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The Editor welcomes the free expression in these pages of genuine opinions on any matters of interest relating to Wales—its modern developments as well as its ancient history—but disclaims responsibility alike for the opinions themselves, and for the manner in which they are expressed.

PLATE 1.



To face p. 1.
Katheryn of Berain The Rhiwlas Portrait, circa 1555.

D Cymmrodor

VOL. XL.

“CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.”

1929

Katheryn of Berain.

A STUDY IN NORTH WALES FAMILY HISTORY.

BY JOHN BALLINGER, C.B.E.

INTRODUCTION.

FOR more than three centuries the story of Katheryn of Berain and her four husbands has been one of the chief romances of North Wales. The main outlines have been well-known, but the facts have been so over-laid with additions that the good name of the fair lady has suffered in consequence.

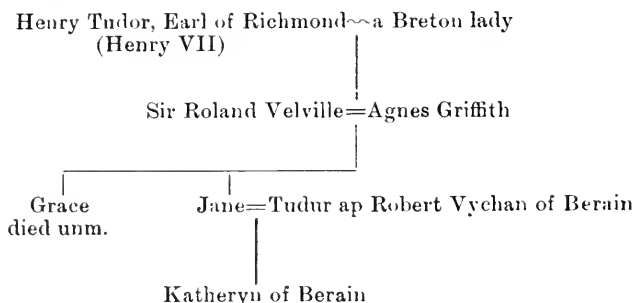
Following the publication of the *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers*, in which Katheryn appears, the National Library of Wales obtained on loan, for its annual exhibition in 1927, the four paintings reputed to be portraits of Katheryn. In this connection inquiries were made into the history of this remarkable lady, and it became clear that a reliable account of Katheryn's life has not been written. During these investigations the National Library came into possession of a group of papers presented by Viscount Combermere, who inherited Llewenni through the marriage of his ancestor, Sir Robert Cotton, with the Salusbury heiress of that house, a descendant of Katheryn by her first marriage with John Salusbury. These papers disclose details, especially dates, not previously available.

During his years of exile in Brittany, before he came to the throne, Henry VII had, by a Breton lady, a natural

Katheryn of Berain.

son, Roland Velville, whom he knighted after coming to the throne. He made him constable of Beaumaris Castle, and settled on him his moiety of the Tudor property of Penmynydd in Anglesey,¹ with other lands in Pentraeth and Beaumaris.

Katheryn was the daughter of Tudur ap Robert Vychan of Berain in Denbighshire, by his wife, Jane Velville, the daughter of Sir Roland Velville. The line of descent is as follows :—



Sir Roland Velville died in 1527, five years before the marriage of his daughter Jane to Tudur ap Robert Vychan of Berain.² He bequeathed all his lands to his widow, and she in her turn left the property to her two daughters, Grace and Jane. It can be assumed that Grace Velville died unmarried, because ultimately the whole of the Penmynydd property devolved upon Katheryn, who was therefore not only of royal blood but well dowered.

Of her girlhood nothing is known. Her mother died when she was still young, and her father married again.³

¹ The other moiety belonged to the Abbey of Conway.

² The marriage settlement is dated 28 Hen. VIII (1532).

³ His second wife was Margaret, daughter of Rees Wynn ap David Anwyl ap Ieuan ap Rees of Kinnel, and two sons at least were born of the second marriage. The will of Tudur ap Robert, Katheryn's father, was proved at St. Asaph in 1564. His second wife survived him and married again.

She is said to have been a ward of Queen Elizabeth. A pair of embroidered slippers and a pair of corsets, gifts from the Queen, are still preserved. The slippers, kindly lent by Captain Williams Ellis, were exhibited with the portraits in 1927.

That Elizabeth took an interest in Katheryn is probably correct, for she was partial to her Tudor relatives. The first portrait of Katheryn, the charming girl of about eighteen or twenty, may have been painted when Katheryn was in London, possibly on a visit to, or under the wing of, the Princess Elizabeth. This is merely conjecture, but the dress and the jewellery in the portrait and the quality of the painting all support the theory.

THE FIRST MARRIAGE.

More definite information is available when we come to the marriage of Katheryn with her first husband, John Salusbury, son and heir of Sir John Salusbury of Llewenni, though there is some uncertainty as to the course of events in regard to the marriage. The settlement deed is dated 11th February, 1556/7, when Katheryn was 22 years of age. The deed says "a marriage had and solemnized between John and Catherine Salusbury." In the settlement Sir John Salusbury covenants that the said John and Katheryn "shall go together as husband and wife between this and the feast of Christmas." The marriage "had and solemnized" was probably a child marriage, which was to be consummated between the date of the deed and the next ensuing Christmas. There is said to be in existence a letter from John Salusbury while he was still at Westminster School, in which he mentions his wife. The letter has not been traced, nor the date of John Salusbury's birth.

The married life of John and Katheryn Salusbury ex-

tended over nine years, and they had two surviving sons, Thomas and John.

John Salusbury died in 1566, his father, Sir John, being still alive. The exact date of his death is uncertain. His will, dated May 10th, was admitted for probate on July 24th, but two documents, dated respectively June 20th and July 12th, 1566, describe Katheryn as a widow, and two sons, Thomas and John, are mentioned. Both documents deal with the settlement of Katheryn's estates, which were vested in trustees for Thomas Salusbury, or, he failing, for his brother John. The date of John Salusbury's death was therefore between May 10th, the date of his will, and June 20th, when his widow executed the first settlement. Both the documents just referred to appear to have the same effect, but they may refer to different properties—Berain and Penmynydd. The earlier deed, June 20th, is so decayed that the description of the property cannot be made out.

A further document, dated 15th August, 1566, is a deed between Sir John Salusbury, Kt., and Katheryn Salusbury, widow, "late wife of John Salusbury, Esq., deceased." To fulfil a covenant in the indenture of July 12th, they agreed to levy two fines at the next Great Sessions for Denbigh and Flint to secure the lands specified to descend to Thomas Salusbury and to his heirs, with remainder to John Salusbury, brother of Thomas, etc.

The Final Concord out of the Court of Great Sessions for Denbigh and Flint dealing with these indentures has not been found, but in view of subsequent events it may be assumed that it was issued, as was a corresponding document for the Anglesey estate, dated October 7th, 1566.

It thus appears that immediately following the death of her first husband, Katheryn, who had become possessed

of the Berain estate on the death of her father in 1564, proceeded to make a settlement of her properties on her two sons.

These documents dispose of the theory that John, the younger son, was born in December or January following his father's death.¹ The theory is based on an inscription on a portrait of John Salusbury the younger quoted by Pennant, "1591 aet. 24", and the entry of his matriculation at Jesus College, Oxford, November 24th, 1581, which gives his age as 14. John was probably an infant when his father died in May or June, 1566, but the mention of him in the will and in the documents of June and July, 1566, cannot be set aside. He was married 18th December, 1586, and his first child, a daughter, was baptized on October 10th, 1587; these dates to a limited extent confirm the earlier date for his birth. The execution of his brother, which will be referred to later, may have hurried on his marriage, when he was a few months short of the age of twenty-one, and, owing to his brother's death, was the heir to Llewenni.

In some pedigrees mention is made of a third child of John and Katheryn, a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Owen Brereton. She is not mentioned in the will, or in the documents just referred to. A careful investigation leaves no doubt that she was a daughter of Sir John Salusbury, and therefore a sister of Katheryn's first husband. Several elegies on the death of Owen Brereton (1595) have been examined. These refer to his first wife, Elizabeth, by whom he had fourteen children, as the daughter of Sir John Salusbury, Chamberlain of North Wales, her children being referred to as grandchildren of the old Cham-

¹ *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, with an introduction by Carleton Brown. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914, p. xii.

berlain. There are other references which make it clear that Elizabeth Brereton was the daughter of old Sir John.

To the year 1566 belongs the well-known story of Katheryn and her two suitors, related by Thomas Pennant, who wrote :—

The tradition goes that at the funeral of her beloved spouse she was led to church by Sir Richard Clough and from church by Morris Wynn, of Gwydir, who whispered to her his wish of being her second; she refused him with great civility, informing him that she had accepted the proposals of Sir Richard, in her way to church: but assured him (and was as good as her word) that in case she performed the same sad duty (which she was then about) to the knight, he might depend on being her third. From this match I have the honor of some of Catherine's blood in my veins. As soon as she had composed this gentleman, to shew that she had no superstition about the number THREE, she concluded with Edward Thelwal, of Plas y Ward, esq., departed this life August 27; and was interred at Llanyfydd on the 1st of September, 1591.¹

The story of "The wooer who came too late" is one of the merry jests in a collection printed some years before Katheryn was born, and belongs to the group of tales and quick answers, very merry and pleasant to read, to be found in the literature of all countries. That it became localized and attached to Katheryn is not difficult to believe, and Pennant may be excused for not knowing the source, as the little book of jests and merry tales in which it occurs was rare in his day.

The story as applied to Katheryn has been dismissed as impossible on chronological grounds by Professor Carleton Brown, a careful writer. He says that Sir Richard Clough's wooing took place in the latter part of April, 1567, when Katheryn had already been a widow eleven months,² and Dean Burgon makes a pretty story of the

¹ Pennant: *Tours in Wales*, 1810 edition, vol. ii, pp. 146-7.

² *Poems of Sir John Salsbury and Robert Chester*, p. xiv.

hurried wooing and marriage within the short space of three weeks.¹

Sir Richard Clough lived mostly abroad, at Antwerp, where he was concerned in business for Sir Thomas Gresham, his partner. They were merchants on an extensive scale, and very wealthy. Much of the correspondence which passed between them is preserved in the Public Record Office, and is summarised in the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, 1566-68*.

A letter from Gresham, 4th April, 1566, to Sir Wm. Cecil says:—"I have written to my factor Clough to come home these hollydaies". Here we have evidence that Clough came over from Antwerp about the time of John Salusbury's death, evidence confirmed by the absence of any letters from him to Gresham until some months later, when the correspondence was resumed.

Clough was at this time engaged in building operations at his house in Denbighshire, and almost certainly would visit his home.

He may not have proposed to the widow on the occasion of her first husband's funeral, but it is probable that before he returned to Antwerp there was an understanding, which resulted in a marriage in the following year. If this surmise is correct it explains what happened.

THE SECOND MARRIAGE.

Sir Richard Clough was in Antwerp up to about the middle of April, 1567, when he came home. He was married to Katheryn, and was with her on a visit to Sir Thomas Gresham, in London, by the sixth of May. Katheryn's second marriage took place within a year of her first husband's death, but having regard to the extensive business

¹ Burgon: *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*. 2 vols. 1839. Vol. ii, p. 211.

engagements abroad of Sir Richard Clough there is nothing to complain about in her not waiting the full year. The disposal of the story of the posthumous child removes the implied reproach that she went off with the second husband leaving an infant of four or five months. The grandparents, Sir John and Lady Salusbury, were alive, and it is most likely that they took upon themselves the care and nurture of the young children left fatherless by the death of their eldest son. As related above, Katheryn had settled the estates of Berain and Penmynydd upon her Salusbury sons immediately following her first husband's death.

Sir Richard Clough and his wife returned to Antwerp in May, 1567, and, after a visit to Spain, were back at Antwerp by July of the same year. They continued to reside there until May, 1569, when Clough made a visit to London, and sailed from there to Hamburg, where he resided until his death in the following year. The change of residence was due to troubles arising out of the disturbed condition of affairs in Flanders, which caused Clough much uneasiness. He was in constant communication with Cecil, and it is not unlikely that his removal from Antwerp was due to political troubles.

A portrait of Katheryn was painted in 1568 by a Flemish artist, which Pennant described as "an excellent three-quarters on wood": one hand rests on a skull, a feature not unusual in portraits of that period. The other hand holds a casket attached to a girdle worn round the waist. Legend has it that this casket contained the ashes of Sir Richard Clough, an absurd invention, as Sir Richard was living when the picture was painted. It probably, as Pennant says, contained the hair of Sir Richard.

Two daughters were born to the Cloughs during their brief married life—Anne (1568), who became the wife

PLATE 2.



To face p. 8.
Katheryn of Berain The Llewesog Portrait, 1568.

of Roger Salusbury, and Mary (1569), who married William Wynn of Melai.

The actual date of Clough's death is not known, but Dean Burgon¹ says it must have taken place between 11th March and 19th July, 1570, and estimates Clough's age at about 40. Nor is the cause of his death known. A lingering sickness, two references in his letters to pains in the head, and sleeplessness, that is all. At the request of the municipal authorities of Hamburg, the Senate of Lubeck sent a skilled physician to see whether any aid was possible, but without avail.

SECOND WIDOWHOOD.

At the age of thirty-five Katheryn was a widow for the second time with four children, all of tender years.

Sir Richard Clough and his partner (Sir Thomas Gresham) were reputed to be the richest men in England. Clough by his will provided handsomely for each of his two daughters and for his widow, and in addition gave his sons by a former union considerable wealth.

Referring to Clough's knighthood, Dean Burgon says :—

I reserve for a subsequent page, however, what is discoverable of his personal history; there being no evidence, traditional or otherwise, of the events of his early life, except the indubitable fact that in the fervour of youthful zeal, he performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he was created a knight of the Holy Sepulchre—"though not owning it," says Fuller, "on his return under Queen Elizabeth, who disdained her subjects should accept of such foreign honour." Pennant and other Welsh writers have, in consequence, styled him *Sir Richard Clough*, by which name he is known at this day among his descendants.²

It may be assumed that Katheryn left Hamburg soon after the death of her husband. That she was back in

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. ii, p. 356.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 236-7.

Wales by November, 1570, may be inferred from the agreement between William Clough of Denbigh, executor of the will of Richard Clough, and Katheryn, and a deed of the same date, the schedule of which gives some idea of the wealth of which she was then possessed.

After her return from Hamburg Katheryn resided at Berain, and engaged William Kynwal of Penmachno to compile a record of her family. Kynwal wrote in the same volume a large number of poems by himself and other poets extolling Katheryn, the Tudurs, the Salusburys, Clough, and others connected with her. This volume is now in the library of Christ Church, Oxford.

