylus," at the western edge of the cairn, all enclosed within a circle of tall monoliths, from which circle radiate to the four points of the compass four rows of standing stones, of which one row (that to the north) is double, and forms a broad avenue, and the other rows are single.

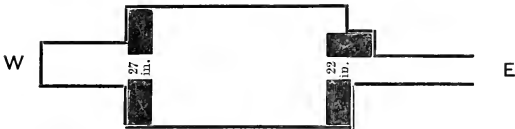
There are, however, certain peculiar points of interest about the Callernish Stones which it is important to notice.

First of all, the cromlech within the circle was covered with stones, a fact which would have gladdened the heart of the late Rev. E. L. Barnwell, who always stoutly contended that cromlechs were never intended to be exposed—an opinion with which I am disposed to agree. I talked with a crofter who witnessed the removal of the stones composing the cairn with which this particular cromlech was covered. A great part of the cairn, indeed, still remains.

It is interesting to remark how the tall *maen hir*, the stylus, the tallest of the group, occupies *approximately* the centre of the stone circle, and forms a kind of western headstone to the cairn which stands between it and the eastern edge of the circle.

The *cromlech* also is peculiar in many ways. The larger chamber within the cairn has at each corner a low upright stone, these four stones supporting the capstone (now displaced), and forming the cromlech. But these four stones stand at the corners merely, and are, besides, so narrow as

to leave the sides of the cromlech quite open. *The whole has, therefore, been built in*, enclosed so as to form a chamber, constructed of flat stones regularly laid with an even face inwards, which chamber is oblong, opening westwards into a smaller chamber (which I forgot to measure), and eastwards into the passage which, when open, led from the outer air into the cromlech. The whole has, in plan, *roughly* the appearance of the following sketch.



I measured the chamber, but being ill at the time and unspeakably exhausted, found on my return home the dimensions given in my pocket-book hopelessly confused. I therefore give only those measurements of which I am certain. The western chamber is very small and built in the same manner as the eastern, except that it encloses no standing stones as supports for the capstone.

The circle is composed of thirteen monoliths, from nine to ten feet high. They are at widely different intervals apart. Nor is the circle accurately circular. The internal diameter, east and west, is 34 feet 7 inches, and the internal diameter, north and south, 39 feet 2 inches; the external diameter, east and west, 37 feet 3 inches, so that the *calculated* external diameter, north and south, would be 41 feet 10 inches. I must explain that the diameter, east and west, was measured from the edge of a stone on the west side of the circle along the southern edge of the stylus, to the edge of a stone on the east side of the circle, all three stones being in line, not merely with each other, but very nearly with the eastern

and western limits of the cross also ; while the diameter, north and south, was measured from a stone on the north side of the circle, along the eastern side of the stylus to an *imaginary point* in a wide gap on the south side of the circle, where, it was supposed, a stone would have stood, if a stone had ever been there placed to complete the circle. This diameter pointed in a direct line to the southernmost stone of the southern arm, and the distance between this stone and the imaginary point just mentioned (giving the length of the southern arm) was measured, but this measurement I afterwards most unfortunately lost. It can, however, as will presently be seen, be approximately recovered.

At the point at which the two diameters of the circle crossed each other, I made a mark in the turf. From this point (nearly the true centre, and somewhat south of the stylus) to the southernmost stone of the south arm of the cross is 105 feet 10 inches. From this same point to the middle of a line connecting the two northernmost stones of the northern double arm, or avenue, is 296 feet 8 inches. The total length, across the circle of the longer limb of the cross, is therefore 402 feet 6 inches. Subtracting from 105 feet 10 inches half the diameter north and south of the circle (20 feet 11 inches), we get 84 feet 11 inches as approximately the length of the southern arm (measuring from the outside of the circle), and 275 feet 9 inches as, in like manner, the length of the northern arm, or avenue. The northernmost stones of the latter abut upon a crofter's garden, and I am by no means sure that this avenue was not, aforesaid, longer than it now is.

There is a *maen hir* outside the circle ranging with the first stone westward of the western arm of the cross, which looks like the beginning of a second circle outside the first—an important observation, if we hold, as

I am inclined to do, that groups of this kind were formed gradually.

The eastern and western arms of the cross consist each of four monoliths, and the measurements relating to them are as follow:—

	ft.	in.
Length of western arm to inner edge of circle	43	8
„ across circle (internal diameter east and west)	34	7
„ of eastern arm to inner edge of circle	48	4
„ of transverse limb of cross	126	7

As to the *avenue*, or northern arm, which consists of two parallel rows of standing stones, there are in the western row ten, and in the eastern row nine stones, the interval between two stones being in no single case the same.

I have unaccountably left unrecorded the number of stones in the southern arm, but, according to my recollection, there were six in a direct line, and a small one apart from the rest, which might be the first of a second row designed to form, with the row already existing, an avenue similar to that which forms the northern arm. It should be said, however, that the six stones of this arm (if six there be) do not run truly north and south, but trend gradually westward, so as to mar in some measure the cruciform appearance of the group. The stones of this arm are five or six feet high.

Indeed, the members of the group are disposed very much at haphazard, and the stones as a whole are so irregularly arranged, there being neither a true circle nor a true cross, that it is impossible to believe that any definite measures of length are involved in it. Nor am I convinced by the quasi-cruciform arrangement of the Callernish Stones that they were set up in Christian times, or have any Christian significance.

As the measurements above given were made with a cord, which was liable to stretch, and as I lacked assistance, some of the longer lengths may be somewhat out of the true, but the shorter measurements may be absolutely trusted.

Until the time of the late Sir James Matheson, the Callernish Stones were so hidden with the turf-moss which had grown up around them that some of them were wholly covered, and of others only the tops appeared. Sir James had the moss cleared away to what seemed to be the original level of the ground. But the marks of the moss level, before this unearthing was effected, are still evident on the stones. I found in the case of one of the stones that the moss had grown up about it to the height of 51 inches.

On returning from the Callernish Stones to the Garra na hine Inn, I noticed on a slight elevation, a little to the right of the road, a double circle of monoliths, there being four in the inner circle, and ten (of which two were prostrate) in the outer circle.

ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

HENRY VAUGHAN OF SCETHROG,
 1622-1695 :
 SOME NOTES ON HIS LIFE AND CHARACTERISTICS
 AS A POET OF WELSH DESCENT.¹

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WHEN I was honoured with the request to deliver an address before this Society, my first thought naturally was of my small individual qualifications to speak upon those peculiarly national subjects which are the proper field for study and criticism on the part of the body which has so long and honourably claimed to represent Welsh literature. The strong interest which, both on general and personal grounds, I feel in your beautiful country, in its rich and flexible language, in its many centuries of poetry, uniting the age of Taliesin to the age of Tennyson, is, unhappily for me, supported by a very poor and superficial knowledge of that literature, equally attractive and perplexing ; which also, in the present day, if not possessing as many native scholars or readers as it deserves, yet can boast of names, amongst others, so justly honoured as Canon Silvan Evans, or Professor Rhys and Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans of Oxford ; to whom I may add Mr. Lewis Morris, whose widely diffused poetry so worthily carries on the tradition of that work

¹ This paper was read before the *Cymmrodorion* Society on Wednesday, May 27, 1891, and again at Oxford on May 29, in presence of some members of Vaughan's old college, *Coleg yr Iesu*.

which, in the last century, rendered his ancestors of the House of Penbryn the central source of light and guidance to the highest culture of the Principality.

Men of this class, perhaps, do not leave much room for the tentative efforts of the *Saeson*, whose place is rather to listen and to learn; and I must request from such, and indeed from all my hearers, some forbearance whilst I attempt a brief criticism upon Vaughan, as the most remarkable among several poets who, though of Welsh descent, and, as I shall endeavour to show, gifted with characteristically Welsh genius, wrote in English during the seventeenth century. A short outline of his life I shall presently offer. The other two to whom I have alluded are John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's (1573-1631), and George Herbert (1593-1633). Donne's family was Welsh; he used the same crest as Sir Edward Dwnn, whose father, Sir John, was executed after the battle of Danesmore (or Edgecote Field) in 1469.² When, however, the poet's immediate branch of the Dwnn's settled in England seems to be unknown. His father was a London merchant; his mother of English descent.—George Herbert was born in Montgomery Castle, of the noble Pembroke family; whilst his mother, Magdalen Newport, was descended in the female line from Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, Prince of Powys, and Gwenllian, daughter to Gruffudd ap Cynan, Prince of Gwynedd.

Donne's religious poetry, striking as it is, yet forms much the smallest portion of his whole work. But it is surely very remarkable, although indeed quite insufficiently recog-

² The list of the Welsh and other notables slain "apud Heggecote feld prope Banbery," given by William of Worcester in his *Itinerary*, pp. 121-2, includes "Henr. Don de Kedwelly, fuit in Francia, filius Ewen Don," and "Henricus Don de Pyrton." The first of these two was (*ib.*, p. 118) one of the three sons of Sir Gryffith Don, and married a daughter of Sir Roger Vaughan. Cf. note 4 on p. 194, *infra*.—ED.

nized, whether in Wales or in England, that Herbert and Vaughan, unquestionably the greatest, the most impressive religious poets of that age (putting aside Milton, who has a unique place in our literature), should thus both be, so far as we know, of pure Welsh descent. Without accepting those crude and extravagant views upon the influence of descent—upon heredity—which are current in certain scientific sections at the moment, we have certainly good reason to expect that some qualities characteristic of their race will be found in these three writers. What may we select as these Celtic qualities? Here I obviously enter upon doubtful or debateable ground, and must beg a lenient judgment from my hearers. National characteristics are always difficult to define, even to those familiar with any race and its literature. How much more so when such familiarity is wanting!

Perhaps, however, it may be allowed me here to assume as a fair groundwork for discussion certain definitions of the Cymric genius set forth by that gifted poet and critic, the late Matthew Arnold. In his lectures on the study of Celtic literature (nor in these only) we doubtless find errors, fanciful thoughts, and rash theoretical conclusions on matters beyond his grasp. Yet I think it was with the true insight of one who was before all things a poet that he fixed upon *sentiment* as the best single term to mark the Celtic nature. "An organization quick to feel impressions, and feeling them very strongly; a lively personality, therefore keenly sensitive to joy and to sorrow."³ Comparing the Celt with the Greek of old, that same invaluable sensibility, "the power of quick and strong perception and emotion, which is one of the very prime constituents of genius, perhaps its most positive constituent," we find belonged also to the Greeks; but with them it was accom-

³ "On the Study of Celtic Literature," p. 100 (1867).

panied by the strongest, the most pervading, sense of form and measure in poetry and the other fine arts. Hence beyond any other race of men the Greeks succeeded in great constructive works of poetry; whilst the Celtic genius it will, I think, be allowed has shone rather in briefer lyrical utterances. But this latter point I would not press; the very different historical careers of Greece and of Wales, unnoticed by Arnold, have to be taken everywhere into account if such a comparison of the results in art reached by the two nations is to be made. Here it will be enough for me to point out that by this great element of poetical success, this predominant emotion, Donne, Herbert, and Vaughan are all distinguished. Their writing has a passion, a full tide of sentiment, which contrasts most curiously with the general tone of purely English literature during the seventeenth century. Intellect, reasoned rendering of human nature, rather than emotion, is indeed the quality which throughout English poetry, from and before Chaucer onward, is apt to hold the place we have assigned to sentiment in Celtic; whence a predominant fault in English writers is a too frequent readiness to become simply didactic, to sacrifice poetical art to practical purpose. In the seventeenth century this intellectual English bias, it is well known, was cultivated to excess; even Milton is not free from it; and from reasons into which I cannot now enter it took the form of subtle ingenuity in words, and in thoughts even more than in words; what are called conceits or fancies became so engrossing as to have practically ruined the work of many men of true genius; Cowley perhaps being the most distinguished example. Now the poetry of Donne and of Herbert is itself thoroughly pervaded by these forced, over-ingenious turns of thought and language. I have not time here to offer examples from these writers; what I wish to emphasize is that their fancies, unlike the

mere intellectual conceits of their English contemporaries, are throughout inspired by depth of sentiment. Hence it is that Herbert's little book, overwrought with quirk and fancy as it is, has remained amongst the most popular in the language—a fate how rarely reached by any book more than a century old! And this vital quality, this strength of humanity and human feeling, this voice of the heart, I think we are justified in claiming without hesitation as the strong working of the Welsh blood within them. Despite their language, they are amongst the glories of Cymric poetry.

But I must now turn to the poet in whom not only sensibility but other equally remarkable national qualities are conspicuous.

Sir Roger Vaughan, of that great and ancient family which claimed descent from Caradoc Freichfras—the ancestor of our Henry,—who served in the Welsh forces under Lord Pembroke, and was slain in the fight of Danesmore⁴ in 1469, settled at Tretower in the county of Brecon.⁵ Thence the poet's grandfather moved to Scethrog,⁶ near the Usk; where, eighth in descent from Sir Roger, Henry and his twin brother Thomas were born in the house of Lower Newton in 1621 or 1622. Both were educated by the

⁴ Danesmore or Danesmoor (also locally known as *Dunsmore*) is a small plain in the parish of Edgcott, co. Northampton, S. of the village of Edgcott, and four or five miles N.E. of Banbury (see Baker's *Northamptonshire*, i. 500–1). Lewis Glyn Cothi (see his *Works*, pp. 16–19) wrote an elegy on Thomas ap Rhosser (or Roger), Lord of Hergest (brother of the above Sir R. Vaughan), who took part in this battle, where he was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Banbury. Sir Roger Vaughan's name is not in the list mentioned in note 2 on p. 191 above, which see.—ED.

⁵ In the parish of Llanfihangel (or St. Michael's) Cwm Du, of which St. John's, Tretower (in Welsh, *Tretwr*) was a chapelry.—ED.

⁶ Scethrog and Newton are both in the parish of Llansantffraid. An unfounded guess of comparatively modern antiquaries connects

Rev. Matthew Herbert, of the Pembroke family, at Llangattoc juxta Crickhowel,⁷ who, says H. Vaughan, was more than a father to him. In 1638 the brothers entered Jesus College, Oxford; a set of English verses in honour of Charles I., printed in 1641, is all that is known of the poet's University career. About this time Henry seems to have been more or less in London. He speaks of the men of letters with whom he was in company at the famous Globe Tavern; and, like other seventeenth century poets, his warmest praise is for Fletcher the dramatist, whilst Shakespeare is not named. In his town life Vaughan seems to have fallen into some excesses, of which he soon bitterly repented. In 1645 he may have been present, though not actually under arms, at the defeat of Royalist cavalry on Rowton Heath near Chester. He took the degree of Doctor of Medicine, though when and where is unknown, and then began practice in Brecon town, retiring to his native village Scethrog in 1647. And as a doctor he there seems to have spent the rest of his life, marrying and leaving children: from one of whom his learned editor, Doctor Grosart, plausibly deduces Doctor Vaughan, the present Dean of Llandaff. He died, aged 73, in 1695, and is buried, close by his house, in Llansantffraid churchyard; where his Latin epitaph, obviously written by

Scethrog with Brochwel Ysgythrog, Prince of Powys in the sixth century. The victims of a further hallucination have seen the tomb of this prince in the inscribed stone at Llandyfaelog Fach, not far off, the name on which is not, however, *Brocmail*, but *Briamail Flou* (i.e., Briafael *Flavus*, as Professor Rhys points out to us). For these legends see Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, 58-9; Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, under "Llandevaillog-vâch," "Llansantffraid" (No. 1); Jones' *Breconshire*, ii. 174, 537.—ED.

⁷ Which benefice he held 1621-1661. "He was also rector of Cefnlllys, in Radnorshire, and prebendary of Llanelwedd [close to Builth] in Christ's College, in Brecon" (Jones' *Breconshire*, ii. 494).—ED.

himself, asks the mercy of God upon an unprofitable servant and a sinner.⁸

It is very singular that although Vaughan, as a country doctor, must have spoken far more Welsh than English, yet only one four-lined scrap of Welsh poetry, written by him, has come down to us. This is an *Englyn* on the Lord's Prayer, prefixed to a book by Dr. Thomas Powell of Cantref, published 1657.⁹ The *Englyn* is a four-line stanza, of a very elaborate structure, condensed and somewhat epigrammatic in character. Professor Rhys, to whom I referred Vaughan's attempt, points out that it slightly differs from the fashion of the present day, and is chiefly remarkable as a proof that the poet, although preferring to write in the language of the majority, was yet master of his mother-tongue. As such, I may be here allowed to quote it :—

Y Pader, pan trier, Duw-tri a'i dododd
 O'i dadol ddaioni
 Yn faen-gwaddan i bob gweddi,
 Ae athrawiaeth a wnaeth i ni.

"The Lord's Prayer, when looked into, (we see) the Trinity of His fatherly goodness has given it as a foundation-stone of all prayer, and has made it for our instruction in doctrine."¹

Vaughan's best, and best known poetry is religious ; but we have also some interesting and often charming verse

⁸ "Henricus Vaughan Siluris, M.D., obiit Ap. 23, Anno Salutis 1695, Ætat. suæ 73. Quod in sepulchrum voluit: Servus inutilis, Peccator maximus, hic jaceo. ✱ Gloria, miserere." (Jones' *Breconshire*, ii. 536, where '78' is a misprint for '73').—ED.

⁹ "*Quadrige Salutis*, or the Four General Heads of Christian Religion surveyed and explained." For some account of this Dr. Powell and his works, see Wood's *Athene Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss, 1817), iii. 507-8.—ED.

¹ See the note at the end of this article.

upon various subjects by him. This section of his work, because it is little known and because it illustrates his life, I will first notice. In 1646, when he was aged about 24, appeared his first poems. Like all Vaughan's volumes it is excessively scarce; whence we infer that throughout life he was one of those poets, such as his contemporary, Andrew Marvell, or Keats in our own day, who, for some reason, failed to receive due recognition. In this little book, however, Vaughan is only trying his wings; he follows, on the whole, the courtly conventional poetry of the day, yet shows also that genuine feeling which underlies all his life and verse. Love, of course, is the main theme, and Amoret his mistress. I quote a lover's message addressed to her:

Nimble sigh, on thy warm wings
 Take this message and depart;
 Tell Amoret, that smiles, and sings,
 At what thy airy voyage brings,
 That thou cam'st lately from my heart.

Tell my lovely foe, that I
 Have no more such spies to send,
 But one or two that I intend
 Some few minutes ere I die,
 To her white bosom to commend.

Then whisper by that holy spring²
 Where for her sake I would have died,
 While those water-nymphs did bring
 Flowers to cure what she had tried;
 And of my faith and love did sing,

That if my Amoret, if she
 In after-times would have it read,
 How her beauty murder'd me—
 With all my heart I will agree,
 If she'll but love me, being dead.

This is doubtless the artificial style of that age; it reminds one of Carew and Herrick; yet its truth of sentiment is, I

² Fountain or well.

think, unmistakeable. An extract from another song "To Amoret, gone from home," may be also given :

Fancy and I last evening walk'd,
 And, Amoret, of thee we talk'd ;
 The West just then had stol'n the sun,
 And his last blushes had begun :
 We sate, and mark'd how everything
 Did mourn his absence : how the spring
 That smiled, and curl'd about his beams,
 Whilst he was here, now check'd her streams :
 The wanton eddies of her face
 Were taught less noise, and smoother grace ;
 And in a slow, sad channel went,
 Whisp'ring the banks their discontent ;
 The careless ranks of flowers that spread
 Their perfumed bosoms to his head,
 And with an open, free embrace,
 Did entertain his beaming face ;
 Like absent friends point to the West,
 And on that weak reflection feast.
 —If creatures then that have no sense
 But the loose tie of influence,
 Though Fate and Time each day remove
 Those things that element³ their love—
 At such vast distance can agree,
 Why, Amoret, why should not we ?

In this piece we find the manner of Carew, one of the most popular and graceful amourist poets of the time. But here also Vaughan first shows his love of the landscape, and his strong sense of natural law, in his references to the influence or sympathy which moves the stream and the flowers. This mode of regarding Nature is the old imaginative way, from which modern physical science with its insistence upon tangible fact diverts the mind. A *Rhapsodie*, in which he sings a meeting with friends at the Globe, and draws a picture of London by night, with a translation of Juvenal's famous tenth satire, concludes the book.

³ Apparently for *aliment*.

In 1651 Henry Vaughan, or perhaps his brother Thomas, without the "Author's approbation," published a little Miscellany, as the phrase was, under the title *Olor Iscanus*—the Swan of Usk. The contents, including some Latin verse, are varied, and their chief interest is perhaps biographical. The preface, *Ad Posterios*, To Posterity, recites a short sketch of his life, his birthplace, his training under Matthew Herbert, and the grief he felt at the miseries and distractions of the Civil Wars, lamenting his country as an afflicted mother might her lost children. The first English poem is a beautiful address to the Usk, that fair stream which, as some here doubtless will know, glides quietly by the town of Brecon, and seems to run through all Vaughan's poetry with an undercurrent of peace and music. Usk was to him what "the murmuring Esk"—the names are, of course, identical⁴—was to Drummond of Hawthornden. Vaughan in this piece has caught something of the spirit of Milton's lovely song at the close of *Comus*, the one addressed

⁴ *Wysg*, the Welsh name of the river (Latinized *Oscā* and Anglicized *Usk*) corresponds exactly with the Irish *iasc* 'a fish,' the representative (with the regular Celtic loss of Aryan *p*) of the Latin *piscis*, from which the Welsh *pysg* 'fish' is, of course, merely borrowed. Thus *Afon Wysg* might well mean 'Annis piscosus.' The Welsh *wy* regularly represents an Old-Celtic *ē* or *ī*; hence *Esk* might well have been an archaic form of *Wysg*, as *Isca*, the name given by the Romans both to the *Usk* and to the *Eve* in Devonshire (the latter of which is called by Asser—see *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 479—*Wisc*), undoubtedly is. Curiously enough we find in N.E. Yorkshire both an *Esk* and a *Wiske*, the former joining the German Ocean at Whitby, the latter (inland, to the E.) flowing into the Swale past Northallerton. If *Esk* is (as *Eve* undoubtedly is) the same word as *Wysg*, the presumption is that the Anglian, Pictish, or Goidelic invaders of the once Brythonic districts where *Esks* occur (Cumberland, N.E. Yorkshire, Edinburgh-, Dumfries-, Forfar-, and Kincardine-shires) found on their arrival and stereotyped the Old-Celtic form, just as the Mercians did in the case of the river Teme (see p. 173, note 4, *supra*).—ED.

to Sabrina, who personifies that greater Welsh river, the Severn :—

Garlands, and songs, and roundelays,
 Mild, dewy nights, and sun-shine days,
 The turtle's voice, joy without fear,
 Dwell on thy bosom all the year !
 May the evet⁵ and the toad
 Within thy banks have no abode,
 Nor the wily, winding snake
 Her voyage through thy waters make.
 In all thy journey to the main
 No nitrous clay, nor brimstone-vein
 Mix with thy streams, but may they pass
 Fresh as the air, and clear as glass ;
 And where the wandering crystal treads,
 Roses shall kiss, and couple heads.
 The factour⁶-wind from far shall bring
 The odours of the scatter'd Spring,
 And loaden with the rich arrear,
 Spend it in spicy whispers there.