The pedigree traces Katheryn's descent through a long line of Welsh chieftains back to Brutus, who is described as a great-grandson of the Trojan hero Æneas, and who, tradition states, came and settled in Britain. From Æneas the pedigree goes back through a long line of mythical persons, including the gods Jupiter and Saturn, until Biblical characters are reached in Japhet and Noah, and thence back to " Enoch son of Seth son of Adam son of God ". This grandiose production was in accord with the practice of the time in compiling pedigrees.

The poems in the Christ Church MS. include two by Kynwal eulogising Clough and Katheryn, one proposing to send a hawk to express the longing felt in North Wales for their return, and the other a ship to bring them back. The elegies on Clough mention that his heart was brought home and buried in Whitchurch (the parish church of the town of Denbigh), and that Bachygraig was built with stones brought from Antwerp. It is suggested elsewhere that the building is of bricks imported from Holland or made in Denbighshire in the Dutch manner.

Kynwal wrote a cywydd welcoming Katheryn home to Berain, and another urging her to marry again, but not

to leave Berain if she does. The cywydd of welcome runs :—

*Kowydd i groessawu y meistres katrin adref pann fu tuwnt Ir mor val y kair gwybod wrth y kowydd.*¹

Katrin law ruddwin roddiad,
 kares wyth lu kroesso ith wlad . . .
 [12 lines omitted]
 hwiliaist megis uu helynt
 Elen verch Goel lanfraich gynt
 honn a gerddodd henw gwirddoeth
 y mor ar tir ddyn ir ddoeth
 yno drwy nerth duw or nef
 or daith hydr y doeth adref
 ac val hynn gwiwvawl henwi
 wrth ystad yr aethost di
 gida'th wr mewu kyflwr kain
 gwir lendyd i Gaer Lundain
 o Lundain hardd riain hael
 ir Galais eurloer gulael
 a thrwy ffraingk winvaingk iownvawr
 hoff lowndres vodd i fflandrs fawr
 o frebant gwarant geirwir
 iawn tro pell i Andwarp hir
 ac ywch wedi gwyeh ydoedd
 yn yr yssbaen wrssib oedd
 yn Hambrw uffern henbryd
 o vewn dengmark bark y byd
 ing dic y rwng i deugwr
 ofer dim y bu farw dwr
 ac ir ystad at Grist wynn
 yr aeth ef wrth i ofyn
 a chwi a ddoeth eigr goeth gain
 i loegr yn ddyn weddw liwgain
 yno bu ywch yn unawr
 a gwiwras maith groessaw mawr
 ath glod aeth golud weithion
 or un sud drwy'r ynys honn
 oddyno yn ddianair
 orau dyn heb wyro d'air
 doeth ich ty'ch hun y fun fain
 drwy fowredd i dre ferain . . .
 [16 lines omitted]

¹ *Christ Church MS.*

Katheryn of Berain.

adolwc bennes dalaur
 dyn loew wych dan wiall aur
 fry na ddos hael linos lan
 farn well o verain allan.

WILLIAM KYNWAL.

A letter¹ from John Vaughan of Gelly Aur to Katheryn shows that in 1571 she was still residing at Berain. The letter is unfortunately mutilated, and the month when it was written is missing, but April, 1571, is possible; that would be less than a year after Clough's death. The letter is as follows:—

Lovinge Cosyn after my righte hartie comendacones [I being] yet unaquaynted with you, have in the behaulf, [of Walter] Vaughan my sone byn a suyter unto you by my ne[phew] hughe ap hughe, who repaired unto you and was [kindly] entertayned and wellcome, for the wch I yelde you [thanks] nowe. If yt please you to comunycate or talke further [with us] in this matter, upon the good answer whiche I have [received] by him from you, Bothe I and my sönne will travaile u[p] ffor I have no other but him only to bestowe soche lyvinge [as] god hath sent me after my decesse wch shal be a T[housand] mareks by the yeare at the leaste. Beseachinge you [to continue] yo^r good will and forwardnes herin as I understande [you] have begone, which by gods grace shall not on my [part] and my Sones be unaquitted And thus leveinge all [. . .] to yo^r good discesyon to be conferred wth my Cosyn [hughe] ap hughe I comitt you to the governaunce, of [almighty] god. ffrom my howse at gelly oyre the vith daye [of April] 1571.

Your assured Cosyn,

JOHN VAUGHAN.

Addressed:—To his verie assured and lovinge Cosyn Mrs. katheryn Cloughe at Meren these be yeaven.

Gelly Oyre (Gelly Aur) is probably the Carmarthenshire seat of the Vaughans. There is a Gelly Aur in Flintshire, but this was the home of the Morgans. The spelling Oyre for Aur points to Carmarthenshire. That this is the correct interpretation is supported by the sentence in the letter "If yt please you to comunycate or

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 43.

talke further . . . Bothe I and my sonne will travaile u[p] ”.

The proposed suitor, Walter Vaughan, was the father of John Vaughan, first earl of Carbery, and William Vaughan, author of the *Golden Grove Moralized* and other well-known works.¹ The proposal was no mean one, and shows that she was accounted a desirable lady. Katheryn, however, did not see fit to “talke further”. It may be that she was already talking with Maurice Wynn of Gwydir, the belated suitor who was forestalled by Richard Clough.

THE THIRD MARRIAGE.

The date of Katheryn’s marriage with Maurice Wynn is not known, but it was before January, 1573. Wynn had buried two wives, and Katheryn two husbands. By this third marriage she became the step-mother of the famous Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, the author of *The History of the Gwydir Family*.

There is a document among the Llewenni papers, dated 20th September, 1574, two years or thereabouts after Katheryn became the wife of Maurice Wynn, which throws an interesting side-light on the lady’s matrimonial activities.

It is an agreement between Sir John Salusbury and his wife Lady Jane Salusbury, and Maurice Wynn for a marriage between one or other of Katheryn’s sons by her first husband and Margaret, daughter of Maurice Wynn, or, she failing, any other of Wynn’s daughters. Thomas Salusbury was about ten years of age when the agreement was made, and Margaret Wynn was about the same age or possibly younger; she was Wynn’s fourth child by his

¹ Walter Vaughan married (I) Mary, daughter of Gruffydd Rys, by whom he had thirteen children, and (II) Letys, widow of Sir John Perrot, who bore him two children.

first wife. They were, however, to be married before the Feast of the Annunciation next ensuing (i.e. 25th March, 1575). It was a child marriage to be confirmed and consummated later, with alternative provisions to ensure the union of the two families in the case of death on either side before the contemplated marriage was solemnized, or between solemnization and consummation. This is a most interesting document as it illustrates the way in which marriages were arranged in the sixteenth century. Another similar document in which Katheryn was concerned will be referred to later.

This grand design was the realisation of the dreams of two women, Lady Jane Salusbury and her erstwhile daughter-in-law, Katheryn. The signing of the marriage agreement was followed by a great festive gathering at Gwydir,¹ recorded by Maurice Wynn in his book of memoranda (a volume of 212 pages)² as follows :—

So die octobris a^o 1574.

The names of them that were present at the bargain made betwene me and Sir John Salusbury & at the delyvery of the money to Mr Thomas Salusbury wth th'obligation the conveances. &c.

John Wyn ap Wm, esquier.

Gruff Wynn, gent.

Maurice Kyffyne, gent.

John Lloyd, mercer.

Edward ap Hughe.

Owen ap Sr John.

John Mershe.

Robert Kynrike,

John Edwards,

Cristofer —

John Hollis,

W^m ap Sr John gruff.

Davyd ap Thomas, John Wyn ap W^m's servant.

} Sr Jo. Salisburis men.

¹ The old Gwydir which still survives. The later house built by Sir John Wynn, "the fairest house in all N. Wales", was ruined by two fires in 1922 and 1924 respectively.

² N.L.W. Llanstephan MS. 179B.

It is somewhat curious that the guests at Gwydir included four described as "Sr Jo. Salisburis men", but neither Sir John nor Lady Salusbury. In view of what followed their absence is significant.

This gay house-party was but the prelude to trouble and family bitterness. As already stated the marriage of these two children appears to have been arranged by Lady Jane Salusbury and her sometime daughter-in-law, Katheryn, who were believed to be able to enchant their respective husbands. Maurice Wynn, according to his son, Sir John Wynn, was not a strong personality, and was largely under the influence of Katheryn, and there are hints that he was not on the best of terms with some of his neighbours, nor, for a time at least, with Sir John Salusbury. These strained relations were due to the prospective bridegroom, who later showed some reluctance to the marriage.

The boy was at Gwydir when the great celebration feast took place, but later there seems to have been some feeling between Gwydir and Llewenni as to the place where he should reside, whether with his mother or with his grand-parents. Nor is it clear from the scanty evidence available whether the child marriage took place, as arranged by the great indenture, before the 25th March, 1575.

A letter¹ from Katheryn to her stepson, John Wynn (afterwards Sir John), then a barrister in London, discloses that trouble had arisen with regard to the wardship of Thomas Salusbury, the heir to Llewenni. It is not necessary to enter into the details here. It is a long and intricate dispute in which the Earl of Leicester's connection with North Wales, and heated controversies, are con-

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 83.

cerned.¹ The letter, however, is evidence of the feuds and intrigues, and the high tension between leading families.

As regards Katheryn the letter affords a side-light upon her domestic life, the most intimate piece of personal revelation available. She speaks of herself as a weak woman, foolish and fond, and appeals for the wise and discreet help of the future Sir John Wynn. The letter, dated February, 1576/7, is written on three pages, foolscap size, with the address on the fourth page, and appears to be in the hand of Thomas Brooke, the signature, "Katheryn Wynn", being in her autograph. The first leaf is slightly defective, words are missing which in a few instances are conjecturally restored, and, where no such restoration has been made, are indicated by . . . , in each case enclosed in [].

Good sonne my verey heartie comendacons use[. . . these] are to signifie unto yow that for reuenge of ou[r enemies] I am nowe verey like to receave at my ffather [in law and his] brother m^r Salusburie and their ffrends han[ds such a] ffoyle² (for your sake) as I shall neaver claw of³ [unless] youre wisdom and foresight be my shilde and [strength] in my greatest necessitie. for yow shall understand that a kynesman and late seruant of myne one whome yow knowe J^{euan} ap Thomas ap Kyn' by name havinge by great mishappe chaused to gyve a neighbour of his one william ap Ric a blowe with a stone, wherof it is inferred by his ffrends he shuld die, and by the synister and indirect practise and subborn acon of J^{euan} lloid ap d'd ap m'edd and William lloid his sonne, who havinge conspired with Piers holland a malicious and cruell enemye

¹ The relations of the Earl of Leycester with North Wales offer a fruitful field for inquiry by a student of history. A passage in *Leycester's Commonwealth* runs:—"The hatred of all that Countrey (i.e. North Wales), is so universall and vehement against my Lord: as I thinke never thing created by God, was so odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of *Leycester* is. Which his Lordship, well knowing, I doubt not, but that he will take heed, how hee goe thither to dwell, or send thither his posterity".

² ffoyle = foil, a repulse, a disgrace, a stigma. O.E.D.

³ claw of = to get rid of, get free from. O.E.D.

PLATE 3.



The Wigfair Portrait.

To face p.

to my howse from the begynninge have caused my said Seruant to be indicted of willfull murther togeather with one Jeuan ap Tudr as accessarie, without any evidence or good matt^r to induce the same, And therupon my said Seruant upon hope of indifferencie and upon trust of his innocencye upon indifferent and good triall yelded him self to the lawe, beinge Imbowldned therunto by my said father in lawe. m^r Salusburie of Rugge, M^r Thomas Salusbury of Denbigh and the rest of that crewe, who then promysed to be his ffaithfull ffrends and ayders: and nowe havinge therby allured him into his enymies hands, and ledd him as a bear to the stake or as a lambe to the butchers stawle doe nowe not onelie leave him destitute of all ayde, but allso ioygne them selfs wth his aduersaries to his utter confucion the best they may, not onelie of them selfs but allso by procuringe the shirief and others to the same, in so muche as they haue caused m^r fflowlke lloid and others my lords officers to write unto my L. of leycest^r to agravate matt^rs against him, takinge for their grounds that my L. is like to lose the benifite of their lands in excheate by [rea]son of some ffables by them contryved and [most] fawlsie insenced to my L. eares. wher in [ve]ry deede ther is noe such matt^r intended one our [part]es but rather of the other side, for if wee have [ou]r willes wee meane not to dishardge him of man slawgh^tr, although the evidence will in troth prove but man slawgh^tr in his owne defence. And although the surgion will upon his othe verifie that the man died rather of gods vicitacon or for want of good keepinge then of the hurte, and although ther be many other circumstances to extenuate his offence, here to longe to be recited and one in especiall, for all the evidence and prouffs that be of all sides doe manifestlie prove and everie one doth prove and agree with the other that the man slayne, had upon him a good pike forke and a longe dagger and was a stronger lustier and better man then the other and that my kynesman and seruant had but onelie a dagger and that the other man dryve my kynesman backe to a hedge wher he ffound a stone undr his ffeete by chauce and threw at the other wherby he might have oportunitie to flie further and so imediatlie fledde, and although the other man p'secuted him alonge myle never turned unto him but still fledd, all suche matt^rs and suche other circumstanes as this bearer can instruct yo^w of, such as yo^w thinke will make with yo^w. I am hereby heartelie to praie yo^w to imparte to my good ffrende Sr John Hughband besechinge him of his comferte ayd and succore herein, either by dealinge with my L. in his excuse, or by writinge to m^r Justice throkmorton in my mans favour, and procuringe my L. Pres to m^r Justice if yo^w thinke it needfull,

but speciallie to make my L. conceave the matt^r aright, and not to write against him wherin yo^w shall doe unto me a most acceptable pleasure and to yo^r ffather and to yo^r self [much] wor' and credicte, w^{ch} if this man mis[carry in] the furst matt^r of weight he deallt wi[th at] Conwey is like to be greatlie appalled [. . .] in denbigh shire. And my poore sonne a[nd your] brother in lawe litle Thome Salusburie [is filled] with great perplexitie for he poore ch[ild ha]th great care of him because he was his fathers man and myne, and one whome he tendrly loveth. I am but a woman ffolishe and faunde. I can not direct yo^w aright in this matt^r, yo^r father is not willinge to deale for some respects knowinge how litle affiaunce he hath in denbigh shire men, yo^w are wise and Discreete and conversant with those that can instructe yow what is best to be done. I therefore require yo^w to be ffaithfull and vigilant in this matter, otherwise the poore man shall Runne into utter Ruine, and I and myne imperpetuall obloquie and sclandr for ever, wherfor referringe all to yo^r wisdome and fidelitie I ende wishinge yo^w's wellfare in haste from Gwid^r this xxiiijth of ffebruarie 1576.¹

Your loving mother

KATHERYN WYNN.

p^tscript

I prairie yo^w write unto me yo^r pleasure towching the books of the quartr Sessions and whither I may have them or not paining yo^u xx^s for everie sessions.