This, with all its quaintness, is a beautiful lyric ; but the general quality of the book differs much from the love ditties addressed in 1646 to Amoret. We have here satires, weighty and epigrammatic ; and a curious invitation, full of humour and quaint thoughts, to a misanthropic friend to join him at Brecknock. Vaughan speculates why his friend lives in monastic retirement ; whether it was love ;—

Or is't thy piety ? for who can tell
 But thou may'st prove devout, and love a cell,
 And—like a badger—with attentive looks
 In the dark hole sit rooting up of books.

Vaughan calls him forth to reasonable enjoyment, despite the public miseries of the day :

Come then ! and while the slow icicle hangs
 At the stiff thatch, and Winter's frosty paugs
 Benumb the year, blithe—as of old—let us,
 'Midst noise and war, of peace and mirth discuss.

⁵ The newt or eft.

⁶ Merchant.

This portion thou wert born for : why should we
 Vex at the time's ridiculous misery ?
 An age that thus hath fool'd itself, and will—
 Spite of thy teeth and mine—persist so still.

Of greater power is an elegy on the death of a friend killed at Rowton Heath in 1645. This shows much force of feeling, and in consequence a certain bold energy of style, which Vaughan had at command, but which his choice of subject rarely called for. Of his friend he says :

He weaved not self-ends, and the public good,
 Into one piece, nor with the people's blood
 Fill'd his own veins ; in all the doubtful way,
 Conscience and honour ruled him. O that day,
 When, like the fathers in the fire and cloud,
 I miss'd thy face ! I might in ev'ry crowd
 See arms like thine, and men advance, but none
 So near to lightning moved, nor so fell on.

Other miscellaneous pieces follow, one of which I may perhaps be allowed to notice as containing what possibly is a Welsh idiom ; and if so, the only one that I have fancied I could detect in all Vaughan's poetry. In this lyric Vaughan speaks of the flower Rose as masculine, against the common use of the feminine gender : English writers following the Latin *rosa*, he (as I suppose) the Welsh *rhosyn*.⁷ But this point I submit to your better judgment.

Last remains for notice by far the most beautiful poem in the book : an elegy upon that unhappy child, the Princess Elizabeth, second daughter to Charles I., who was practically murdered at the age of 14, by the cruelty of the Puritan-Independent party, then in its brief supremacy,

⁷ *Rhos-yn* is a mere loan-word, with the Welsh masculine singulative-suffix. The true Welsh word for 'roses' was *breilw*. In the Cornish vocabulary of Cott., Vespasian, A. xiv., *breilu* glosses *rosa*. —ED.

at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, in 1650. Elizabeth's happy and promising childhood was soon overclouded; she was born in 1635, and by 1642 already began to feel the political miseries of the time. Her mother was driven from England; she was imprisoned by Parliament. Then came her confinement under various conditions of severity; the final farewell to her father in 1649, and her careless removal, despite of constantly failing health, to the gloom and solitude of Carisbrook. I now quote our poet's elegy:

Thou hadst, ere thou the light couldst see,
Sorrows laid up, and stored for thee;
Thou suck'dst in woes, and the breasts lent
Their milk to thee, but to lament;
Thy portion here was grief, thy years
Distill'd no other rain but tears,
Tears without noise, but—understood—
As loud and shrill as any blood;
Thou seemst a rose-bud born in snow,
A flower of purpose sprung to bow
To heedless tempests, and the rage
Of an incenséd, stormy age.
Others, ere their afflictions grow,
Are timed and season'd for the blow,
But thine, as rheums the tenderest part,
Fell on a young and harmless heart.
And yet, as balm-trees gently spend
Their tears for those, that do them rend,
So mild and pious thou wert seen,
Though full of sufferings; free from spleen,
Thou didst not murmur, nor revile,
And drank'st thy wormwood with a smile.

There are some fantastic phrases in this piece, after the fashion of the age. Yet what a tenderness is here, what truth in the child's picture! What a deep, deep sympathy for the young sufferer! In all the poetry which, during the middle of the seventeenth century, touches upon the deaths and calamities of the time, I know none which rivals this elegy in depth of pathos, in reality of sentiment.

In 1678 Vaughan, or some friend who cannot be identified, brought out his last little book of poetry. The British Museum possesses this in the single copy known: a fate which it is striking to observe has befallen not a few English books published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whilst others have wholly disappeared. This collection is named *Thalia Rediviva*—('The lyric Muse returned to life,' we might render it) or "The Pass-times and Diversions of a Countrey Muse," as it is also entitled. *Thalia*, like the previous volume, contains miscellaneous pieces and translations, beside some religious verse, and it represents mainly, as I conjecture, Vaughan's later work. Here we find a very remarkable poem addressed to the eagle; a bird then doubtless oftener seen in Wales than in these days of improved cultivation, railroads, and rifles. This piece is in Vaughan's most rapt, imaginative, ecstatic style—Smart's Song to David, Blake's lines upon the Tiger, Wordsworth's on the Cuckoo, are the nearest to it in strange visionary power that I can remember. But Smart and Blake were not wholly sane: Vaughan's first lines show that he knew his attempt to be a kind of fit of poetical madness, such as Plato defined poetry. But we may doubtless see in it the peculiar, fervent penetrative, mystic imagination, which Wales may justly claim as the gift of her own children.

He that an eagle's powers would rehearse
Should with his plumes first feather all his verse.

I know not, when into thee I would pry,
Which to admire, thy wing first, or thine eye;
Or whether Nature at thy birth design'd
More of her fire for thee, or of her wind.
When thou in the clear heights and upmost air
Dost face the sun and his disperséd hair,
Ev'n from that distance thou the Sea dost spy,
And sporting in its deep, wide lap, the fry.
Not the least minnow there, but thou canst see:
Whole seas are narrow spectacles to thee.

This is an example of what I have already noticed, how the fantastic far-fetched imagery, the conceits which Vaughan shared with his contemporaries, are vivified when lighted up (to take Shakespeare's phrase) by his "fine frenzy." Other writers in this style are apt, as indeed we have seen often renewed since in our literature, to sacrifice poetry to ingenuity : but Vaughan's splendid exaggerations shine, as we may say, by the warm light of the imagination, not the white glitter of the intellect. Following the eagle in his flight, he now paints the royal bird as displeased and scornful at the moon's want of brilliancy. The sun, according to old belief, is what he naturally gazes at : hence

Resolved he is a nobler course to try,
 And measures out his voyage with his eye.
 Then with such fury he begins his flight,
 As if his wings contended with his sight.
 Leaving the moon, whose humble light doth trade
 With spots, and deals most in the dark and shade :
 To the Day's royal planet he doth pass
 With daring eyes, and makes the sun his glass.
 Here doth he plume and dress himself, the beams
 Rushing upon him, like so many streams ;
 While with direct looks he doth entertain⁸
 The thronging flames, and shoots them back again.
 And thus from star to star he doth repair,
 And wantons in that pure and peaceful air.

And then Vaughan closes with that lesson of Nature to Man, that echo, so to speak, of human life presented in things not human, which, as we shall see, is constantly enforced in his sacred poetry :

Nature made thee to express
 Our soul's bold heights in a material dress.

But the most interesting poems in *Thalia* are a few love-lyrics, finer in art and in feeling than those in the little book of 1616.

⁸ Receive.

I quote a few lines from the picture of Fida, with her

Blushes which lightning-like come on,
 Yet stay not to be gazed upon,
 But leave the lilies of her skin
 As fair as ever, and run in :

a true-hearted "country beauty," describing how she dressed her head :

Her hair laid out in curious sets
 And twists, doth show like silken nets,
 Where—since he play'd at hit or miss :—
 The god of Love her pris'ner is,
 And, fluttering with his skittish wings,
 Puts all her locks in curls and rings.

What an exquisite lightness of touch is there in these lines ! It seems to me exactly analogous to the magical skill with which the great painter Correggio touches-in the golden hair to which he is so partial. Often as the poets, in their gay flattery, have dwelt on the bright tresses of some beauty, and compared them to a net to catch the heart of man, or even Cupid himself,—I know none who have rendered the idea with more charming felicity.

The place of Amoret, his first love, in this book is taken by Etesia. Of her we know nothing : but the peculiar sincerity of tone in which she is addressed, the depth of loving reverence, may convince us that Etesia was a true woman, whom we may perhaps reasonably conjecture or hope was the one he wedded.

Etesia, at thine own expence,
 Give me the robes of innocence

is the lover's invocation before painting her character :

Thou art the dark world's morning-star,
 Seen only, and seen but from far ;
 Where like astronomers we gaze
 Upon the glories of thy face,
 But no acquaintance more can have,

Though all our lives we watch and crave,
 Thou art a world thyself alone,
 Yea, three great worlds refined to one,
 Which shows all those, and in thine eyes
 The shining East and Paradise.

O thou art such, that I could be
 A lover to idolatry!
 I could, and should from heaven stray,
 But that thy life shows mine the way,
 And leave a while the Deity
 To serve His image here in thee.

In this and the lyrics "To Etesia, Parted From Him" and "Etesia Absent" Vaughan, I think, is seen at his best in this style. If he has not the finish, the airy touch of Herrick or Carew, he has a deeper sentiment, a more imaginative quality: fancies, doubtless, but heart-fancies: he reminds one, in these respects, of the best lyrics of the Elizabethan age.

O subtle Love! thy peace is war;
 It wounds and kills without a scar:
 It works unknown to every sense,
 Like to decrees of Providence,
 And with strange silence shoots us through;
 The fire of Love doth fall like snow.

Hath she no quiver, but my heart?
 Must all her arrows hit that part?
 Beauties, like heav'n, their gifts should deal
 Not to destroy us, but to heal.

Strange art of Love! that can make sound,
 And yet exasperates the wound:
 That look she lent to ease my heart,
 Hath pierced it, and improved the smart.

Now, on Etesia Absent:

Love, the world's life! what a sad death
 Thy absence is! to lose our breath
 At once and die, is but to live
 Enlarged, without the scant reprieve

Of pulse and air : whose dull returns
 And narrow circles the soul mourns.
 But to be dead alive, and still
 To wish, but never have our will ;
 To be possess'd, and yet to miss,
 To wed a true but absent bliss ;
 Are ling'ring tortures, and their smart
 Dissects and racks and grinds the heart !
 As soul and body in that state
 Which unto us seems separate,
 Cannot be said to live, until
 Reunion ; which days fulfil
 And slow-paced seasons : so in vain
 Through hours and minutes—Time's long train—
 I look for thee, and from thy sight,
 As from my soul, for life and light.
 For till thine eyes shine so on me,
 Mine are fast-closed and will not see.

It was, however, his religious poetry into which Vaughan threw his full force, and by which he is, or I should rather say deserves to be, best known. The first part of his collection, named *Silex Scintillans*, 'the spark-giving flint,' was published in 1650 ; republished, with a second part, in 1655 ; and a few scattered serious poems are contained in his latest book, the *Thaliv* of 1678. Vaughan, you will remember, seems to have lived more or less in London after his Oxford career, mixing with the literary men of the day at the famous Globe Tavern. That period was the beginning of troubles in England ; and he may probably have been casting about to find what profession would best suit him. He looked upon the gradual ruin of Charles I. and of the Constitution as represented by him, with an intensity of feeling such as that which Wordsworth in his youth felt for England, "as a lover or a child" ; and to the despair hence arising I think we may partly ascribe Vaughan's irregularities of conduct, noticed before, whatever they may have been. Anyhow, some time before 1647 he

appears to have been attacked by violent illness, and from that period we may date what he might have truly named his conversion. The preface to the second edition of his *Silex* (1654) expresses his sense of shame at the wanton verse too frequent in that age, and his repentance for what he had himself written thus in early youth; though indeed not a syllable of the kind occurs in the youthful volume of 1646. The first writer who opposed that tide, he says, "was the blessed man, Mr. George Herbert, whose holy life and verse gained many pious converts, of whom I am the least."

It is as a poet—as a true and essentially Welsh poet—that I am here concerned with Vaughan. Upon his religious views it will hence be enough to say that they were obviously much influenced by those of Herbert in his own time, and of the theologians of the earlier Church; and that his faith was held with a very deep conviction, and with the reward of humble-minded happiness in this life, and sure hope for the future. That he also profited much as a writer by Herbert's poetry is certain. Here, however, a commonly diffused error has to be noticed. The devotion which Vaughan expressed to the admirable recluse of Bemerton, who died in 1633, whilst he was a young boy, has led many to suppose that Vaughan's spiritual indebtedness to Herbert carried with it also the result that he was in poetical style the follower and disciple of the elder writer. Here and there indeed we can see that Herbert's verse directly influenced Vaughan's. The men are also alike in pursuing what I have spoken of as the fanciful style of that age; and alike in the deep sentiment, the voice of the heart (passing often into a peculiar meditative melancholy), which I claim for their blood-inheritance as Welshmen, and which inspires and redeems to life their strangest and most artificial conceits. Here however as

artists they part; beyond this lies the obvious fact that Vaughan was decidedly more richly gifted with true imagination—always the essential and governing gift of the poet—than Herbert. And with this deeper insight and faculty follows his inheritance in that other noble quality which Matthew Arnold finds especially in the Celtic race, and which he defines as a peculiarly quick perception of the charm of Nature, of the more delicate beauty, the inner meaning of the wild free landscape, especially in its relations to man and the human soul,—the correspondence and harmony of the visible world with the invisible. And that sentiment was accompanied by a power of its own to render this charm, this beauty of Nature, in a wonderfully near, vivid, and as we might call it, magical way.

It is indeed safe to affirm, that of all our poets until we reach Wordsworth, including here Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, Vaughan affords decidedly the most varied and the most delicate pictures from Nature; that he looked upon the landscape, as I hope to show, both in its fine details and in its larger, and, as they might be called, its cosmic aspects, with an insight, an imaginative penetration, not rivalled till we reach our own century;—that he, lastly, has carried out the idea of a certain deep correspondence between the outer world and the human soul with a subtle skill;—which, perhaps, often betrays him into a certain obscurity, whence in some degree the little study his work has received may be derived.

That this singular and delightful gift, which sometimes indeed runs into fantastic extravagance, pervades and colours the poetry and the romantic narratives of Wales, I may safely assume you know. Even in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion*, so skilfully has she managed it, the peculiar refined and deep sense of Nature is thoroughly perceptible. To give examples of it from

Vaughan will be the main task which now remains to me.

Here, however, I must notice it is not in distinctly Celtic literature alone that we find this peculiar quality. Whether through the mixture of Celtic and Saxon blood in our race, as Arnold conjecturally argues, or from some other unknown cause, a similar imaginative treatment of landscape may be traced here and there in English poetry, notably in that of Shakespeare, to our own century. It is of Wordsworth that we naturally think as the writer who has perhaps most fully and frequently possessed the gift before us; we think of it indeed as in some sense a distinctly modern tone of mind. And Wordsworth has a largeness and completeness in his landscape, together with an exquisite refinement, all his own. But Vaughan, though his special aim, that of rendering religious thought and sentiment, of course much restricted him as a painter of Nature, yet has a similar depth and poignancy of imagination. His sympathy with tree and flower is more affectionate, more human than Wordsworth's; the emotion dominant in Welsh poetry shows itself, as I shall try presently to exemplify, in a singular power of personifying natural objects. With him also the sense of God's omnipresence in his works is even more constant, more simply religious and direct than in Wordsworth. Vaughan expresses somewhere the longing wish that man "would hear The World read to him," as his lesson for life. Like Wordsworth, he wrote always with earnest conviction and purpose, confessing this, and the difficulty of it, in some singularly candid lines, with which all true poets must have often unconsciously sympathized:—

O! 'tis an easy thing
To write and sing;
But to write true, unfeign'd verse,
Is very hard!

Let this slight sketch serve as a general preface upon Vaughan's special gifts,—those gifts in which he most clearly reveals his nationality; by virtue of which, as you I hope will agree, Wales is entitled to claim his poetry, written in English as it is, for her own. Depth and delicacy of feeling, the heart speaking and spoken to more than the head, intimate insight into Nature, felicitous touches of description, the eye always upon the object,—these are the leading notes. And with these Vaughan has the “defects of his qualities”; obscurity and abruptness of phrase, thought often too concentrated for clearness and melody in words; some defect in form and unity of design—much in short which, in its own way, we must confess to be true of our lately-lost Robert Browning,—both requiring close sympathetic attention from their readers, and both rewarding it.

Vaughan's excellencies, as I have said, are common also to the ancient Greek poets; but—as indeed is true of far too much modern work,—he lacks their measure, their reserve, their lucidity, their power of keeping the whole always in view while elaborating the parts,—their architectonic power, as it is sometimes termed.

The very first piece in the *Silex* supplies a set of little pictures of Nature, which Vaughan works into his religious theme, the prayer for liberation from the power of evil, for a renewed heart, for “Regeneration.”

A ward, and still in bonds, one day
 I stole abroad;
 It was high-Spring, and *all the way*
Primrosed, and hung with shade:
 Yet was it frost within;
 The surly winds
 Blasted my infant buds, and sin
 Like clouds eclipsed my mind.

Storm'd thus, I straight perceived my Spring
 Mere stage and show ;
 My walk a monstrous, mountain'd thing,
 Rough-cast with rocks, and snow ;
 And as a pilgrim's eye,
 Far from relief,
Measures the melancholy sky,
 Then drops, and rains for grief :
 So sigh'd I upwards still.

He then finds himself in a " fair fresh field " :

Here I reposed ; but scarce well set,
 A grove descried
 Of stately height, whose branches met
 And mixt, on every side ;
 I enter'd, and once in,—
 Amazed to see't—
 Found all was changed, and a new Spring
 Did all my senses greet.

The unthrift⁹ sun shot vital gold,
 A thousand pieces ;
 And heaven its azure did unfold
 Chequer'd with snowy fleeces ;
 The air was all in spice,
 And every bush
 A garland wore : Thus fed my eyes,
 But all the Earth lay hush.

Only a little fountain lent
 Some use for ears,
 And on the dumb shades language spent,
The music of her tears.

What originality and imaginative beauty do the phrases here italicized display !

The phenomena of water, the spring, the lake, the torrent, as it is natural, hold a great part in Vaughan's landscape. One often feels he is describing what must have met his eye during his professional rides—for cart-roads were then probably rare about Scethrog—by hill and valley. Thus

⁹ Lavish. See *Merchant of Venice*, v. 1.

how vividly does he paint a hot mist exhaled from a lake and falling back in rain : how skilfully does he turn the simile into a personal application :

'Twas so; I saw thy birth. That drowsy lake¹
From her faint bosom breathed thee, the disease
Of her sick waters, and infectious ease.

But now at even,
Too gross for heaven,
Thou fall'st in tears, and weep'st for thy mistake.

Ah ! it is so with me : oft have I prest
Heaven with a lazy breath ; but fruitless this
Pierced not ; love only can with quick access

Unlock the way,
When all else stray,
The smoke and exhalations of the breast.

Yet, if as thou dost melt, and with thy train
Of drops make soft the Earth, my eyes could weep
O'er my hard heart, that's bound up and asleep ;

Perhaps at last,—
Some such showers past—
My God would give a sunshine after rain.

But the waterfall,—of all natural features the one most characteristic of mountain scenery, the one which above all lends life to the wild landscape, as we might expect,—drew from Vaughan one of his most perfect and most imaginative pictures. I quote a portion :

With what deep murmurs, through Time's silent stealth,
Does thy transparent, cool, and watery wealth,
Here flowing fall,
And chide and call,
As if his² liquid, loose retinue³ staid

¹ Probably *Llyn Safaddan* (known to English as Langorse Pool), near Scethrog, a *lowland* lake in cultivated country, whence a hot mist might well rise : whereas most of the lake or pond waters in Wales are clear mountain tarns.—ED.

² *His* here may be used for *its* : or misprinted for *thy*.

³ The water, thought of as following and clothing the fall.

Lingering, and were of this steep place afraid :
 The common pass,
 As clear as glass,
 All must descend,—
 Not to an end,
 But quicken'd by this deep and rocky grave,
 Rise to a longer course more bright and brave.

Dear stream ! dear bank ! where often I
 Have sate, and pleased my pensive eye ;
 Why, since each drop of thy quick store
 Runs thither where it flow'd before,
 Should poor souls fear a shade or night,
 Who came—sure—from a sea of light ?
 Or, since those drops are all sent back
 So sure to Thee that none doth lack,
 Who should frail flesh doubt any more
 That what God takes He'll not restore ?

For it is an allegory of life he sees in the waterfall :
 broken in its passage through the world, then re-collected
 in age :

As this loud brook's incessant fall
 In streaming rings restagnates all,
 Which reach by course the bank, and then
 Are no more seen ; just so pass men.

Vaughan, as I have noticed, has a singular vividness in personifying common natural objects. He is ready to imagine flower or bird, stone or stream, as beings animated by human life, and with whom he can hold dialogue. Or, again, he dwells sometimes upon their superiority to man. Thus he says :

Weighing the steadfastness and state
 Of some mean things which here below reside,
 Where birds, like watchful clocks, the noiseless date
 And intercourse of times divide,
 Where bees at night get home and hive, and flowers,
 Early as well as late,
 Rise with the sun, and set in the same bowers ;

I would—said I—my God would give
 The staidness of these things to man! for these
 To His divine appointments ever cleave,
 And no new business breaks their peace;
 The birds nor sow nor reap, yet sup and dine;
 The flowers without clothes live,
 Yet Solomon was never dress'd so fine.