THOMAS BROOKE.

Addressed:—

To my lovinge sonne John Wynne at the Inner Temple de. this in hast.

What happened to the young man accused of murder is not on record. It is hoped that he had a fair trial, unprejudiced by family feuds. If he can be identified as the same who witnessed a lease in March, 1581, he must have won free.

Sir John Salusbury died about a year after the letter just quoted was written, the actual date of his death being 18th March, 1577/8.

His death left his grandson, still a minor, to the wardship of the Earl of Leicester, who had been chosen by Sir John Salusbury. The Wynns were alarmed, fearing

¹ i.e. 1577, New Style.

that Leycester would oppose the completion of the marriage of Thomas Salusbury and Margaret Wynn. These fears were groundless if we can accept Leycester's statement in the following letter¹ to Maurice Wynn, written five days after Sir John Salusbury's death.

After my heartie comendacons. with like thanks for yo^r paynes takinge to be presente at the hearinge of the cause w^{ch} those yo^r countrey exclamators preferred to herre matie. Like as I doubte not but you are fullie satisfied in consience upon hearinge of the cause debated of the greate wronge they have offered me and herre maties commissioners soe I hope yow will to the like contentacon satisfie the reste of yo^r ffrends within yo^r countrey whom I am sure they have allso therin greatlie abused. I trust I shall hensfurth finde yo^u as yo^r brother in lawe my verey ffrende the L. Chaunceler of Irelande hath assured me, and so doinge I will not be unmyndefull of requitall. And now m^r Wynn I thought good to lette yo^u understand that like as by the death of Sr John Salusburie the wardshippe of the boye is faulen to me and in my custodie, so will I throughlie understande the boyes disposition to the matche with yo^r daughter, from the w^{ch} I here he hathe utterlie dissented, and that if I see any likeliehoode yow shall finde me (the rather for yo^r brother in lawes sake) ffrendelie therin. I am glade you have so good assurance for yo^r money, for as the matche was made onelie to defraude me of the wardshippe, soe I can assure yo^u it was not meante to be performed to you. for the recoverey of yo^r money if yo^u neede my ffrendshippe it shall not be wantinge. I praie yo^u trie owte what dulia belongeth to the boye either in goods or lands and therof with the speede yo^u can advertise me, wherupon yo^u shall here further from me, I thinke I shall comytte some trust in the cause to yo^u, w^{ch} shall not be to yo^r discomoditie. I praie yo^u lette me here speedilie from yo^u, and in the meane tyme fare ye heartelie well, from the courte the xxiiijth of marche 1577.²

Yor Lovinge ffrende

ROBERT LEYCESTER.

Maurice Wynn and Katheryn were at Berain directly after Sir John Salusbury's death, and Wynn prepared a statement in the form of a letter to Sir William Gerard for the purpose of informing Leycester as to the position with

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 84.

² i.e. 1578, New Style.

regard to the marriage. This letter¹ must have crossed Leycester's letter (dated a few days earlier) reassuring Wynn as to the marriage. Maurice Wynn's letter throws a vivid light on the domestic drama then being played, and is therefore worth reproducing.

After my verey heartie comendacons to yo^r good L. gyvinge the same to understande that upon my returne from worcester I repaired to the countrey to attende those affaires off my l. comytted to me and others ther in chardge, by reason wherof I cold not repaire to S^r John Salusburie albeit he sent for me diverse tymes untill hit was within three or foure daies before his death, at w^{ch} tyme in the p^resence of diverse honest gentlemen both of worshippe and credicte he openlie [af]firmed that he neaver intended to breake the lesse [*several words mutilated*] of any parte of the bargaine concluded betwen his [grandson] and my doughter as he had done many tymes [before] greatlie blamyng me for that I had wrongfullie [belie]ved and uttered such suspicion of hym to the great [blem]ishe of his worshippe and credicte; affirmynge [that he] was neaver privey nor consentinge to the [boy's] departure from me. and said how he had sent for [the] boye to Oxford whom he meant to deliver unto [me] if he cam home before he died, otherwise he had taken order with his executors that they shuld deliver hym unto me, chardginge me as I shuld answer in honestie to god and to the world to see that matche consumated and perfected accordinge to the trust fidelitie and true meanyng of the same from the begynninge, from the w^{ch} he neaver intended to swarve. and ther with all called my ladie unto hym and reconciled [me] to herre of all suche mislikings as shee had [con]ceaved against me, desiringe herre to take my [daughte]r unto herre and to see herre vertiouslie brought [up in t]he feare of god w^{ch} shee promised to doe, and [after] S^r John decessed and all his funerall [rites] are performed my lady [*several words mutilated*]pfullie accordinge to herre [promise in] good [faith] delivered the child to me . . . At Beraigne this thirde of Aprill: 1578.

Yo^r lovyng brother in lawe

assured to his power,

MAURICE WYNN.

This letter addressed from "Beraigne" suggests that Katheryn's own house was kept as a place of residence

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 86.

during her life as the wife of Maurice Wynn, and this is confirmed by the fact that she returned there after Wynn's death.¹

Seven days later John Wynn wrote a letter to his father-in-law, Sir William Gerard, which gives some intimation of Wynn's opinion of his step-mother. The letter,² dated 10th April, 1578, relates to the dispute concerning the wardship.

My very good l. and lovinge father in law, I assure yow my mynd did fortelle me, that y'sterday I should heere from hom, wch was the cause I attended not yow to the corte as I was once determined. As I expected so cam hit to passe, for ysternight very late in the eveninge cam to the Cytie my fathers man wth answere to my l. & m^{rs} letters, accompenyed wth Sr Jhon Salsberyes son, havinge likwyse an answere from Mr Salsbery of the Ruge and letters from my ladye Sal. to my L. In my pakket of letters I found on[e] directed to your L. from my father wch I send yow wth this berer. I send yow also the coppyes of my fathers letter to my L. & of my L. letter to him (wch I know I may as well kepe bake as send) but onely for the performance of my fathers will and direction. The yonge gent. Mr Salsbery is to fornische him selfe wth morninge apparell before he com to my L. presence. my instructions are to deliver my letter to my L. att the same instant as he dothe, wch is the cause of my stay from courte this day. I understand uppon conference had wth the yonge gent, that my father is lulled in the securty of his cause, and that hit is not untould him that yf he may have that law will geve him, the boy shall sure be his. Your L. and my selfe are growen to great suspicion because of oure last letters, so that (yf they could otherweyse chuse) nether yow nor I should be trusted in this matter. My lady Sal. to be in assurance of my father, hathe him and his wyfe altogether now att her house in dembighe, where m^r Jo. Salsbery also is, where they so rule my father, that he ratyfyethe what they thinke fitt to be don. [*several lines mutilated*] I wold to god my fathers yees were also opened to see the same wch I doubt not might be compased yf he weere ouce from the Cirens wch enchant him, I mean his owen wyfe and my lady the boyes

¹ Maurice Wynn also wrote a letter from Berain to his son John two years earlier (see *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, No. 72).

² *Wynn Papers*, No. 87.

Katheryn of Berain.

grandmother. in his letter for all there persuations he is contented to stand to my l. order in this matter w^{ch} yow may assure my l. he for his parte wyll performe lett them do what they will. and att this time they are in full meaninge to stand wth my l. in the matter . . . Att the Inner Tempell this wensday beinge the xth of Aprylle 1578.

Your lo. lovinge sonne in law to commande,

JOHN WYNN.

An undated letter from John Wynn to "Mr. Attorney", of which the author's draft is among the Wynn Papers, refers to the misunderstandings and intrigues with regard to Leycester's wardship, and to a visit by Lady Salusbury and her deceased husband's two executors to Buxton to interview Leycester. It is difficult to unravel the sequence of events as only fragments of the story emerge from the documents available. It would seem as if Lady Salusbury was in danger of losing control of the Llewenni property, for "the Little Park" probably refers to some part of that property. Wynn's letter suggests that Leycester stood to gain either one way or the other, the boy or the little park; the wardship and the perquisites appertaining to it, or part of the property, to be followed by Leycester finding means in a short time "to compasse the whole".

John Wynn in the course of his life found means to "comasse" many additions to his own estates.

One thing seems clear, that Lady Salusbury and Katheryn had a keen struggle to preserve control, Maurice Wynn being but a weak support to his wife. In the end the women won.

John Wynn's letter¹ to the Earl of Leycester's attorney is as follows:—

I know right well m^r Aty that my L. in Salsberyes matter is yll delt wthall but hit worketh a great admiration in me that my L. havinge so p[lain and] just cause of offence

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 85.

agaenst others laythe the [blame to] my charge w^{ch} ever was most faethfull on his [L. be]halfe.

Was ther not a plaen and flatt promyse mad to his L. by those w^{ch} are well able to performe, that ether the ward should be delivered to his honor, or the littell parke. The on[e] they have not donne, why ar they not urged to do the other?

The on[e] moyty of the parke is my ladyes, the other her childrens. yf her moyty weere obtained accordinge to her promyse, I dowbt not but my L. myght finde the means in short time to compasse the whole. The parke is never likly to be my brother Salsberys althoghe (to put over this brunt) they take him for a cloake and shadow. Yf I should not rather wyshe & procure hit to my good L. & m^r, then to those to whom in no respect I stand tyed unto, the world wold say that I had greatly forgotten my self. Therefor what lyethe in my power to do in this assure my L. in my name that I shall do hit in sort as hit shall please his honor to direct me.

Perchance my accuser hathe grated on my fathers promyse mad to my L. by letter beinge jointly written by Jhon Salsbery and my father: yf that be so: then good m^r Aty answere in this sort. The L. chancelor of Ierland,¹ travelinge towards Ierland (havinge belik som auctoryty from my L.) delt wth my Lady and the executors to understand what they wold be contented to give my L. for his interest in the ward. My Lady was content to ratyfy what her sonne in law Jhon Salsbery beinge an executor of trust should thinke resonable. The L. chancelor and he grew to an agreement: my father (because the ward was to marry his doghter) was cawled to assent & to subscribe the letter, w^{ch} he did; the letters weere forthwth dispatched to his L. to Buxtons: my Lady uppon knoledge had of thear conclusion exclaimed that they had conspyred to undo her and her heire & theree uppon ridd to Buxtons her selfe to my L. accompanied wth Sr Jhons Salsberys executors Jo: Sal: & Thomas Salsbery, thear to conclude a new composityon & to dissolve the owld. whear what she & the executors promysed my L. I know doothe well remember. Sithence w^{ch} time (because my father assented att first to geeve eny thinge to his L.) she hathe remaened his utter foo.

When I was att Buxtons wth his honor I towld him then that I feared that my Lady wold not stand to her promyse: his honor replied that she should first repent hit. Sythence then Sir Jhon w[ent to th]e contrey & sifted the matter thoroly. yf he sa[w that th]er was any fawt in my father

¹ Sir William Gerard.

or that att all times that my father hathe not doone his utter-most indevor to cause my Lady to stand to her promyse then beleve me no more.

The promyses considered I refer my self & this cause to my honorable consideration to judge whether I have offended or have bene wrongfully accused.

JOHN WYNN.

Thomas Salusbury was entered as matriculating at Trinity College, Oxford, 29th January, 1579/80, aged 16,¹ but he was at Oxford before that time, as appears from the letter of 3rd April, 1578, already quoted. In this letter, written after the death of Sir John Salusbury, Maurice Wynn says that before his death Salusbury declared he had sent to Oxford for the boy, in order to put him in Wynn's charge, at the same time desiring that the match with Wynn's daughter might take place.

Maurice Wynn died in August, 1580, and Katheryn was a widow for the third time. There were two children of the Wynn marriage, Edward and Jane. Edward was the ancestor of the Wynns of Llwyn; Jane we shall encounter again.

Katheryn was the mother of six children, two Salusburies, two Cloughs, and two Wynns. She went to Berain to live, and among the Llewenni papers is a lease dated March 8th, 1580/1, from "Katheryn Wynn of Berayne, co. Denbigh, widow, daughter and heir of Tudur ap Robert . . . to Robert Vaughan of Beawmarreis . . . servant of Sir Henry Sidney, President of the Council of the Marches, of a close called *The Duffhouse Croft* and appurtenances in Beawmarreis. Term 21 years. Yearly rent, 35s. 4d. Signed, Katheryn Wynn. Witnesses: Margaret Salusbury; William Birchinsa; John Tudder; John ap Jeuan; Jeuan Thomas ap Ken'; John Graves."

¹ Foster: *Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 1305. The age, 16, would fix the date of birth as 1564, two and a half years before his father's death, and that of his brother John during the year 1565 or 1566.

The reference to Sir Henry Sidney, President of the Council of the Marches, is interesting. The first witness, Margaret Salusbury, is no doubt the wife of Katheryn's son, Thomas Salusbury, which proves that the child marriage had been solemnized as arranged, and that Margaret, on the death of her father, went to Berain to live, while her young husband, now seventeen, was studying at Oxford, where he had joined the secret society formed by a number of wealthy young men, led by Babington, with the object of protecting and maintaining Jesuit missionaries who were then arriving in England. The last witness but one was probably the *Jeuan ap Thomas ap Kyn'* (Kenrick or Kynrick) referred to in Katheryn's letter of February, 1577, to John Wynn as being in trouble for the killing of William ap Ric[hard] with a stone.

Thus in the spring of 1581 Berain was again the home of Katheryn, where she lived surrounded by her children, including Margaret, the wife of her oldest child, Thomas Salusbury. John Wynn went to reside at Gwydir soon after the death of his father in the summer of 1580. Lady Salusbury, widow of Sir John, still lived at Llewenni.

No documents are available to show what happened during the period between March, 1581, and January, 1583. Much may be conjectured, for a draft has recently come to light of articles of agreement dated at Berain on the fifth of January, 1583, for a double marriage. The parties are Thomas Salusbury of Llewenni (Katheryn's brother-in-law), and John Wynn of Gwydir (her step-son), of the one part, and Simon Thelwall of Plâs y Ward and his son and heir, Edward, of the other part.

Katheryn was to become the wife of Edward Thelwall, and her daughter, Jane Wynn, the wife of his son and heir, Simon Thelwall, who was born in 1570 and was therefore twelve years of age; Jane Wynn was under ten

years—another child marriage in fact.¹ Jane Wynn was to receive a dowry of £400 on her marriage with Simon, “or, if he die, with either of his brothers Herbert and William respectively”.

Three generations of Thelwalls were living when this agreement was drawn up, Simon the elder, his son Edward, and his son Simon the younger. This arrangement recalls the very similar agreement for the Salusbury-Wynn alliance already described.

Simon Thelwall senior, of Plâs y Ward, was a person of some importance in his day. He was born in 1526, the eldest son of Richard Thelwall of Plâs y Ward, admitted to the Inner Temple 23rd February, 1556, and called to the Bar 8th February, 1568, M.P. for Denbigh 1553 and 1571, for Denbighshire 1563-7, and High Sheriff 1572. He was one of the Council of the Marches, Deputy Justice of Chester 1576 and 1579, and Vice Justice of Chester 1580 and 1584. He married Alice, daughter of Robert Salusbury of Rug and Bachymbyd, and died 1586.² If these dates can be accepted, Simon Thelwall senior was only nine years older than Katheryn, and her fourth husband must have been her junior by some years. He was a widower, with three sons, the eldest, born in 1570, being the prospective husband of Katheryn's daughter, Jane Wynn.

THE FOURTH MARRIAGE.

The date of the marriage of Katheryn to Edward Thelwall is not known, but it was probably not long after the date of the draft agreement, some time in 1583. Plâs y Ward was still occupied by Thelwall's father, and Thel-

¹ Child marriages were not infrequent in the region of Chester at that time. See *Child-Marriages, Divorces, and Ratifications. &c., in the Diocese of Chester, A.D. 1561-6.* Edited . . . by Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A. London: Early English Text Society, 1897.

² W. R. Williams: *History of the Great Sessions of Wales*, 1889.

wall went to live at Berain ; that he was there in October, 1585, is shown by a document among the Wynn Papers,¹ a receipt for ten pounds paid by John Wynn of Gwydir to Edward Thelwall and his wife, each of whom signed the receipt, " Ed. Thelwal " and " Katheryn Thelwal ", the signatures being witnessed by Ma. Salusburye (i.e. Margaret, wife of Thomas Salusbury). John Salusbury, John Tudder, and John Lloyd. It may be inferred from the absence of the name of Thomas Salusbury from the witnesses that he was not at Berain in October, 1585.

A few months later, February, 1585/6, a daughter was born to Thomas and Margaret Salusbury,² and an agreement, dated the tenth of February, was executed between Thomas Salusbury of Llewenni³ and John Wynn of Gwydir, " in consideration of a marriage already solemnized ", etc. Thomas Salusbury undertakes for the settling of all his properties to convey the same to John Wynn to the use of himself and his wife, with remainder to his sons by Margaret in order of seniority and to heirs male, with remainder to his brother, John Salusbury, and his sons and heirs male, etc. The inheritance of Katheryn, his mother, however, failing heirs male of his marriage, was to go to his daughter, Margaret, with remainder to any other daughters of Thomas Salusbury, etc.

The year 1586 was full of fate for Katheryn. It opened with the birth of her first grandchild to survive infancy ; her fourth father-in-law, Simon Thelwall of Plás y Ward, died in April ; in September her oldest child, Thomas Salusbury, was executed, with others, for alleged treason ;

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 101.

² At an earlier date a son had been born to Thomas and Margaret, named John, but had died an infant.

³ Though described as of Llewenni there is no evidence that he made his home there. His grandmother, Lady Jane Salusbury, was still living.

and in December her second son, John Salusbury, now heir to Llewenni, was married.

Thomas Salusbury appears to have been a rather weak character, a stubborn visionary, easily led. The evidence on which he and his fellows were convicted was considered sufficient in those suspicious days, but would to-day be laughed at. There is a record of the trial in Howell's *State Trials*, Vol. 1, page 1127 *et seq.*, and some references in *Historical Manuscripts Commission—XIVth Report, App.*, p. 614.

The "Babington" conspiracy in which Thomas Salusbury became involved took final shape in April, 1586. Its object was not to assassinate the Queen, as alleged, but the conspirators admitted that their aim was to put Mary Queen of Scots on the English throne. They were a number of wealthy young men, led by Babington. Thomas Salusbury had joined this secret society while at Oxford in 1580.

The execution was followed by a commission being sent down to inquire into Thomas Salusbury's estate, and a jury was empanelled. This part of the story is unfolded in a memorandum among the Wynn Papers,¹ prepared by or for Sir John Wynn after the death of Sir John Salusbury the younger (1612). As this important document is only briefly described in the Wynn Calendar it is desirable to reproduce it here.

Tuder ap Robert esqr being sei'ed of the Capittall mess' of Beraigne et al' terr' infra dominium de denbighe et Com. Anglisey m'ried Jane daughter and heire to Sr. Rowland Velivell kt. Constable of Beawmarise in whose right the said Tuder was likewise sei'ed of diverse lands in Anglisey etc. Tuder ap Robt and Jane Velivell had issue Katrine Tuder theire sole daughter & heire wch Katrine m'ried to her furste husband John Salesbury esqr son & heire apparaunt to Sr.

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 1387.

John Salesbury of Lleweny kt whoe died before his father having issue by Katrine Tudor ii sons viz Thomas Sal: afterwards attainted & Sr John Sal: the last of Lleweny. Thomas Sal: attainted m'ried M'grett daughter to Morice Wyn of Gwedir esqr & by her had issue M'grett Sal: sole daughter & heire wch M'grett Sal: m'ried—son & heire to Sr. — Morice of Speake by whom she hath issue div'se sons & daughters.

John Sal: furste husband to Katrine Tudor d'ying yonge having Thomas Sal: and John Sal: the said Katrine m'ried Ric' Clowghe & Morice Wyn & Ed' Theloall esqrs & by Cloughe & Morice had issue.

Sr. John Sal: father to Jon husband to Katrine upon the death of his eldest son drewē his daughter in lawe Katrine Tudor to passe an estate of all her lands to her yssue by her furst husband John Sal: q: if anie office weare found after that younge man. Thomas Sal. the eldest son of John Sal & Katrine abouts A'o 1586 was attainted of treason. his mother then living & m'ried to Ed' Theloall upon wch Attainder of Thomas Sal: a Comission Came down to enquire of his estate and a Jury empanelled whoe by some old estate to theires males of Lleweny saved the inheritaunce of Salesbury from forffecture. And as touching Beraine & the lands in Anglizey being Katrine Tuders inheritaunce & she then living & her son Thomas nev' seised theirow the Jury fownd nothing but left it as though thestate were absolute in her for if the estate form'ly made by Katrine Tudor to her issue by John Sal had heine p'duced Beraine etc. had gone to the Crowne that office¹ wch was f'fownd upon Thomas Sal: his attaindor is requisite to be seene wch is of Record.

The estate made by Katrine Tudor of her lands to her furste husbands issue is not wth us att Gwedir but muste remaine at lleweny for it is to be intended that Katrine Tudor had past it longe before her interm'iedge with Morice Wyn other wise she wold have done somthinge for her issue by Clowghe & by him & sp'ially for Ed'd Wynne her son.

The documents mentioned as “nott with us att Gwedir” have been found, in part at least, among the Llewenni papers, and have been used in preparing this account of Katheryn. These documents are too lengthy

¹ Office = “An official inquest or inquiry concerning any matter that entitles the king to the possession of lands or chattels. *To find an office* = to return a verdict showing that the king is thus entitled. *Office found* = a verdict having this effect. The same term also occurs earlier in the document.

for reproduction here, but they will be dealt with in the Calendar of Llewenni Papers now in preparation.

It must have been an anxious time for Katheryn when the Commission came down to inquire. According to Sir John Wynn's notes just recited, if the documents relating to the settlements made after the death of her first husband had been made known to the Commissioners, Berain and Penmynydd would have been liable to forfeiture. The documents were not produced and the danger passed.

The knowledge that the Crown might step in and attach at least some of these estates must have disturbed Katheryn considerably, following on the heels of her other troubles. Her heart thus grievously wrung by the execution of her elder son and the risk of forfeiture of his estate, she proceeded to hurry on the marriage of her younger son, John Salusbury, now the heir to Llewenni, which would pass to other Salusburies in default of heirs male to Katheryn's son. Again the two sirens, as Sir John Wynn called them, Katheryn and her mother-in-law, Dame Salusbury, may have connived together, and three months after his brother's execution John Salusbury was married to Ursula Stanley, a daughter of Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby.

We get a glimpse of the marriage festivities in a "poysie" presented to Katheryn at Berain on the 27th December, 1586, where a masque was performed as part of the proceedings to greet the home-coming of John Salusbury and his bride. They were married on the 18th December.

In the Christ Church MS. already referred to, the following entry occurs:—

This Poysie was presented In A Maske att Berine In Christmas the xxvijth of Desember 1586: vnto M^{ris} Katherin Thelloall, Beinge written In A Sheelde And Deliuerede by William Winne OF LLanver Esquier at the Mariage of Iohn

Salisburye of LLeweny Esquier Her Sonne and heaire wth
Vrsula Stanley Daughter vnto the righte Honorable Henrie
Earle of Derbye And devisede by Roger Salisburye of bache-
gerige Esquier

Dame Venus deare youe Maye Rejoyce
at your Sonne Cupides happy Choyse
To hym as By the Gods Asseignde
For to delighte hys doufull mynde, &c.

This other Poysie was p^rsentede in The former Maske in A
Sheelde alsoe by Rog: Sal: of bach: esquier Vnto Vr: Sal:
wyfe Vnto M^r Io: Sa: Afore saide And devised by the sayde
Rog: Sal:

The Lyon Ramping¹ for his Praye
A princlye byrde hee dyd Assaye
and hauinge winges to flye at Will,
yet Caughte her faste & houlds hir still
Wth hyr to sporte as Lyckes them beste,
Thoughe Lions stoute vse not to jest
A thinge moste strange yet is ytt trewe,
God graunt them Joy and so Adewe.

Finies

On the death of his father Edward Thelwall became possessed of Plâs y Ward, whither in due course he and his wife went to reside.

Lady Salusbury was still living at Llewenni; the date of her death is curiously not recorded on the tomb which she erected in Whitchurch, Denbigh, in 1588, for her late husband and herself. She is described on the monument as "daughter and Co heier of dauid Midleton esquier alderman of westchester . . . died: the of in A^o 15 . . .". The registers of Bodfari parish record the baptisms of the children of John Salusbury and his wife, Ursula Stanley. The entries up to 1595 describe him as "heir of Llewenny", and in 1597 he is called "Mr. John Salusbury of Lleweny Esquire", from which entries it may be inferred that his grandmother died some time between the seventh of May, 1595, and the sixth of June, 1597.

¹ The arms of the Salusburies of Llewenni, a liou rampant, on a shield.

If this inference is correct the older of the two " sirens " outlived the younger by five or six years.

There is reason for believing that relations between Dame Salusbury and Katheryn were none too pleasant during the later years of Katheryn's life. The strained feeling was most likely due to property dispositions. The Berain property, as we have shown, was settled on the only child of Thomas Salusbury, his daughter. It may have been that when Katheryn went to Plâs y Ward the widow of Thomas Salusbury with her daughter remained at Berain, while John Salusbury with his wife went to reside with his grandmother at Llewenni.

A letter¹ dated November 23rd, 1590, gives a hint of the position as between Berain and Plâs y Ward. It is from William Birchinslaw of Denbigh (either a solicitor or an estate agent), to " John Salusburye of Lleweny, Esq. at Mr Thomas Martenes house in holbourne ". After dealing with various business matters the writer proceeds :—

As for the release from Mr. Shereff & your mother to my Uncle Roberte gwynne I have conferred for it with her readie and shee answereth me that as soone as shee maie come home to plaswarde (for shee is yet at Beraine) it shall be done accordinglie. Thus I have thought it my dutie to certifie you of what you comytted me in charge: and so to take leave for this tyme, hoping of your saulf arryvall at your jorneyes ende, and of the good successe of your business sethence, which I praie god to graunt. denbigh this monday evening the xxiiijth of november 1590.

So far this letter is the only bit of evidence available for the closing years of Katheryn's life. She died 27th August, 1591, at the age of 56, and was buried in Llanefydd Church. No monument marks her last resting place, which fact has been the subject of comment, considering the great place she filled during her life, and the number of her descendants. There is nothing extant which throws

¹ *Llewenni Papers.*

PLATE 4.



Catherine Morgan The Caegwyn Portrait, by Gilbert Jackson, 1632.

light on this singular neglect of the memory of so great a lady.

An elegy by Hugh Machno refers to her death as taking place at Plâs y Ward, whence her body was removed to Berain, and then to Llanefydd for burial.

Many stories of her ways and doings are told in North Wales. Some are spiteful and rest only on gossip: such tales increase in the telling.

There is the legend, for instance, of many lovers in addition to her four husbands.

The story goes that when she tired of a lover she poured molten lead in his ears and buried him in the orchard at Berain. If there is any grain of truth underlying this story it surely can only refer to the last ten years of her life, during part of which she lived at Berain.

It is also said that her fourth husband, Thelwall, kept her under strict surveillance and treated her unkindly. This is not borne out by such evidence as is obtainable. The letter of William Birchinshaw quoted above shows that in the year 1590 she was actively taking part in business affairs, and free to go to and fro between Plâs y Ward and Berain.