Man hath still either toys¹ or care;
 He hath no root, nor to one place is tied;
 But ever restless and irregular
 About this Earth doth run and ride.
 He knows he hath a home, but scarce knows where;
 He says it is so far,
 That he hath quite forgot how to go there.

In the next piece Vaughan represents himself as searching in winter for a favourite buried flower—an image to him of a retired holy life.

I walk'd the other day—to spend my hour—
 Into a field,
 Where I sometimes had seen the soil to yield
 A gallant flower;
 But Winter now had ruffled all the bower
 And curious store
 I knew there heretofore.

Yet I, whose search loved now to peep and peer
 I'th' face of things,
 Thought with myself, there might be other springs
 Besides this here,
 Which, like cold friends, sees us but once a year;
 And so the flower
 Might have some other bower.

Then taking up what I could nearest spy,
 I digg'd about
 That place where I had seen him to grow out;
 And by and by
 I saw the warm recluse alone to lie,
 Where, fresh and green,
 He lived of us unseen.

¹ Trifles.

Many a question intricate and rare
 Did I there strow ;
 But all I could extort was, that he now
 Did there repair
 Such losses as befel him in this air,
 And would ere long
 Come forth most fair and young.
 This past, I threw the clothes quite o'er his head ;
 And stung with fear
 Of my own frailty, dropp'd down many a tear
 Upon his bed ;
 Then sighing whisper'd, ' Happy are the dead !
 What peace doth now
 Rock him asleep below ! '

Now it is the life of the bird into which he throws himself :—

Hither thou com'st : the busy wind all night
 Blew through thy lodging, where thy owu warm wing
 Thy pillow was. Many a sullen storm
 —For which coarse man seems much the fitter born—
 Rain'd on thy bed
 And harmless head.

And now, as fresh and cheerful as the light,
 Thy little heart in early hymns doth sing
 Unto that Providence, Whose unseen arm
 Curb'd them, and clothed thee well and warm.
 All things that be praise Him ; and had
 Their lesson taught them when first made.

I pass reluctantly a most original elegy upon a fallen timber-tree :

Sure thou didst flourish once ! and many springs,
 Many bright mornings, much dew, many showers
 Past o'er thy head ; many light hearts and wings,
 Which now are dead, lodged in thy living bowers.

And of his noble address to the rainbow only the opening can be given :

Still young and fine ! but what is still in view
 We slight as old and soil'd, though fresh and new.
 How bright wert thou, when Shem's admiring eye
 Thy burnish'd, flaming arch did first descry !
 When Terah, Nahor, Haran, Abram, Lot,
 The youthful world's gray fathers in one knot,
 Did with intentive looks watch every hour
 For thy new light, and trembled at each shower !

But, if it weary you not, I will quote, perhaps, the most singular and original example of Vaughan's magical power of giving life to lifeless things. It is his description of *The Book*, the Bible. He has a lovely lyric upon this, as his guide and teacher. But first it is the book itself—the paper, the boards, as was common in old days, of actual wood, the leather covering—which he must describe

Eternal God ! Maker of all
 That have lived here since the man's fall !
 The Rock of Ages ! in whose shade
 They live unseen, when here they fade ;
 Thou knew'st this paper when it was
 Mere seed, and after that but grass ;
 Before 'twas drest or spun, and when
 Made linen, who did wear it then ;
 What were their lives, their thoughts and deeds,
 Whether good corn, or fruitless weeds.
 Thou knew'st this tree, when a green shade
 Cover'd it, since, a cover made,
 And where it flourish'd, grew, and spread,
 As if it never should be dead.
 Thou knew'st this harmless beast, when he
 Did live and feed by Thy decree
 On each green thing ; then slept—well fed—
 Clothed with this skin, which now lies spread
 A covering o'er this aged book,
 Which makes me wisely weep, and look
 On my own dust. . .

On the curious intensity of feeling here shown I need hardly comment : the speculation as to the lives of those

who wore the linen afterwards converted into paper; on the sort of pitying affection for the sheep whose skin supplied the outer cover of the book.

It is upon Vaughan's special gifts in the way of impassioned imagination and felicitous power shown in natural description which I have, perhaps, at too great length been dwelling, as they are, perhaps, his most peculiarly national qualities in poetry, and also those which are least exhibited amongst his English contemporaries.

I have claimed for Vaughan that he is by far our most noteworthy poet of Nature in the centuries before Wordsworth. But his own age was, in truth, the time when, for more than fifty years, the charm and freshness of the natural landscape was almost banished from our literature; and it will be but fair to Vaughan to offer a few examples of that wide sweep of imagination, that sense of beauty, as a whole, which were at his command, not less than the more detailed pictures which I have presented. He thus sings of *Retirement* :

Fresh fields and woods ! the Earth's fair face !
 God's footstool, and man's dwelling-place !
 I ask not why the first believer⁵
 Did love to be a country liver ?
 Who, to secure pious content,
 Did pitch by groves and wells his tent ;
 Where he might view his boundless sky,
 And all those glorious lights on high :
 With flying meteors, mists, and showers,
 Subjected⁶ hills, trees, meads, and flowers :
 And ev'ry minute bless the King,
 And wise Creator of each thing.

We then have the revival of all things at dawning :—

Hark ! how the winds have changed their note !
 And with warm whispers call thee out ;

⁵ Abraham.

⁶ Low-lying.

The frosts are past, the storms are gone,
 And backward life at last comes on.
 The lofty groves in express joys
 Reply unto the turtle's voice ;
 And here in dust and dirt, O here
 The lilies of His love appear !

I next quote a noble panorama of Creation, in which we hear what Vaughan elsewhere calls "the great chime and symphony of Nature."

To heighten thy devotions, and keep low
 All mutinous thoughts, what business e'er thou hast,
 Observe God in His works ; here fountains flow,
 Birds sing, beasts feed, fish leap, and th' Earth stands fast ;
 Above are restless motions, running lights,
 Vast circling azure, giddy clouds, days, nights.

When seasons change, then lay before thine eyes
 His wondrous method ; mark the various scenes
 In heav'n ; hail, thunder, rainbows, snow, and ice,
 Calms, tempests, light, and darkness, by His means ;
 Thou canst not miss His praise ; each tree, herb, flower
 Are shadows of His wisdom, and His power.

Now a picture of the new-created earth :

Such was the bright world, on the first seventh day,
 Before man brought forth sin, and sin decay,
 When like a virgin clad in flowers and green,
 The pure Earth sat ; and the fair woods had seen
 No frost, but flourish'd in that youthful vest
 With which their great Creator had them drest :
 When heaven above them shined like molten glass ;
 While all the planets did unclouded pass ;
 And springs, like dissolved pearls, their streams did pour,
 Ne'er marr'd with floods, nor anger'd with a shower.

What touches of Nature, close to fact, or idealized by the poet's ever-vivid imagination, are here !

Last I give, compressed within seven lines, a vision of Eternity, so imaginative and so powerful that I hardly know where, in literature, to look for its equal :

I saw Eternity the other night,
 Like a great ring of pure and endless light,
 All calm, as it was bright ;
 And round beneath it, Time, in hours, days, years,
 Driven by the spheres
 Like a vast shadow moved ; in which the world
 And all her train were hurl'd.

My object in this analysis has been limited to points which have been little handled, I believe, hitherto, and which, I hope, may have some value for our Society. Many notable things I pass over with regret ; the poet's sympathy with childhood, in which he anticipated, and perhaps suggested, the thoughts rendered by Wordsworth in his famous "Ode on Intimations of Immortality" ; I pass over his powerful protests against the crimes and sufferings endured by his country from the despotism of Cromwell ; his fine paraphrases from Scripture ; his personal experiences of the religious life. Vaughan has also an exquisite pathos, a rare depth of tenderness, in a few poems recording the loss of near friends or relations. With one of these, comparatively well known, as a brilliant example of Vaughan's style at its best, let me now conclude :

They are all gone into the world of light !
 And I alone sit lingering here ;
 Their very memory is fair and bright,
 And my sad thoughts doth clear.

It glows and glitters in my cloudy breast,
 Like stars upou some gloomy grove,
 Or those faint beams in which this hill is drest,
 After the sun's remove.

I see them walking in an air of glory,
 Whose light doth trample⁷ on my days :
 My days, which are at best but dull and hoary,
 Mere glimmering and decays.

⁷ Wholly surpass.

O holy Hope! and high Humility,
 High as the heavens above!
 These are your walks, and you have show'd them me,
 To kindle my cold love.

Dear, beauteous Death! the jewel of the just,
 Shining nowhere, but in the dark;
 What mysteries do lie beyond thy dust,
 Could man outlook that mark!

He that hath found some fledged bird's nest, may know
 At first sight, if the bird be flown;
 But what fair well or grove he sings in now,
 That is to him unknown.

And yet, as angels in some brighter dreams
 Call to the soul, when man doth sleep:
 So some strange thoughts transcend our wonted themes,
 And into glory peep.

If, as I hope, what I have now attempted may lead some present to wish to study Vaughan on their own account, it may be added that there is but one complete edition of his works, edited by Dr. A. B. Grosart in 1871, for the "Fuller Worthies' Library"; the last two volumes being prose work, mostly translations. But the two parts of the *Silex Scintillans*, by far Vaughan's most important work, were first reprinted by Mr. Lyte, himself a poet and author of the well-known hymn *Abide with me*, in 1847, and, I believe, lately re-issued with a corrected text, by Messrs. Bell.

NOTE on p., 196 *supra*.

On the fly-leaves forming pp. 121-2 of the MS. of Welsh poetry written by Iago ab Dewi, and printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vols. viii.-x., occur two later additions. The first one (written early in the 18th century) is a short poem, apparently in the hand of the Rev. Samuel Williams, of Llangynllo, in Cardiganshire, father of the better-known Moses Williams. It is annotated in one or two different hands.⁸

⁸ The following is the poem alluded to. We suspect the second of the two notes to it (comprising the words from *made to Britanne*)

(On a printed page, bound into the MS. volume, and facing p. 1 of Iago ab Dewi's text, there is also an Englyn, copied in the Rev. S. Williams' hand, and a note thereto, which is certainly in the hand of Richard Morris.⁹ The Rev. S. Williams' hand also occurs on p. 115 of the MS., as stated in *L' Cymmrodor*, x. 233).

Following the first poem on p. 121, and written in an eighteenth-century hand, distinct from all other hands to be found in the MS. volume, is the following collection of *Englynion*, written (except that each *Englyn* on p. 121, after the first, is preceded by a short line, to mark it off from its predecessor, and that the concluding *Englyn* begins a new page) as though it was one and the same composition. The concluding *Englyn* has written below it, in a very bad and quite different hand, "Dauid (or *Daniel*?) Davies," but whether this name is that of the supposed author of the *Englynion*, or that of one of the owners of the MS., we cannot say.

The important point is that *the concluding Englyn of the Series*

to be in the hand of Moses Williams. It is worth noting that *Caccimwcci* (and not the literary form *Cacawwcci*) is the name now used for the burdock (*Aretium Lappa*) in the parish of Cemmes in the Vale of Dovey :

Pob Cymro glan cynnes y garo 'r Freuhines
 Ai Heglwys dda'i haehles heddychlon
 Whwnnweh eich Gerddi oddiwrth y mieri
 Bydd anodd i dofi pan dyfon.
 'Roedd genni ardd a llyssieu hardd
 Yn llon y by yn Henwi bardd
 Ag yndi wrÿch o Lili gwÿch
 Daeth *Cacci mwcci lond bob rhÿch
 Ag arnoch rwi'n dymyno am gael i dadwreiddo
 Rhag ofan iddyn bryfio a'r Lili wiwo lawr.

*Cyngaf mawr

made in the Reign of Anne Q. of Great Britaune.

The Englyn is as follows :

Naid hynod orfod erfai naid iawn wiw
 Naid Einion ab Gwalehmai
 Naid i Huw fâb Huw heb fai
 Ar hyder yr ehedai.

And Richard Morris' note to it as follows: "this was found writ by Iago ap Dewi upon a void leaf at y^e ending of this Book, torn out."

is the one elsewhere ascribed to Henry Vaughan. Here follow the *Englynion*, copied exactly as they are in the MS. :

Duw Tad trwy gariad Duw Tri gwiriondeb
 Duw gwrando fyngweddi
 Un arch irwy 'n i erchi
 Duw madde y meie i mi

Madde y meie i mi Dyw Jessu
 Dywssog goleini
 Na âd i bechod fy nodi ¹
 heb dy rês a'th dyrnas di

Dy rês a 'th dyrnas wrth raid y Gaffwi ²
 Duw coffa bob enaid
 Ynot i rhoi fy mddiraid
 Dvw dy nawdd yn y dydd raid ³

Arch whech yn fynech ag erfyna rês
 tra 'r oes ei hafotta
 di gey 'r ³ nêf i hendrefa ⁴
 cred ddoyddeg cadw r dèg da
 [p. 122.]

y Pader pan dreier Dyw tri ai dododd
 oi Dododd ⁵ oi dadawl ddaioni
 yn faen gwaddan ⁶ i bob gweddi
 ai roi a wnaeth er athro i ni

—ED.

¹ In the MS. there is a comma or apostrophe at some height above the *u* of this word, which does not seem to be meant for a comma after the word *goleini* of the preceding line.

² ? *Gaffw i*, MS. (in two words).

³ The *r*'s of these words resemble *n*'s.

⁴ In the MS. it is more like *hendrefa* (in two words).

⁵ *Sic* MS.

⁶ In North-Welsh and literary Welsh this is *gwadn*; but the South-Welsh form is *gwaddan*, plural *gwandde*. The latter word is found in the name of a well-known place close to the town of Llandovery on its N. side, called *Maes y Gwandde*. In the Englyn *gwaddan* must be pronounced *gwadd'n*, *metri gratiâ*.

With respect to the series of Englynion, it will be noted that the first lines of the second and third Englyn take up the words of the last lines of the first and second Englyn respectively, but that no such *liaison* extends beyond the third Englyn.

THE PROPOSED UNIVERSITY FOR WALES

By PRINCIPAL T. F. ROBERTS.¹

DIFFERENT aspects of this great question have been ably treated within recent years. For example, Mr. Lewis Morris, in the *Nineteenth Century*, has dealt with the Welsh claim to a University, as based on the success of the Welsh University Colleges in London and in other Universities ; an argument of which there have been striking confirmations since Mr. Morris wrote. Again, the necessity for a University to secure "unity of purpose and consolidation of results" in the Welsh educational system was dwelt on by Principal Viriamu Jones, in his Address to the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod of 1887. But during the past two or nearly three years the matter has been left in a state of quiescence, which is due to various causes: (1) To the discouraging reply of Lord Cranbrook to the deputation which waited upon him in 1888; (2) To the Royal Commission on the question of a Teaching University for London, and the action to be taken on the Report of that Commission. (If, it may be argued, the result of this movement should be an amended University of London, why should Wales further move in the matter? Why sacrifice the prestige which now attaches to the success of Welsh students in the London University, presuming the main objections to the London system removed? The discussion of the suggested changes in the University is still proceeding, and seems to be still some

¹ Read before the Society on Wednesday, April 1st, 1891.

distance from the attainment of a satisfactory termination) ; (3) The passing of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act has concentrated attention on the details of intermediate education ; (4) Lastly, we have attained to a clearer perception of some difficulties involved in the practical realization of our object.

Although it cannot be said that the question has evoked general enthusiasm on the part of the people at large, who are unable (and, perhaps, rightly unable) to appreciate the distinction between University Colleges and a University, it is none the less one of pre-eminent importance and urgency ; and is in fact the chief of those educational problems which Welshmen at this epoch are in duty bound to discuss over and over again, until at last a satisfactory agreement is attained. An educational system, created like ours in the nineteenth century, in the light of the fullest experience, should be pre-eminently the product of a conscious adjustment of means to ends, which can alone be adequately supplied by the creation of a University in time to enable it to mould the ideal which shall inspire the whole. Perhaps the fundamental principles of education in no way more naturally arise than when they are considered from the point of view of the demand for a national University, which confronts us with some questions which have perhaps long been settled in other countries, but which in Wales are in the freshness of their early youth.

I propose in the present paper to submit some considerations, firstly on the method or type, and secondly on the aim of the proposed University. The first question which we have to consider is the matter which has indeed mainly caused the partial suspension of the discussion, viz., the type of University which we would wish to see founded in Wales. Shall it be a University of the London type, under

which a statutory term of residence and the production of evidence of having gone through an academic training are not an indispensable condition of admission to degrees, or a University requiring, like Oxford and Cambridge, the Scottish Universities, and the recently-founded Victoria University, that the candidates for the degree "shall have pursued a regular course of training in a college in the University, and shall submit themselves for examination" (Victoria University Charter)? As I strongly hold the view that the only University which will meet the needs of Wales is a teaching university, perhaps it is best to give my reasons in the way of answers to the chief arguments which have been adduced on the other side. These may be stated as follows:—First, it will be enough that the control of the schemes of examination should be in the hands of a Welsh authority. It will be unnecessary to insist further upon a training in particular institutions, as the system of Welsh examinations will be a sufficient means of influencing the education of the country. Secondly, it is not fair to private students—a class for which Wales has always been distinguished—viz., those who, owing to want of means or the pressure of other avocations, are unable to go through a course of regular training—that their hard work should be unrecognized by a University sanction. Thirdly, it will be unfair to limit the advantages of the University to certain particular colleges like the three Welsh University Colleges. Other colleges, for instance the Denominational and the Normal Colleges, may with advantage prepare for the University Examinations, and some of the first-grade schools may desire to do the same.

In reply to the first objection it may be said that the recognition of the distinctive circumstances of Wales in a mere scheme of examinations takes us but a short way. The argument rests upon a misconception of the place and

function of examinations in education. You cannot control the education of a country by a scheme of examinations; you can only do so by a system of training carried on by teachers who recognize what can and what cannot be done by examinations, which must be made use of in careful subordination to the teaching. The present University of London, in fact, perpetuates a spirit of reaction against the inefficient teaching of a past generation. The recovery and the advance are represented by the founding of the Victoria University. What Wales needs is training and teachers, and not examinations. It cannot be denied that the University of London has conferred important services on Wales, both by providing degrees for men of ability and energy who would have been unable to secure a University training otherwise, and by maintaining a high standard of acquirement in its examinations. Still it would be in my opinion a calamity that the system of the University of London should be definitely adopted for the Welsh University. It is, perhaps, necessary in the interest of private students that there should be one university body which has for its function the recognition of solid acquirement as ascertained by examinations, when it cannot, owing to the circumstances of the case, be regulated and tested by any other means. Much may also be said in favour of an imperial examining body, which shall recognize distinguished merit from whatever quarter it may come. These two functions, however, would seem to be best kept distinct, even if performed by the same body. The examination must necessarily be an imperfect instrument, if it is sought by it alone to test at the same time untrained students and some of the best trained students of the country. A distinction must, perhaps, be drawn here between scientific subjects, in which a practical examination regularly accompanies the paper-work, and examinations in arts, in which, from the nature of the case, the test is

necessarily more inadequate. The University of London has in its B.Sc. course recognized that a practical training in natural science is indispensable, and has thereby promoted scientific instruction and the establishment of laboratories in various parts of the country. But in examinations in arts, as the subjects which are on the whole most agreeable to the genius of the Welsh, and will largely form the basis of the Welsh educational system, examinations separated from or non-subordinated to a system of training may work, and have in Wales worked much evil.

It is possible for us to deceive ourselves; to believe that since we have examination-lists and marks and set subjects, we are therefore gaining education—the culture of the mind, the equipment of aptitude and knowledge which is necessary for the work of life. Speaking as one who believes and recognizes that examinations have an important place in any true system of education, I still venture to say that success in examinations is frequently compatible with the absence of that education for the promotion of which the examinations were established. It is true that intellectual culture does to some extent ensue from intellectual efforts under very adverse conditions, such as payment by results, a mechanical curriculum, and continuous “cramming”; just as in nature the most neglected spots will clothe themselves with forms of grace and beauty by the operation of nature’s own law. But such culture is fragmentary, superficial, and fugitive, compared to what it might have been. If, for instance, a portion of a classical author is set as a subject for examination, the student alone, or perhaps the student and teacher together, will proceed to approach it as a subject for examination, as an agglomeration of irregular verbs, of geographical references, of historical allusions, utterly without context to the learner’s mind. It is read bit by bit; the

contents of the last day's bit forgotten when to-day's is entered upon. No attempt is made to learn its great passages by heart; there is no time to stop to consider them as literature. If the tutor seeks to do so, he may even be reminded by his pupil that no questions on that head are given in the examination. Perhaps, too, the student is meanwhile in communication with agencies which make it their business to prepare students for the particular examination by correspondence, furnishing the student with answers to the questions set in the previous examination, translations of the classical authors, the parsing of difficult forms, the explanation of every allusion and reference, and, perhaps, with a strange irony, an article pointing out the literary value of the book under consideration. I do not suggest that these developments are to be found in connection with the examinations of London University alone. But shall we in Wales, now that we are for the first time framing our educational methods, admit a system which brings all this in its train? One of the main responsibilities, then, which devolves upon us at this epoch, is to do everything in our power to give to examinations the subordinate though still important place which properly belongs to them. The Welsh University should aim at being what the earliest universities were, an "association of teachers and students for the protection of their joint interests." Through its Faculties or Boards of Studies it will lay down for the students such a course of study as is best adapted for their various requirements; it will see that the course of study so framed shall be duly followed by the students for whom it is intended; that adequate time is given to them to do so; that they have the proper preliminary qualifications for entry. It will satisfy itself of the efficiency of the teaching and of the existence of all necessary aids and appli-

ances. Having so satisfied itself, it will give to the teacher a large freedom, in proportion to the magnitude of his responsibility. The teacher may, at his discretion, make extensive use of examination as a means of testing the effect of his instruction upon the student's mind. In some subjects, probably, he will constantly test the student by question and answer, by written essay, and by examination. The University will require evidence that this course of training has been undergone, and will finally test the training by an examination, arranged by the joint deliberations of the University teachers in a particular Faculty, and conducted by the teachers themselves with such assessors as may be deemed necessary to safeguard the maintenance of an adequately high and uniform standard. But these external assessors should not merely come in on the days of examination, but should also have a seat upon the boards of studies, exercising the same corrective function as they do in the examinations. It may even be desirable, having regard to the distance which separates the three University Colleges, and the difficulty of constant communication, to delegate the examining work pure and simple in the pass examinations of the University to the teachers in the particular colleges. This would be just as if, for example, the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews were to agree upon a definite course of arts-training such as would be most suitable to the genius of the Scotch, but the examinations in that training were to be left, as at present, to each University. In the more specialized honours courses the examinations would still be in common between the three colleges. By this means we secure : first, the creation of a course of University instruction in accordance with the genius and with the requirements of the Principality ; and, secondly, the recognition by degrees, certifi-

cates and otherwise, of those students who have gone through such a course of training. The University teachers who carry out the courses of instruction will also, in their corporate capacity, be responsible for the framing of them, and will be the authorities charged with the consideration of the requirements of the higher education of Wales, and the adjustment of the various departments of knowledge in a complete system.