Marriage and Christmas festivities combined, with a "maske" or play, poetic addresses to the bridegroom's mother, and to the bride, do not suggest a husband and wife at variance. On the contrary they suggest a courageous woman, sorrowing for the execution of one son, bravely nerving herself to give a joyful marriage festivity to the other. Katheryn was about fifty-one years of age when these events took place, if the assumed date of her birth, 1535, is correct. She lived a little over five years longer. Many eloquent tributes to her memory and goodness were called forth by her death. A few of them are printed in *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert*

Chester, pp. 36-47, including two in Latin by Owen Jones, *Clericus*, another in Latin signed David Jones, one in English by Robert Salusbury "Doctor of the civile law" (brother of Katheryn's first husband), another in English by Cadwaladr Wynn of Voylas, and, most important of all, the *Epitaph of mistress Katheryn Theloall*, by Robert Parry, the eminent poet whose unique little volume of poems, *Sinctes Passions*, 1597, formerly of the Britwell Court library, now reposes in the Henry Huntington library at San Marino, California.¹

Robert Parry is closely associated with the literary life of Katheryn's son John (afterwards Sir John) Salusbury, but that is a long and interesting story which cannot be dealt with here.

Nor were the Welsh poets silent—Katheryn's praises were recited by Simwnt Fychan, Sion Phylip, William Cynwal, Sion Tudur, Huw Machno, Morus Berwyn, Rhisiart Phylip, Robert Ifan, Edward ap Raph, and others.

Many of these elegies are to be found in the Christ Church manuscript, and in various manuscripts in the National Library. The following is one example:—

*Cowydd marwnad am meistres Catrin Tudur, o waith
Simwnt Fychan.*

Gwae lu pann dywylllo gwlad
gwael yw heb i goleuad
kwyn oer dig fal kynnar dwyll
kennym, ddiffoddiad kannwyll
duw hoff weddi diffoddes
doe gannwyll aur, dug yn lles
yr honn gannwyll aur hynod
oedd wraic lân yn heuddu'r glod
bwriwyd Aeres llys berain
bur ddoe 'mysc manbridd a main.

¹ By the courtesy of the Librarian and Trustees a photostat copy is in the National Library of Wales.

Teg i feirdd tew gyfyreddynt
trin gwin mastres Catrin gynt.
Ofer i wann kwynfann kur
west wedi Aeres dudur
wyr a phennes ar ffynnu
irlan Robart fychan fu
Aeres gynt a roes y gwin
Ai haelwyd ar dir heilin
Ar ol Aeres Syr Rolant
felyfel tric oerfel trwy gant.
bu iddi 'mysc budd a mawl
bedwar o wyr gwybodawl
pedwar post heb annostec
pedwar angel tawel têt
Or kyntaf adroddaf draw
Aer y ssydd, hiroes iddaw
Ai haer fal y mynnai hi
yw lluniaidd Aer lleweni
Aer Sion ai'n uwch ris no neb
wyr marchoc enwoc wyneb.
Arall Sion, a merch iarll ssydd
yn unair fal glan winwydd.
Trydydd Sion at aur adail
lleweni dêc ai llwyn dail
Sion aur galonn i gelwir
Syr Sion i kroessawo'r ssir
yn lleweni ai llannerch
y bu dri Syrr byw drwy sserch
A Sion at faes yntau fydd
eb daring yn bedwerydd
koffr y gwir, kaiff hir gariad
kymro a ludd, kam ir wlad.
Y mae merch gywirsserch gall
yn wyr, o fab gwynn arall
i gatrinn llin darlleinynt
or ail gwr ssynlwyrol gynt
klowch o rissart klwch rassol
kawn had a dykio'n i hól
dwy aeres hynod eirwir
draw yn dal dwyrann o dir
Ann a chalonn wych helaeth
aur gost i fachegraic aeth
Mari nyffrynn harddwynn hir
Melai yno i moliennir.
Or trydydd gŵr at rediad
i Gatrinn gwydd gwin a gâd
da gynnyrch dau eginynn
fry ssy imp o Vorys Wynn

Edwart gwynn, draw at y gwir
 a ddewissant drwy ddwyssir
 A Sian or grymus winwydd
 ymhlâs y ward ai mawl ssydd
 yn briod un wennbur dâl
 a theilwng aer o Thelwal
 dyna hardd flodau'n i hol
 o dri gwr da ragorol
 pedwerydd aur winwydd ryw
 y ssydd alarus heddyw
 I mastr Edwart friwddart fraw
 thelwal y mae gwaith wylaw
 plas y ward koel iownwad klêr
 poenus fu gwympo i hanner
 Or ty hwnn, gwae'n nassiwn ni
 y tynnwyd plaid daioni
 Ni thynnir, gwae'n iaith ennyd
 bath honn o burion y byd
 kwyn oedd anap kan ddynion
 kwyn blwng wrth gynhebrwng honn
 O lann ynys, felys fawl
 i lann ufudd, le nefawl
 fry i wynn dŷ fair wenn dwyn
 iw gwyddfa y wraic addfwyn
 Tenantiaid truanniaid draw
 Tylwyth, doeth arnynt wylaw
 pob nai, pob nith chwith fu'r chwedl
 pybyr gwyn, pawb o'r genedl.
 Oedran oedd, drwy iawn addef
 y gwynn wr ai dug i nef
 wythgant a sseithgant dann ssel
 naw dēg, ac un diogel
 I dylwyth hyd bryd elawr
 duw fyth y mae adwy fawr
 I sswydd gynt, kwrs hawdd a gaid
 ai rhinwedd, rhoi i weiniaid
 Graslawn hoff uniawn ffynnu
 goludawc kyfoethawc fu
 Oi theilwng gyfoeth helaeth
 at duw ir nef katrin aeth.

N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 121.

Rhisiart Phylip in his elegy praises greatly Katheryn's generosity :—

Pob noeth fo wyr pawb i nad
 a ddiwallodd o ddillad.

Ni bu ddyn a newyn awr
wrth i drws ddiwarth dryssawr
Na chafodd iawn i chofiaw
ginio'n wir ddigon i naw.¹

Christ Church MS., p. 195.

Surely that is an all-sufficient monument to a loveable and gracious lady.

It has been observed that although the first Lord Herbert of Cherbury resided for a time at Plás y Ward he makes no mention of Katheryn in his *Autobiography*. He was sent when nine years of age to learn Welsh from Edward Thelwall. This was about the year 1592, when Katheryn had been dead at least a year, and it is not surprising that, writing many years later, his recollection of his residence with Edward Thelwall contains no reference to her.

THE PORTRAITS.

Of the four reputed portraits two only can be accepted as being genuine, the Rhiwlas and the Llewesog paintings. With the kind permission of the owners the four paintings have been photographed, and are reproduced.

The late Mr. James D. Milner, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, made a careful study of the four as far as this was possible from photographs; his illness and much regretted death prevented the visit to examine the originals which we had planned. He, however, made the notes which follow:—

“ With regard to the four portraits said to represent Catherine of Berain which you now have on exhibition.

1. The youthful painting of 17 or 20.

¹ Every naked one (his wail is known to all) she fully supplied with clothing. Never was there a hungry man at her door (irreproachable treasure) who did not truly receive a dinner sufficient for nine (it is right that she should be remembered).

2. The middle aged lady dated 1568.
3. The elderly lady *c.* 55 or 60.
4. The young lady dated 1632.

I must say that anatomically they are irreconcilable and cannot possibly represent the same lady at any period of her life.

Careful examination of the excellent photographs you sent disclose such differences in the features, such a variation in the bony construction, that no serious student of portrait-anatomy would dare pronounce all four ladies to be the same person painted by different artists and at different ages.

Let us examine the photographs in detail.

1. (Rhiwlas). Although the costume looks correct for the period 1550-5 it was very un-English for such heavy gold chains to be worn round the neck: the painting suggests a much later date and the crackleur of the paint in the background rather supports this suggestion. I must see the original before I commit myself further.

2. (Llewesog). This painting, dated 1568, was probably executed in Flanders while she was the wife of Richard Clough and resident in Antwerp. The work is decidedly Flemish in technique and the head, judging from the larger of the two photographs, beautifully modelled. Besides, her age when this portrait was done, viz. 34, is exactly right. In my opinion this is a very fine portrait and probably the only authentic one of the first three, for the fourth is quite out of the question. (The inscription is ANO DNI 1568 Catherine Tudor of Beren).

3. (Wigfair). This portrait as far as the lady's age is concerned might well be correct, but I think that the details of costume rather suggest a later date than

1591, the year of her death: besides, I doubt if the practice of painting the subject within an oval spandril was in vogue quite so early. The portrait suggests the technique of early 17th century rather than that of the last decade of the 16th. There is a *faint, very faint* possibility of reconciling the features of Nos. 1 and 3, but none whatever of agreement between Nos. 2 and 3.

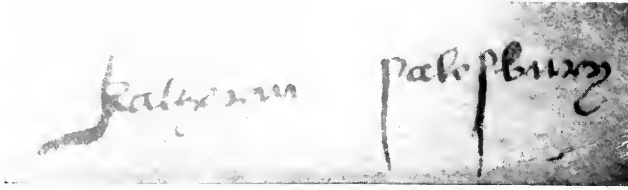
4. (Cae-gwyn). This portrait which is dated 1632 and signed Gilbert Jack is painted by the well-known artist Gilbert Jackson, whose signature appeared in various forms such as "Gil Jack", "Gilbert Jack", "Gilbert Jackson". It is a fine specimen of his work. I cannot quite see from the photograph the age of the sitter or even the artist's signature, but I recognise his writing in *Ætatis suae 1632*. (The inscription is *Ætatis suae 39, 1632—Gilbert Jack pinxit 1632*).

No. 4 is a portrait of Catherine, daughter of Sir William Jones of Castlemarch and wife of Robert Morgan of whom there is a portrait by the same artist at Caegwyn. The Welsh hat is of importance as an illustration of a Welsh lady's hat as worn in the seventeenth century. The tall beaver hat usually accepted as being typically Welsh was introduced into Wales in the eighteenth century. The late Principal Davies called attention to a Welsh ballad, 1778, referring to its introduction.¹

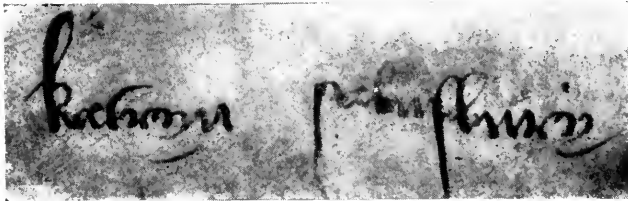
Sir Lionel Cust, K.C.V.O., to whom the photographs of Nos. 1 and 2 were sent with a copy of Mr. Milner's notes, writes:—"The two portraits of which you have sent photographs can represent the same person. The one with the gold chain looks like a French portrait, and possibly much repainted. The larger portrait is a genuine painting of the date, 1568".

¹ *Bibliography of Welsh Ballads*, No. 304.

PLATE 5.



1.—Katherin Salesbury. 1566, July 12



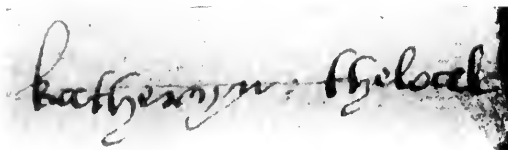
2.—Kathryn Salesbury. 1566, August 15.



3.—Katheryn Wynn. 1576/7, February 24.



4.—Katheryn Wynne. 1580/1, March 8.



5.—Katheryn Thelock. 1585, October 29.

Autographs of Katheryn of Berain.

To face p. 41.

picture's movements prior to its settlement in the house where it is now carefully preserved. The story can only be clearly understood when further details with regard to the replicas of the picture are available.

AUTOGRAPHS.

The five signatures reproduced (Plate 5) represent the only known autographs of Katheryn. The first two vary in the spelling of her christian name though written within five weeks of each other. Later she appears to have stabilized her name as Katheryn, and that form has been followed in this paper. There is a similar variation in the spelling of Wynn and Wynne. The Gwydir family usually wrote Wynn, but there was not a fixed spelling. The letter of February, 1577, is addressed to John Wynne (by Thomas Brooke) but Katheryn signs Wynn. No autograph with the Clough surname has been found, and there is no known writing in Katheryn's hand beyond the signatures.

KATHERYN'S DESCENDANTS.

Katheryn has long been familiarly known as "Mam Cymru", because of the numerous families who claim to be descended from her, on account of the royal blood in her veins. The number of alliances of herself and her children with leading families is remarkable. This is illustrated to a certain extent by the four tables appended: these are based on tables compiled and kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. R. D. Roberts of Bethesda.

The story of Sir John Salusbury, the poet, who was a contemporary of, and may even have known, Shakespeare, has been told by Professor Carleton Brown.

The history of Hester Lynch Salusbury, the wife of Thrale the brewer and afterwards of Piozzi the musician,

and the friend of Dr. Johnson, bulks large in the literature of her time.

The marriages which took the Llewenni estates to the Cottons of Combermere Abbey, and which brought the Wynnstay properties to descendants of Katheryn, are to be traced in the pedigree tables as here printed.

To follow the many interesting side tracks opened up by the story of Katheryn of Berain would lead far afield. Our purpose has been to recover as far as possible the personal history of this famous lady.

KATHERYN OF BERAIN AND SOME OF HER DESCENDANTS.

ARMS OF BERAIN.