The University will also have relations to intermediate education. It will have the power (to quote again the Victoria University Charter) "to examine into the efficiency of schools or any academic institutions, and to grant certificates of proficiency to the scholars and members thereof." Let us consider for a moment the probable influence of the University upon the course of instruction in intermediate schools. The problem before us is to create, as far as possible, a liberal education for pupils who pass in great numbers from the primary to the intermediate schools, and from the intermediate schools to the University. The fact that the bulk of the pupils will come up from the elementary schools, combined with the bilingual question, which in a greater or less degree affects the whole country, will make it desirable that English should hold a distinctive position in the curriculum throughout. In the elementary schools (approached in Welsh districts through the medium of Welsh) English will form the main subject of instruction. The development of linguistic faculty in bilingual children will probably make it possible to introduce French into many elementary schools; and in the higher forms to commence the study of Latin. At the age of eleven the pupil will pass from the elementary to the secondary school, and will continue the study of English, Latin, and French, with his other subjects, until at fourteen "bifurcation" takes place. He will then either

commence the study of Greek, or, on the other hand, "if his aptitudes tend to the study of Nature and her works," he will enter upon the special study of branches of natural science. Greek cannot be regarded in Wales, as it has been sometimes regarded elsewhere, as a luxury only to be imparted to those who are to pursue a life of cultured leisure. It is sought by all classes of students, in particular by the ministerial candidates, who form so large a section of our students, and who often are the sons of poor parents.

Speaking generally, the classical training imparted in the Welsh schools at the present time, except in some schools of the older classical type, is peculiarly ineffective, and in need of reorganization if it is to be retained at all. The new training to be given in Wales in the classical languages will be distinguished by the following features. In the first place, it will be confined within narrower limits than in the English Grammar-school system. It will be begun later, and carried on side by side with a greater variety of other subjects. It will therefore of necessity be less specialized and perhaps less scholarly in the limited sense of the term. It is undoubtedly possible to produce, in a shorter time than is now often the case, a more effective command of Greek and Latin, together with some insight into the greatness of antiquity. This may be aimed at by commencing translation earlier, by construing larger selections of literature than is done at present, by the frequent practice of unseen translation, and by resort to the old custom of classical recitation. The proposed training will also be made more real and stimulating by the parallel study of history and literature, by the aid of short lectures, maps, casts and photographs. Such a study will be in the strongest contrast to the study of classical history as at present carried on. At present, owing to the multi-

plicity of other subjects, it is very often left to be got up in a small and cramped text-book within a month of the examination. In the second place, the student, if he intends to proceed to a university degree, will at sixteen or seventeen pass a matriculation or "leaving" examination to qualify him for entrance. The inspection of the intermediate schools will be in the hands of the University Board created for the purpose; and the annual examination of the school will be conducted by the head master and his colleagues, under the supervision of a representative of the University Board. At the present moment there is the greatest need that such a University Board should be called into existence, to prevent the misdirection and the dissipation of effort likely to ensue in the Intermediate schools for the want of it, owing to the diversity of conceptions of the relative place of classical, commercial and technical subjects, and the absence of an ideal of culture at the most critical period. Thirdly, this course of school instruction will be supplemented by the University course, where the student will read more of the classical masterpieces, together with the accompanying periods of history, will complete his course of instruction in English and modern literature, and will commence philosophy. This course of education is clearly possible only if it can be co-ordinated and controlled by a University authority, and is not to be fully realized until the teachers who carry it out have themselves passed through a similar training, and become imbued with the spirit of it. The primary teacher also, it is to be hoped, will be trained in the University, a reform which will secure the advantage noticed by Arnold as distinguishing the foreign administration of popular schools from our own, viz., that "popular instruction is placed in vital correspondence and contact with higher instruction." At the

University the student will hear lectures on points of special interest in connection with his particular faculty : he will not be rigidly confined within a narrow groove, but will be encouraged to develop his bent. Sometimes he may be required (even as part of his final examination, it may be) to write a more careful essay on a particular question of his own choice, subject to the approval of his teacher and with full access to authorities.

I would set it down then as fundamental that the University shall be an association of the three University Colleges for the training of their students. Admit into the examinations any private student or any candidates from external institutions, and the whole conception of the University is disturbed. It is no longer an association of teachers and students ; it becomes a mere examining body. The Bishop of London, in his evidence before the London University Commission, remarks : " There is a demand for education growing up in this country within the last fifty years such as I do not think you can parallel in any previous period of history. On the other hand, it is equally plain that there is a total absence of anything like an organized answer to this demand." He then proceeds to argue that a new teaching university of London is necessary to provide this organization for the metropolis. If a teaching university is necessary in London to organize the education there, then much more is a teaching university necessary in Wales for the same purpose.

In reference to the requirements of private students it has been suggested that a special certificate should be given by the University to such students. I would not, even to that extent, endorse the idea of examinations apart from training as a test of merit, unless a system, such as is advocated by Dr. R. D. Roberts and others, can be introduced in Wales. Dr. Roberts says : " We believe it would

be quite possible to arrange a curriculum of study in such a way that a student working in the evening for a period of six or seven years might cover the same ground which a student through the three years at the University can cover, doing the work quite as thoroughly; only it would have to be done in sections instead of all at once." The University of Cambridge at the present time offers to those students who have attended courses of Extension Lectures for six terms, a certificate called the Vice-Chancellor's Certificate.²

But it is further urged, that in the interest of other institutions such as the first-grade schools and the Normal and Denominational Colleges, the examinations of the University should be open. First, as to the first-grade schools. It is of the greatest importance to preserve a clear line of differentiation between University and School

² Dr. Roberts has since drawn up a memorandum in which he applies this proposal in detail to the circumstances of Wales, maintaining that Extension methods are destined to play a foremost part in the Welsh University system. While cordially agreeing with the principle that a continuous attendance at Extension lectures carried on by University teachers should be in some way recognized by the University, I cannot regard it as an adequate substitute for residence, by which alone the student could avail himself of the central libraries, laboratories, and museums, and come under the indirect influences of University life. The undoubted necessity in Wales of keeping in view the accessibility of the University to working men could be met by providing: (1) That three years' University Extension teaching should exempt from the first, out of, say, three years' residence necessary for the Degree. (2) That in Wales, as in Scotland, the necessary attendance at lectures, &c., could be comprised in six or seven months' residence, so arranged that the students could pursue their avocations in the remainder of the year. (3) By providing Scholarships and Exhibitions for working men tenable at the colleges.

There are other matters which have received considerable attention since this paper was read; but it has been thought better, with this exception, to print it without addition, as it was prepared for the press at the time.

training. Some first-grade schools in Wales may have in their Sixth Form an advanced class of mathematical and classical pupils, who may with advantage prepare even more often than they do at present for scholarships at Oxford or Cambridge; nor would I advocate the fixing of any limit, either of age or otherwise, such as would prevent the first-grade schools from developing in their own way in the direction of specialized study. But I would insist that no candidate should attain a University degree without supplementing the school training with the broader University College training. Even where the material of instruction may be the same, the method, the spirit, and the surroundings are different. The school disciplines habit; the University develops special aptitudes and interests. Secondly, as to the Normal Colleges. The training of Primary Teachers is passing through a peaceful revolution through the action of the Education Department in sanctioning the training of teachers in the University Colleges. These colleges cannot compete with the University Colleges in a general training. In some cases they will, in association with the University Colleges, impart the specific training to qualify the teacher for his diploma, and perhaps in the future they will perform the same function in regard to Secondary Education. Thirdly, as to the Denominational Colleges. In the case of these colleges a revolution from within is now proceeding. Recognizing the change brought about in their vocation by the establishment of University Colleges, they are gradually being converted into Theological Colleges proper, in which the general training will be relegated to the national Colleges. They thus hope to render themselves competent to train in theology those who have already attained their degrees in the University. If, therefore, they were to seek to maintain their arts-teaching on any-

thing like the footing necessary to prepare for a University degree in arts, they would be defeating the very object they have in view. One denominational institution, however, St. David's College, Lampeter, occupies in some important respects a unique position. It has performed since 1852 the functions of a Degree-granting body. Having regard to the limitations under which it has been working, it has performed these functions with distinguished success, and has proved a worthy pioneer of the future University. Great credit is due to St. David's College and to the other Denominational Colleges for the preparatory work which they have performed in educating our countrymen to see the need for a liberal culture, and to recognize that preparation for specific professions presupposes a liberal education. St. David's College, like some similar institutions in England, might have taken a narrow and illiberal view of its educational functions. So far, however, from this being the case, it sought and gained in 1852 a Charter to confer the B.D. degree, and in 1865 (seven years before the opening of Aberystwyth University College) it procured its B.A. Charter on the avowed ground that "it had come to see that an education in theology was no education at all." In 1880 it obtained affiliation to Oxford, and soon after to Cambridge; and in 1884 it established a Preparatory School in connection with the College. The same may be said with some differences of the other Denominational Colleges, according to the measure of their opportunities. For example, the Presbyterian College at Carmarthen can be shown to have exercised a large and beneficial influence upon Intermediate Education in South Wales; and the Calvinistic Methodist College at Bala raised a lofty standard of culture before the youth of the country, and brought it about that many students went to Edinburgh and London,

and (after the opening of the two great Universities to Nonconformists) to Oxford and Cambridge, in far greater numbers (proportionately) than from among English Nonconformists. These facts indicate that, so far from having exercised a narrowing influence over higher education, the admirable movement for the education of the ministry in Wales has been the most potent factor in forming the demand for a liberal education as it now presents itself in the shape of a demand for a Welsh University. It has been objected to this demand that it arises from this very quarter; that the candidates for the University degree would be preponderatingly students for the ministry. Those who make this objection forget that the voice of the clergy and ministers in Wales, ever since the great religious revivals in the last century, has been consistently on the side of mental culture.

If Wales is called upon at this epoch to elect whether she will listen on the one side to the promptings of the various religious movements which have made her what she is to-day, and have given birth (directly or indirectly) to every phase of her educational advance; or, on the other side, to the opposed voices of utilitarianism and a mere one-sided commercial development—if there is to be such a parting of the ways in her history at this epoch—Welshmen who have watched the higher tendencies of their country's history cannot long doubt which voice it behoves them to obey in the very interest of liberalism, of culture, and of science. They also forget the immense importance which (as every man must admit, whatever his religious views may be) attaches to the training of the clergy and ministers of the future.

Even if the demand were made in their interest alone it could not be conceded too readily. But it is by no means so limited. The Welsh University, through its Faculty of

Arts (with which I am mainly concerning myself here ; for what other Faculties the University will comprise, at first or ultimately, I do not now seek to determine), will train not only clergy and ministers, but the majority of the school-masters, and a large proportion of the lawyers and business men of the Principality. Charles Edwards' well-known words (perhaps the earliest germ of this collegiate or university movement), written so long ago as 1677, will serve exactly to describe the scope of its work : "Byddai yn gymmborth nid bychan i'n gwlad pe cyfodai ein blaenoriaid *Colleje* neu ddau ynddi i ddwyn gwyr ieuainge gobeithiol i fyny mewn dysgeidiaeth a moesau da, tuag at eu cymmhwysu gyda bendith y Goruchaf i weinidogaeth Efengylaidd a swyddogaeth wladwriaethol."³

St. David's College, possessing as it does the right to confer degrees, already enjoys the privileges I am now claiming for the National Colleges. It already possesses the power of framing its own course of study and of recognizing it by an academical sanction. Its Board of Studies is already free to develop the training imparted in the College in accordance with the objects with which it was founded. Into the question whether the denominational character of the College is or is not a barrier to its recognition as a constituent College in the new University, along with the three University Colleges, we cannot well enter without trenching on matters which are outside the province of this Society. One thing, however, seems clear. The mere right of admission for its students to the examinations of the University St. David's College would

³ *Hanes y Ffyddl.*—'It would be no small help to our country if our leaders would raise therein a College or two to bring promising young men up in learning and good manners, in order to fit them, with the blessing of the Almighty, for the Gospel ministry or for civil office.'

rightly regard as of little value, if our contention is just that the examinations of the University will have significance only in relation to the system of training of which they are but a subordinate part.

The question of the connection of the Theological Colleges with the University is not free from difficulties. It is not impossible that in course of time the various Theological Colleges will unite in a common course of instruction. Writing in reference to a suggested appeal to the Government on behalf of the Nonconformist Theological Colleges of England for power to confer a degree in theology, the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn (*British Weekly*, of Dec. 4, 1890) strongly opposes the proposal, and insists that a degree in arts should be required as a preliminary to a degree in theology. He proposes that the Theological Colleges should be incorporated into the Universities as a special Faculty, on certain conditions, respecting the efficiency and completeness of their theological teaching.

The incorporation of Theological Colleges in the Welsh University is probably a distant matter, but the great want of the present is the *basis* in the form of a general education, leading to the future co-operation between the Welsh Theological Colleges to which I have referred. Whatever may be the future attitude of St. David's College towards general education, I have no hesitation in saying that it will find its chief vocation in adequately developing its theological instruction to meet the changed circumstances of the country. Eminent divines of the Church, coming to work at Lampeter in the future as they have in the past (men like the late Rowland Williams, the present Bishops of Winchester, Peterborough, and Chester, and Professor Ryle), freed from the necessity of having to dissipate their energies over the wide field of combined Arts and Theology, will have an opportunity of exerting

a lasting influence upon Wales in the subjects closest to their hearts, and still closest also to the hearts of our Welsh countrymen.

I have already spoken of the University as an Association or Corporation of Teachers and Students. This description implies a return to the earliest signification of the term. The primitive University of Bologna, for example, was a corporation of law students. Within this conception, however, there is room for diversity as to the aim of a University. Two modern writers on the subject, both profoundly influenced by the University of Oxford, may be taken to represent two main tendencies of speculation on the subject. Mark Pattison maintains that the University has in view "not the interest of science, but the interest of the community in transmitting the traditions of knowledge from the generation which is passing away to the generation which is succeeding it." To him the University is "a central association of men of science." The late Cardinal Newman, on the other hand, rigidly adhering to his conception of a University as "primarily contemplating not science itself, but students," lays down its aim as the cultivation of the intellect—that is, "the fitting it to comprehend and cultivate truth." The eloquent lectures in which this conception is set forth were in their immediate purpose an attempt to show the possibility of realizing for the benefit of the Catholic youth, in their newly-founded Irish University, the humane culture for which Oxford is famous. Similarly we may maintain it to be the aim of our Welsh University, at least on its arts side, to embody an ideal of intellectual cultivation in accordance with the genius of the Welsh. This, and not the opposed conception, whose watchword is utility, which would reduce the University into a mere training school for specific professions, is the idea which should dominate the Welsh Uni-

versity system. It is our boast, sometimes, that we have a nicer discrimination than our neighbours in matters of the spirit, that we have something of the Greek's faith in the realities of the world of thought, of his enthusiasm in the sphere of belief and practice, of his sense of the value of a cultivated imagination. To such a people, then, it is not visionary to describe, as of paramount importance, that course of training which is associated with the faculty of arts,—the studies and exercises which have for generations held their place as the most finished instruments for the cultivation of the intellect and the character. They have not yet had their opportunity of producing their proper effect upon the Welsh people at large. The University will give them that opportunity. We ask for a Welsh University because we hold the conviction that those studies which are the basis of a liberal education—the masterpieces of classical antiquity, language and literature, metaphysics, and the mathematical sciences—may be so adjusted as to eliminate that which is narrow and ineffective, and to strengthen that which is sterling in the Welsh intellect and temperament ; and that the great discipline which has been laid down by the consent of mankind as the most effectual instrument for the purpose, may be made still more effectual for us when combined with the influences and aspirations of our own past, and the study of our own literature and of our own language. We ask for a Welsh University, and can accept no reorganized London University as sufficient for our needs, because we know that such an influence as a University can exert must, in order to be effective for us, be exerted from within Wales itself.

From within, a University will rapidly and deeply influence Wales, both directly and indirectly, in a multitude of ways, just as all intellectual movements from within attain a rapid and far-reaching sway. Jesus College, for instance,

in spite of its advantages of endowments and position, has not been a leading factor in the life of Wales, whether we have regard to the specific movement of higher education or to the other great movements which have passed over the face of the country. It is not within, it is outside; a valuable link of connection with the great world of Oxford; but, as regards the movements of Welsh life, on the whole passive rather than active, acted upon rather than origina- tive. The smaller institutions which we have considered— St. David's College and the Welsh Theological Colleges, hav- ing regard to the briefer period of their existence and their limited resources—have been more powerful agents, because they are at work from within.

Again, the University of Wales will make its influence felt, not primarily and chiefly upon men of exceptional calibre, who, even under the old *régime*, might have made their way to the older universities, but upon the mass of those whose life-work will be fulfilled in Wales, upon those who are in the truest sense the mainstay of the country. It will aim primarily at raising the intellectual level of the whole. It will also facilitate the passage to the older universities of the most capable students, and in this re- spect will compare favourably with the present system of preparation for the London University examinations, which hinders rather than facilitates the path to high honours at Oxford or Cambridge. It has been urged against the Welsh University that its creation would withdraw from Wales the considerable number of English students who now attend the University Colleges, and that such withdrawal would be highly undesirable; which is true enough. But the pre- sence of students from a distance in the future will depend more upon the economy and the intrinsic excellence of the training imparted than upon success in the London Uni- versity examinations; the comparative decrease of which

successes will be amply compensated by the facilitated progress to the older universities in the case of the best students. Again, the English students who now frequent the Welsh colleges do so, largely, because they are attracted by the scholarships which are annually offered for competition. When the Intermediate schools are in active operation, English students will be unable to carry off these prizes against properly-prepared Welsh candidates. Even if the withdrawal of English students did result, the main concern of Wales is the working out of her own educational problems.

The University would, perhaps, have the distinction of being the most characteristic example of a National University. We have read of the division of the students in the Paris or Oxford of the past into "nations." We have seen in Scotland, and in other countries, universities with marked characteristics of method and of aim. In Wales we shall have one university co-extensive with the whole national area, that area being limited in extent and well defined in its peculiar circumstances. The trinity of colleges will be found ultimately to contribute towards the effectiveness and even the unity of the University more powerfully than if it had been made to consist of one central college. Each college will now be in close contact with the life of each section of the country. They will be three centres of a vigorous corporate life, and will be the homes of ideas and movements which will make themselves felt in future generations. The existence of the University, and the increasing prevalence of the instruction it will provide, will produce a much-needed advance in intellectual independence and robustness. Judgments upon questions of thought, belief, or science will not then be the mere echoes of English opinion which they now too often are. The country will be conversant with the main intellectual current, will

be in constant contact through its teachers with the advance of knowledge to which it will itself contribute. Wales will learn at length the meaning of one of the mottoes of the College to which I have the honour to belong :

“ *Juvat integros accedere fontes.*”

The University will promote the formation of adequate standards of taste and judgment in matters of literature and art, and will therein correct certain uncritical tendencies which are encouraged by the competitive methods of the *Eisteddfod*. In a country much divided by political and religious differences it will be a symbol of that deeper national unity of thought and aspirations which lies below the surface.

ERRATUM IN VOL. X.

P. 99, note 2. Both here and in the text, two distinct battles have been confused. The Battle of *Hæthfelth* (placed by some writers at Hatfield in Yorkshire, but with no authority beyond the similarity of the two names) was the battle between Cadwallon and Edwin, in which the latter was slain; fought, as Bede expressly tells us (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 20), on Oct. 12, 633, but placed in 630 by the *Annales Cambriæ*. This battle was called in Welsh the Battle of Meigen, and almost certainly took place near the Breidden Hills, on the borders of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire.

The other battle, at which the sainted king Oswald slew Cadwallon, was called in Old-Welsh the Battle of *Catscaul* or *Cantscaul*, and was fought in 635, though placed by the *Annales Cambriæ* in 631 (see *Bede*, iii. 1, 2), at a place close to the Roman Wall, called by Bede *Denisesburna* and *Hefenfelth* ('quod dici potest Latine *caelestis campus*'), and said by him to be not far from Hexham (it is supposed to have been at St. Oswald's, a chapelry near Wall, about 4 miles N. of that town).

ERRATA IN VOL. XI.

P. 26, l. 16. Dele *Carstairs*, and

P. 50, 1st l. of note (*p*), for *Carstarras* read *Casteltarras*. [The modern *Carstairs* does not apparently embody the Welsh *Cacr*; the place is called *Casteltarres* at p. 23, and *Casteltarras* at p. 30, of the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguënsis* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1843). There is also a well-known *Tarras* Water, a tributary of the Esk, in Dumfries-shire].

P. 39, note (*f*), l. 5, for 'that' read '*Traeth* Edrywi.'

P. 56, 3rd line from bottom. For 'that' read 'that nearly.' [Velfrey, anciently *Efelfre*, a small district of Cantref Gwarthaf, is in Pembrokeshire; another small district of the same Cantref, *Peluniog* (if that is its right orthography), which has not yet been identified, may possibly also be in that county.]

P. 79, 10th and 11th lines from bottom. Dele "for an older **Dibnentie* = *Dyfnaint*." [The *t* of this modern form had no existence in the ancient *Dumnonia*, and is probably due to the false analogy of *nant*, 'a brook or valley,' plural *neint*].

P. 85, note 6, l. 4. For *Lannguarui* read *Lanngunguarui*, and dele "or *Lannguarui*" [see *Book of Llann Dav*, 1892, p. 201].



THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

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