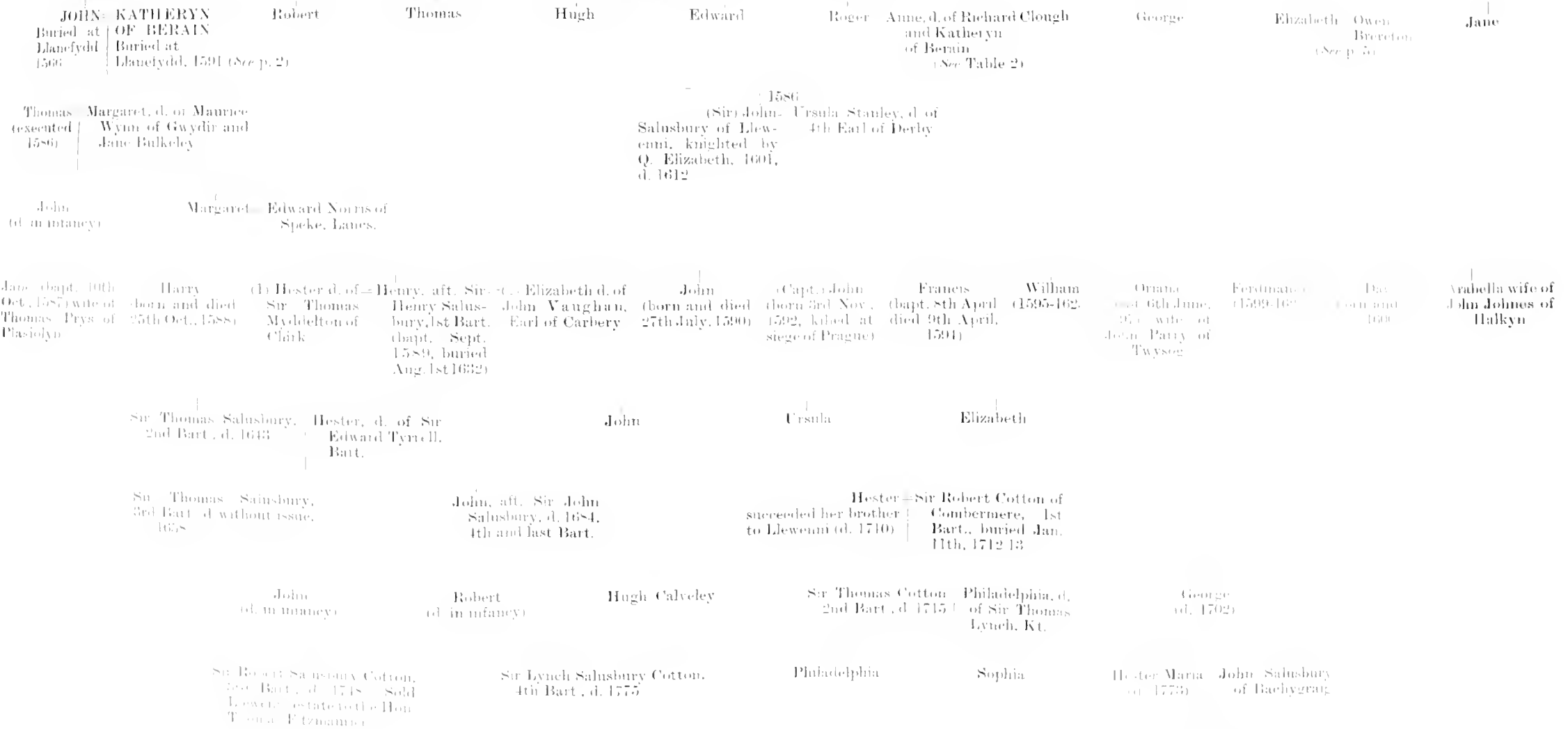
Gules, a lion rampant, or, armed, azure.

ARMS OF SALUSBURY

Gules, a lion rampant, or, ducally crowned, or, between three crescents, of the last

TABLE I—1st MARRIAGE.

Sir John Salusbury,=Jane Myddelton, d. of Chamberlain of North Wales, d. 1577/8 David Myddelton, of Chester



(1) Hester Lynch (2) Gabriel Proze (See Table 2)

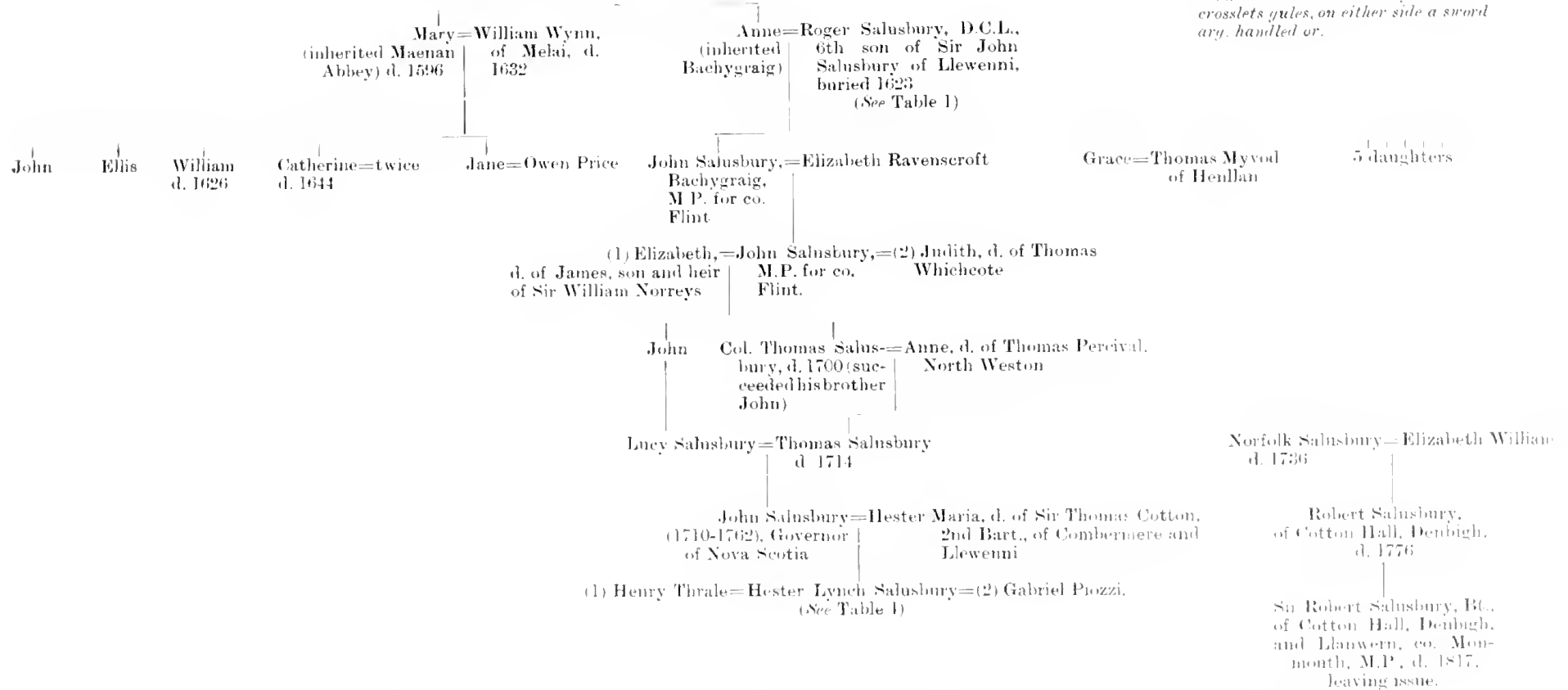
TABLE II.—2nd MARRIAGE.

1567
 (1) Catherine Muldert,=RICHARD CLOUGH=(2) KATHERYN OF BERAIN
 of Antwerp Knight of the Holy
 Sepulchre. d. 1570

From this marriage was descended
 Arthur Hugh Clough, the poet

ARMS OF CLOUGH.

Quarterly; 1st and 4th azure, a greyhound's head, couped argent between three mascles of the last. 2nd and 3rd or, a lion passant azure crowned: on a chief of the last, a Jerusalem-cross between four cross crosslets gules, on either side a sword arg. handled or.



Mrs. Piozzi left Bachygraig and Brynbella to her second husband's family, of whom was Sir John Salusbury Piozzi-Salusbury, Kt., of Brynbella (1793-1858), 2nd son of Sig. Giambattista Piozzi, of Brescia, whose descendants bear the name and arms of Salusbury

ARMS OF WYNS
Vert, three eagles, displayed
in fesse, or

TABLE III.—3rd MARRIAGE

MAURICE WYNS = KATHERYN OF BERAIN
of Gwydir

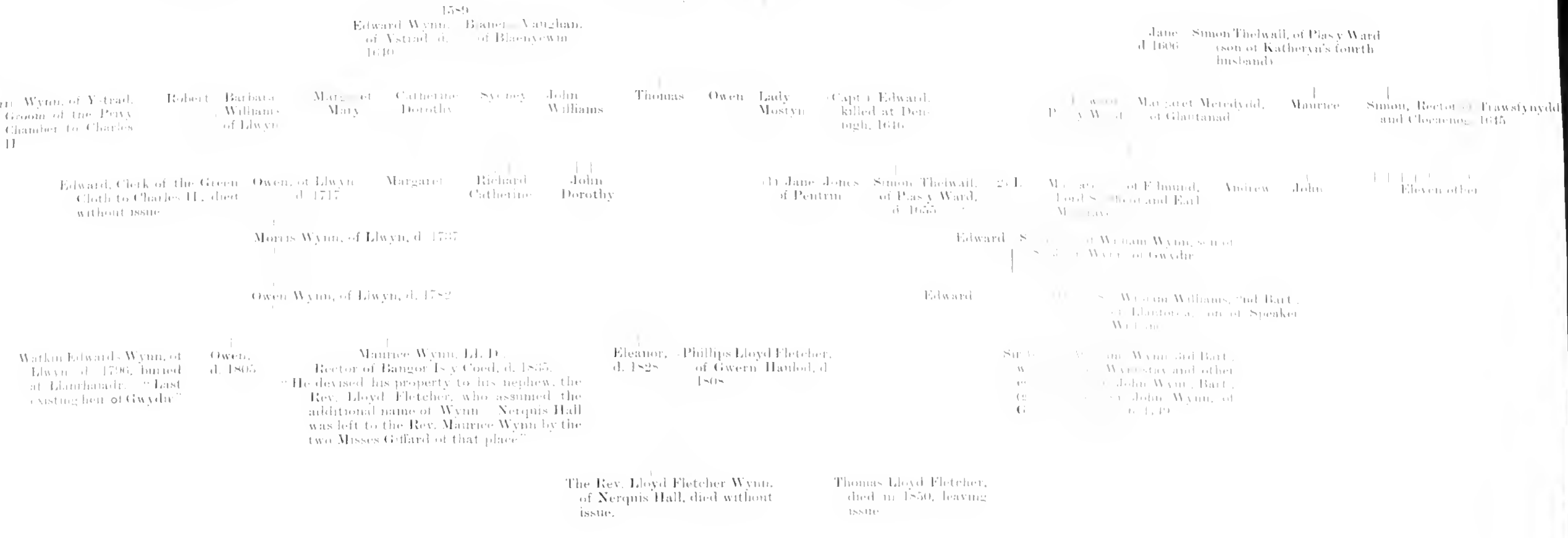


TABLE IV.—4th MARRIAGE

EDWARD THELWALL = KATHERYN OF BERAIN
of Plas y Ward, d. 1610

No issue.

ARMS OF THELWALL
Gules, on a chevron or, between three bears' heads, arg., three trefoils sable.

The Ecclesiology of Anglesey.

BY THE REV. E. TYRRELL-GREEN, M.A.,

Author of "The Church Architecture of Wales", "Baptismal Fonts"
(S.P.C.K., 1928), &c.

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[The illustrations are from drawings made by the writer expressly for this work, with the following exceptions:—No. 4 is from a photograph kindly supplied by the Vicar of Llangeinwen. Nos. 31, 33 and 34 have already appeared in my paper on *Welsh Fonts* (*Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1918-9). For permission to reproduce Nos. 30 and 32 I am indebted to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the publishers of my book on *Baptismal Fonts* (1928), whose courtesy in this matter I wish to acknowledge.—*E. T. G.*]

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

ABOUT an island there is always an attraction. Apart from picturesque glimpses of sea or shore, of rock-girt cliff or sandy bay, which charm the eye at frequent intervals, there is a subtle sense of definiteness or finality which imparts a feeling of satisfaction to the undertaking of an island's exploration. Attaching to the study of such an isle as Anglesey, teeming with the associations of a dim and remote past, there is the further appeal of romance and mystery, for were not this Mona and its sister-isle, the still more sea-girt Mona to the north, long connected in men's minds with the fabled Fortunate Isles of the western seas?¹ Then, leaving legends and dreams for the

¹ Rowlands treated of these legends in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (1723).

dawn of history, we recall how the Archdruid of all Britain had in Môn his sanctuary, so that from it the most powerful influences of life radiated over the whole land.

Our present interest, however, is centred not upon Cromlech or Maenhir or stone-built *cytiau*, that present their problems to the student of human civilisation in its earliest forms and aspects, but we are concerned with those structures which from the first preaching of the Gospel to our forefathers have borne their witness, through all the conflicts and changes of the centuries, that the land is claimed for Christ.

The successive waves of conquest that have passed over Britain have, however, left comparatively little trace in Anglesey, and owing to its insular and remote situation the island has been to a large extent immune from foreign influence, remaining conservative of its customs, language and types of structures alike domestic and ecclesiastical.

When the Roman legions penetrated to the western shores of Britain, Segontium (Carnarvon) became at once the bulwark and the nucleus of the distant outpost of the far-flung Empire. From Segontium Anglesey was easily overawed and there are records of "invasions" of the island under Suetonius in A.D. 58, and twenty years later under Julius Agricola.¹ In the ninth century an invasion by the Saxon King Egbert left at least one permanent trace behind it, for it resulted in the name of Anglesey which has persisted in geography as the title of the island. The Norman power made itself felt in Anglesey under Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, in 1098, and a characteristic "keep" was reared at Aber Ileinawg near Penmon.²

¹ Bezant Lowe, *The Heart of Northern Wales*, Vol. I, pp. 123, 124.

² This is fully described by Bezant Lowe, *The Heart of Northern Wales*, Vol. II, pp. 218–226.

Then, in the thirteenth century, came the fully developed mediæval stronghold of Beaumaris, a link in the chain of fortresses extending from Flint and Rhuddlan, through Conway and Carnarvon to Criccieth and Harlech, whose mighty ruins, formidable of aspect even in their decay, remain as evidence of the Edwardian hold on Northern Wales.

But these successive "conquests" were, for Anglesey, even more than for North Wales in general, more or less transient in their effects upon the life of the people, so that "the isle of the English" is a misnomer for a region that has remained consistently Welsh in sentiment and language, and the designation *Môn Mam Cymru*¹ strikes a truer note. The Norman church of Penmon Priory in its planning and its details stands in sharp contrast with the prevailing type of native sanctuary, and the castle of Edward I at Beaumaris on the fringe of the island was only an outpost of an English king on the border of a district unsubdued.

II.—CHURCHES OF THE NATIVE CELTIC PLAN.

To whatever preachers of the Gospel, Apostolic or sub-Apostolic, the first coming of Christianity to this land may be assigned, we may regard it as established that our religion was widely disseminated in Britain through the work of Celtic missionaries who were connected with Ireland and Gaul. The names of Patrick, Columba, and Aidan are familiar to all readers of English history in this connexion, and in many a church dedication or parochial name in Anglesey, as in Wales generally, there are still preserved for us the names of the founders of the first Christian sanctuaries in the island, such as St. Seiriol, Llaniestyn, Llandegfan, Llanffinan, Llandyssilio, Llan-

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium*, II, vii.

ddeiniol-Fab, Llanbadrig, and Llanelilian.¹ Not until the eighth century do we meet with church dedications in our more modern sense of the term, when we find churches called after St. Michael (Llanfihangel)—the Warrior Archangel,² as though to mark a fresh victory of the light of the Gospel over the powers of heathen darkness. Still later with the spread of Latin influence and the coming of the Cistercian monks did churchmen in Wales follow the Western custom of dedicating churches in the names of Biblical saints, especially of our Lady and the Apostles, giving rise to such names as Llanfair and Llanbedr.³

The method of the early Celtic missionaries was to work a mainland from adjacent islands. Columba crossed from Ireland to Iona, Aidan from Iona to Lindisfarne, the Holy Islands forming their stepping-stones in their advance to win the world for Christ. It is interesting to note that in Anglesey we may trace the extension of the like method. Early sanctuaries, from the sixth century onward, were placed on outlying islands at St. Sciriol, at Llandyssilio in the Menai Strait, by St. Cybi on Holyhead island, and at Llangwyfan (Fig. 1) and Llanddwyn on the western shore, just as, farther afield, St. Germans on St. Patrick's isle off the coast of the Isle of Man, Bardsey off Carnarvonshire, Ramsey near St. Davids, and Caldey off the Pembroke coast were all holy islands and centres from which the monastic missionaries worked. In such sanctuaries the devout life was fostered and the spirit kindled which inflamed men for their hazardous

¹ The same custom of calling the churches after the names of the venerated local saints who were their founders obtained in the Celtic districts of Cornwall—where such titles as St. Madron, St. Gwihion and Perranzabuloe mark the sites of early oratories—and Brittany, as such names at St. Pabu, Lanildut and Landudec in Finistère testify.

² Rev. xii, 7.

³ Fisher, *Welsh Church Dedications in the Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1906-7, pp. 91, 94.



1. Llangwyfan.

enterprise as pioneers, and to them the missionaries would return for recuperation or for refuge in times of stress and persecution.¹

Celtic Christianity, being in its origin connected with Gaul, had an Eastern rather than a Western complexion. The churches of the Rhone valley traced their spiritual descent from Ephesus, and the great church at Arles bears the dedication of St. Trophime.² The ancient British Church was accordingly bound by tradition and by inherited custom to the churches of Asia rather than to the primatial see of the West,³ and the structure of its sanctuaries was uninfluenced by the basilican tradition of Rome.

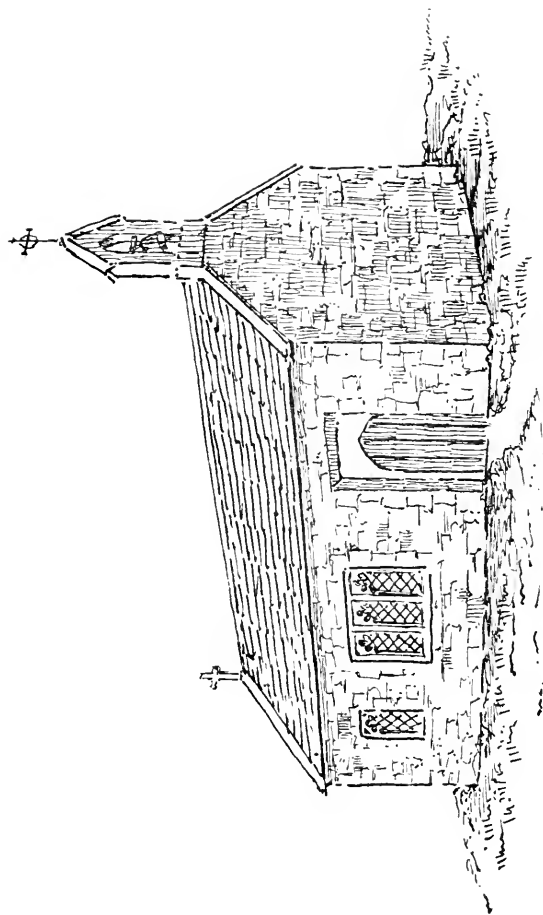
(1) The early oratories of the Celtic missionary saints were simple rectangular chambers, such as may still be seen in Irish examples, and in Cornwall, where there are sufficient remains at Perranzabuloe (exhumed from the sandhills in which they had long been buried), St. Gwithian (lately covered once more by drifting sand), and St. Madron (a well-chapel) to enable us to be sure at least as to their ground plan. To this type the native churches of Anglesey, as of the less accessible parts of Wales in general, remained constant, and the characteristic church of Anglesey is a simple rectangular chamber, in its original form without aisle or chancel, without windows on its northern and western sides, without buttresses, or porch,

¹ Similarly in France outlying islands were early claimed for the Christian faith and became famous as monastic houses, such as Mont-St.-Michel in the north, Noirmoutier on the Biscay shore, and Lerins in the Mediterranean.

² i.e.: Trophimus the Ephesian, a travelling companion of St. Paul. Acts xx, 4; xxi, 29.

³ The argument of Colman at the Synod of Whitby (A.D. 664) shows this. In defending British ecclesiastical tradition Colman appealed to the example of the Apostle St. John, who spent his later years at Ephesus. Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, III, xxv.

and without any structure to contain a bell. The illustration of Llanfair-yn-Neubwll (Fig. 2) will serve to show a typical Anglesey church as it appears to-day, the windows



2. Llanfair-yn-Neubwll.

of the north side and the bell-gable at the west being after additions to the original form of the building. In area these churches of the early Celtic plan generally cover, approximately, a double square, and, there being no

structural chancel, were divided internally by a screen separating the nave occupied by the congregation from the sanctuary with its altar, where the priest offered the Holy Sacrifice out of sight of the people, just as in the churches of the East the solid partition of the iconostasis divides the ritual chancel from the body of the church.

This primitive single-chamber plan is still seen in the following Anglesey churches, though in no case does the actual structure go back to the primitive days of the early Celtic church :—

Bodedern.	Llanfaethlu.
Bodwrog.	Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmwd.
Cerrigeeinwen.	Llanfair-yn-Neubwll.
Coedana.	Llanfihangel-Tre'r-Beirdd.
Gwredog.	Llanfihangel-yn-Nhywyn.
Llanbabo.	Llanfflewin.
Llanbadrig.	Llanfwrog.
Llandrygarn.	Llangwyllog.
Llandyssilio.	Llechylched.
Llanddeiniol-Fab.	Penrhos Lligwy.
Llanddeusant.	Rhosbeirio.
Llanynghenedl.	Rhoscolyn.
Llanfachreth.	Tregaian.

In some cases churches which formerly exhibited the single-chamber plan have been rebuilt out of all recognition in recent times, as at Llanedwen, Llangaffo and Llanwenllwyfo.

The entrance to churches of this primitive plan is by a lateral doorway, generally in the south side of the structure, but occasionally the doorway is set on the north side, as at Llandyssilio and Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmwd, and in some instances there are both north and south doors, as at Llanddeusant, Llandrygarn, Llanfachreth and Llechylched, while in some churches, as at Llanfair-yn-Neubwll

and Llanfihangel-yn-Nhywyn, which now have only a north door, there are traces of an original south door which has been blocked up. While the south side of a church was preferred, other things being equal, for the doorway, as being the warm and sunny side, the entrance was made on the north side if the exigences of the site demanded that position, or in cases where the congregation would naturally approach the church from that side, the placing of the doorway on the north side is thus accounted for in such a case as Llandyssilio, as well as its retention in preference to the south door which was scarcely used at Llanfair-yn-Neubwll and Llanfihangel-yn-Nhywyn.

It is interesting to note that not only the Welsh churches of early type of planning, but the parochial churches of England and Wales in general, throughout all subsequent developments of mediæval architecture, remained faithful to two characteristic features which we have remarked in these Anglesey churches as Celtic features, viz., the rectangular east end and the lateral entrance, as distinct from the apse¹ and the western portal. These last are features of the Roman basilica plan, and became usual in Continental Romanesque architecture, whence they were derived by the great Gothic church builders of Western Europe generally.

(2) We have next to notice some

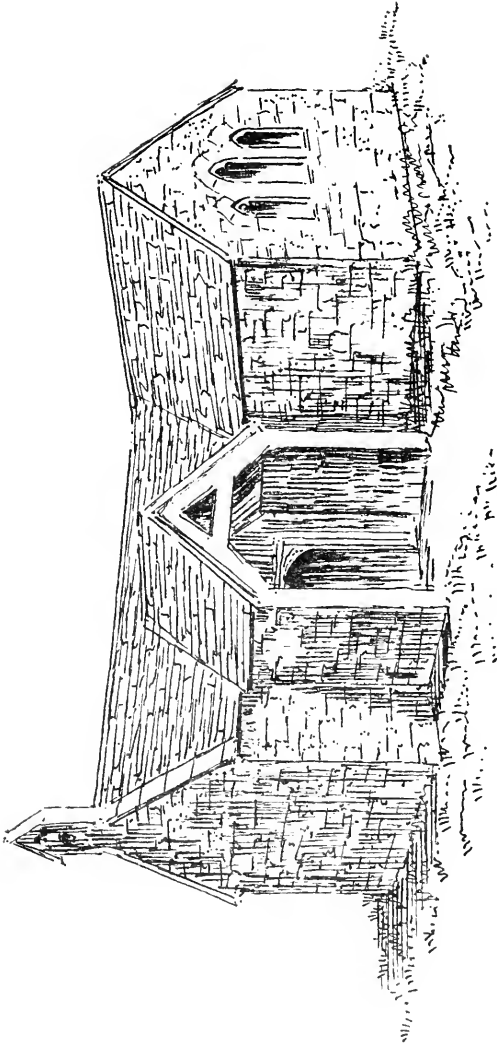
MORE OR LESS REGULAR ADDITIONS TO THE
PRIMITIVE CELTIC PLAN.

(A) *Porches.*

The original churches do not seem to have had porches.

¹ See my paper on *The Church Architecture of Wales* in the *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1916-7. The church of Llanfair-pwllgwyngyll is exceptional amongst the old churches of Wales in having an apse. The present building is a nineteenth-century restoration, partly on the site of the old church, which seems to have had an apse (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, I, ii, 170).

and many of them still have none. Convenience, however, naturally dictated the addition of some covered shelter at



3. Llanfestyn.

the entrance doorway, especially in view of the fact that in the Middle Ages the doorway, with its suggestive sym-

bolism, played its part in the ceremonial of the church, the preparatory portion of the Baptismal service being performed, for example, at the church door, the aspect of the sacrament as the entrance to the mystical Body of Christ being thus appropriately typified. A south porch is therefore not an uncommon addition to a simple rectangular church, and we have examples (some of them modernised) at Bodedern, Cerrigeeinwen, Llanddyfnan, Llanbadrig, and Llanddeiniol-Fab. In construction the early porches were rude and simple, consisting of plain stone walls, with, at the outer entrance, massive timber uprights supporting the timbered front of a gabled roof. A typical instance of such porch may be seen in the south porch at Llaniestyn (Fig. 3).

(B) *Belfries.*

It is somewhat difficult to determine the date when large bells first came to be used by the Christian Church. If the tradition which ascribes their invention to Paulinus of Nola in Campania¹ may be trusted, the origin of bells would reach back to about 400 A.D., but there is no definite evidence as to their use for about a century after that time. In our own country, according to Eddius the biographer of Wifrid, there were bell-towers belonging to the seventh-century church at Hexham, and the Venerable Bede makes allusion to the passing-bell as a customary feature of the monastic life at Whitby in a story which he tells in connexion with the death of St. Hilda (680 A.D.).²

¹ The late Latin word *campana* for a bell, whence the Italian *campanile* for a bell-tower, seems to imply a Campanian origin.

² “The same night it pleased Almighty God by a manifest vision to make known her death in another monastery at a distance from hers, which she had built that year and is called Hackness. There was in that monastery a certain nun named Begu, who, having dedicated her virginity to God, had served him upwards of

The bells used in the early days of British Christianity, however, were small handbells which served as calls of the community to prayer, and as passing-bells to invite the faithful to supplication for the soul of the departed.¹ Such handbells, being objects used by the saintly founders of churches in the exercise of their sacred functions, were regarded with the same kind of veneration as corporeal relics and came to be carefully treasured in reliquaries. Giraldus Cambrensis tells of the great reverence paid to such personal belongings of the Celtic saints,² and makes mention in particular of the pastoral staff of St. Curig at St. Harmons (happily still preserved), the handbell of St. David,³ and the horn of St. Patrick.⁴ Romilly Allen considered that ecclesiastical handbells of this kind originated in Ireland, and that their use spread thence to Scotland, Britain, Brittany, France,⁵ and Switzerland.⁶ St. Patrick's bell is preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and the model of its shrine or reliquary made in the eleventh century of brass set with crystals and jewels will be familiar to visitors to the South Kens-

thirty years in the monastic life. This nun, being in the dormitory of the sisters, heard suddenly the well-known sound of a bell in the air, which used to awake them and call them to prayer, when any one of them had been taken out of this world." *Hist. Eccles.*, IV, xxi.

¹ In this connexion it is worthy of note that a handbell still figures prominently in the University of Oxford at an academic funeral, when the procession is headed by the University bell-man, who sounds his bell at intervals en route.

² "Campanas namque bajulas, baculos quoque in superiori parte cameratos, auro et argento vel aere contactos, aliasque hujusmodi sanctorum reliquias, in magna reverentia tam Hiberniae et Scotiae, quam et Gwalliae populus et clerus habere solent: adeo ut sacramenta super haec longe magis quam super evangelia et praestare vereantur et pejerare." *Itinerarium*, I, 2.

³ *Itinerarium*, I, 1.

⁴ *Itinerarium*, I, 2.

⁵ An early bell is kept at Noyon.

⁶ In this country is the well-known four-sided bell of St. Gall dating from the middle of the seventh century.

ington Museum. Examples of handbells still remain in Wales at Llanrhyddlad (Anglesey), Dolwyddelan and Llangwnadl (Carnarvonshire).¹

Thus in the primitive Celtic churches there was no call for any structural provision for a bell,² but as the use of a larger hanging bell to call men to worship became general, the erection of some kind of structure for its accommodation was rendered necessary, and it was customary to set above the west wall of the church a small portion of walling terminating in a gable, and within an opening in this the bell was hung in such a way that it might swing at once freely and with safety. Thus the western bell-gable for one bell—or occasionally with openings for two,³ or even for three bells⁴—naturally took its place as a regular feature of the typical native Welsh church, and is constant in Anglesey examples.

(3) Extraneous influence and the march of historical events contributed in turn at later periods to

OCCASIONAL ADDITIONS TO THE NATIVE CHURCH PLAN.

(A) *Chancels.*

The native church plan of a single chamber with bell-gable and sometimes with a lateral porch appears to have been continued without change until towards the close of the thirteenth century. From that time onward, during the fourteenth century, when the ancient British Church had, with the English Church, become absorbed into the

¹ In this category should also be included the bells of Llangwstenin (Carnarvonshire) (in the Powysland Museum, Welshpool) and Llanrwst (Denbighshire) (in the Gwydir chapel of the church). See Bezant Lowe, *The Heart of Northern Wales*, Vol. I, pp. 396. et seqq.

² The original (southern) part of the double-nave church at Llanrhychwyn (Carnarvonshire) is still without any feature of this kind.

³ As at Llanidan, Newborough and Penmynydd (Anglesey).

⁴ As at Llangadwaladr (Anglesey).

Church of the West, so as to come more directly under Latin influence, a chancel as a distinct rectangular chamber to the east of the nave, which had been a regular feature of Western Church architecture, appears as an addition to the earlier Celtic plan. Amongst other influences the coming of the Cistercian Order to Wales must have been a potent one in bringing the Welsh churches more into line with the Church of the West in general.¹ The Cistercians were, from the twelfth century onwards, by far the most popular and influential in Wales of all the monastic Orders, and to them belonged nearly all the great Abbeys of the country.² The Order, too, was peculiarly fitted to help in the bringing of the Welsh Church into closer conformity with Western usage, alike in its rites and in externals, such as architectural features, because of its intimate connection with Welsh life. The Cistercian monks specially devoted themselves to the pursuit of agriculture and the development of local industries and natural resources, so that they came into close contact with the people of the land. Many houses of the Order were foundations of native Welsh princes, with the result that many Welshmen entered them and they became largely identified with national feeling and national causes.³

Examples in Anglesey of simple rectangular churches with chancel occur at :—

¹ The prevalence of the name Llanfair, indicating a church dedication in honour of the Blessed Virgin, in the thirteenth century may be taken as an indication of Cistercian influence, the churches of the Order having uniformly this dedication.

² Abbey-Cwm-Hir, Aberconway, Cymmer, Margam, Neath, Strata Florida, Strata Marcella, Tintern, Valle Crucis and Whitland were all Cistercian houses.

³ On the Cistercians in Wales see further *The Church Architecture of Wales* in the *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1916-7, pp. 81—85.

Llanfair-Mathafarn-Eithaf.	Llanerchymedd.
Llanfair-Pwll-Gwyngyll.	Llanfechell.
Llanfihangel-Dinsilwy.	Llangristiolus.
Llandyfrydog.	Tal-y-Llyn.
Llaneilian.	

Some of these have been rebuilt, as Llaneilian (in the fifteenth century) and Llanerchymedd (in recent times), but approximately on the old foundations.

(B) *Lateral Chapels.*

From the early days of British Christianity down to the fourteenth century the native church plan in Wales suffered no radical change, but underwent only such slight modifications as have been already noted. The country itself was so much disturbed by internecine feuds that Welshmen had little opportunity or inclination for the practice of any but the elementary and necessary arts of life, and by intermittent strife with powerful English neighbours the country was so cut off from the influences of Western Christendom that the great Gothic development of architecture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had only occasional and sporadic effects in Wales. Then with the opening of the fifteenth century began a period of utter misery which clouded nigh upon a hundred years with disastrous results, when Owain Glyndwr raised his dragon standard with its accompaniment of flaming torches and glittering spears, and left a track of desolation even more ruthless than mediæval ethics approved.¹

¹ In popular story the birth of Owain Glyndwr was heralded by fitting portents:—

. . . . "At my nativity
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
Of burning cressets; and at my birth
The frame and huge foundation of the earth
Shak'd like a coward."

(Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Sc. 1.) In Wales the

Great Abbeys did not escape the general ruin for Abbey-Cwm Hir felt Owain's pitiless hand, and Strata Florida was burnt in no less ruthless revenge by the English king for its support of Glyndwr. From end to end, except in Anglesey,¹ the peninsula of Lleyn and western Pembrokeshire, Wales lay bleeding and desolate, and in the survey of old Leland, made about a century later, such phrases as "deffour'd by Glindour", "defayced by Owain Glindour", "the ruin is ascribed to Owain Glindour" occur like a refrain. The feeling of those who were involved in the ruin resultant upon Owain's red ravage is reflected in the old lines:—

While quarrels' rage did nourish ruinous rack,
And Owen Glendore set bloodie broils abroach,
Full many a town was spoyled and put to sack
And clear consumed to countries' foul reproach.
Great castles razed, fair buildings burnt to dust,
Such revel reigned that men did live by lust.

But in the last quarter of the fifteenth century this dark time of desolation and depopulation was succeeded by a period of unprecedented peace and prosperity for Wales. The accession of Henry VII, the grandson of Owen Tudor of Penmynydd in Anglesey, added to the fact that he landed in Wales, and was accompanied by a growing force of his fellow-countrymen in his progress to the victory of Bosworth field, really reconciled the Welsh to union with the Saxon. With a Tudor on the throne of united England and Wales began an era of settlement and

story was told that at Owain's birth the horses of Gruffydd Vychan his father were found standing in their stables up to their fetlocks in blood.

¹ Many of Glyndwr's soldiers, headed by the Tudors of Penmynydd, came from Anglesey, and about 2,000 of its inhabitants were in arms towards the close of his wars, but no fighting seems to have taken place in the island during the whole of his stormy career.

content at home with peace upon the border-land. For increasing congregations more space was required in the small Welsh churches which had remained constant to the early type.

In the later half of the fifteenth century and in the earlier part of the sixteenth another cause also contributed to the extension of church fabrics. The period was marked by a special increase of devotion to our Lady,¹ and a second altar was required for the due expression of this devotion—a Lady Chapel must be built.²

This two-fold need was met in Northern Wales by the addition of a lateral chapel to the original structure, and some Anglesey churches afford good examples of such late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century chapels. These are in most cases gabled so that the roof-ridge runs at right-angles to that of the original church, and thus they have in an exterior view the appearance of transepts, as seen in the illustration of Llaniestyn (Fig. 3). They are set, as a rule, so that their east wall is flush, or nearly so, with the east wall of the main structure, and generally have an east window almost as large as that of the original church. Occasionally, as at Gwalchmai, a lateral chapel is gabled east and west, so that the ridge of its roof is parallel to that of the original church, giving the appearance externally of a short added aisle.

South chapels have been added in this way to the churches at Llanbeulan, Llanfair-yn-Nghornwy, Llan-

¹ This is noted, with illustrative quotations, by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis in his paper on "*Welsh Catholic Poetry in the Fifteenth century*," *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1911-2, pp. 24, 25, and by Dr. Hartwell Jones in *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement*, pp. 355 et seqq.

² Similarly in the period just before the Reformation many additional altars were erected in English parish churches, though an extension of the fabric was seldom necessary, the aisles affording the requisite space.

iestyn, Llantrisant, Llecheynfarwy, Pentraeth and Trefdraeth.

North chapels occur at Bodwryd, Gwalchmai, Llanegrad, Llangeinwen,¹ Llansadwrn,² Penmynydd and Llanrhwydrus.

In some cases chapels were thrown out to north and south, giving an appearance of cruciform plan to the whole building, as at Llanallgo, Llandegfan, Llanddona, Llanfihangel Ysceifiog and Llangadwaladr.

In adjacent Carnarvonshire the old churches received similar treatment at the same period, a south chapel being added at Caer-Hûn, Capel Curig, Dolwyddelan, Llanbedry-Cennin and Llanfaglan, while Llangelynin has received the addition of a north chapel. Chapels both on the north and south occur at Gyffin, Llanberis, Llanaelhaiarn, Llanfihangel-yn-Rûg and Llanllyfni.³

Sometimes the added lateral chapel was so large in its dimensions as to become a second and parallel nave, divided from the original structure by a range of pillars and arches running along the centre of the completed building. Examples of this double-nave plan occur in Anglesey at Aberffraw and Llanidan (the latter now in ruins), and the like arrangement appears also in Carnarvonshire at Aberdaron, Llanengan, Llaniestyn, Llanrhychwyn and Trefriw. But the type found especial favour in Denbigh and Flint which afford many instances

¹ The illustration of Llangeinwen (Fig. 4) shows an unrestored Anglesey interior. The roof-timbers were in an advanced state of decay, and the church is now being renovated under the expert supervision of Mr. Harold Hughes of Bangor.

² Rebuilt in recent times out of recognition.

³ These Carnarvonshire churches have been well described by Harold Hughes and Herbert L. North in "*The Old Churches of Snowdonia*." In cases where the chapels are of Post-Reformation date they were not intended for additional altars, but only for extra accommodation. See Herbert L. North "*The Old Churches of Arllechwedd*," pp. 67, 68.



4. Liangeinwen.

To face p. 62.

of it, so that it has come to be regarded as particularly characteristic of the Vale of Clwyd and its neighbourhood.

In Denbighshire we have double-nave churches at :—

Abergele	Llanfair-dyffryn-Clwyd
Chirk	Llanfair-Talhaiarn
Whitchurch by Denbigh	Llanfwrog
Llanarmon-yn-Ial	Llangynhafal
Llandoget	Llan-Nefydd
Llandrillo-yn-Rhos	Llanrhaiadr-yn-Cimmerch
Llandyrnog	Llansilin
Llanelian-yn-Rhos	Llanynys
Llanelidan	Llansannan,

and in Flintshire at :—

Caerwys	Rhuddlan
Cilcain	St. Asaph (parish church)
Hope	Tryddyn.
Llanasa	

III.—FOREIGN WORK.

(1) WORK OF THE NORMAN PERIOD AND STYLE.

At the eastern extremity of Anglesey there flourished from the sixth century onward the monastic settlements of St. Seiriol on Priestholm and Penmon on the adjacent promontory. The two establishments were closely connected in their origin and are generally mentioned together in documents, but priority of foundation should probably be assigned to the island sanctuary on Priestholm, whose founder Seiriol was a firm friend of Cybi of Holyhead. Priestholm like Ynys Enlli (Bardsey) off the extremity of Lleyn, as isles of the saints who laid the foundations of the Christian Church in the land, came to be regarded as specially sacred. Men took refuge in their peaceful seclusion during frequently recurring times of trouble, and the bones of countless pilgrims were laid

there, as in a fitting lodging-place on the spirits' journey to the Isles of the Blest.¹

We gather from the *Brut y Tywysogion* that Penmon was laid waste in 968,² and the earlier buildings there and on Priestholm probably perished in the raid there referred to, for neither at Penmon nor at St. Seiriol is there any structure now remaining which can be assigned to a date earlier than the Norman period, and the two most interesting churches belonging to the closely allied monastic establishments are definitely Norman in character, presenting in their plan a marked contrast to the prevailing Celtic type of Anglesey church. The building of these Norman churches can scarcely have been undertaken during the transient occupation by Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, in the last decade of the eleventh century, but their erection was probably the outcome of the more settled period that ensued upon the retirement of Lupus, when Gruffydd ap Cynan, through the intervention of Magnus of Norway and his Vikings, came into permanent possession of Lupus' fortress at Aber-Lleinawg, and later appointed his son Idwal as Prior of Penmon (1130).

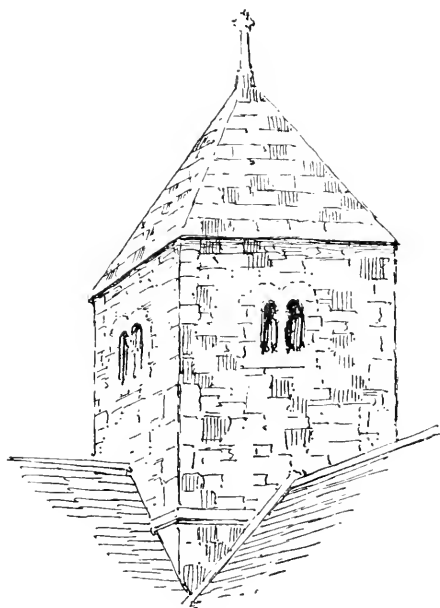
Penmon church is a cruciform structure with central tower, whose original short chancel³ was considerably lengthened, probably in the thirteenth century, and afterwards rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The north tran-

¹ Of Priestholm Giraldus writes: "quam solum eremitae labore manuum viventes et Deo servientes inhabitabant. . . . Insula ecclesiastica, propter copiam sanctorum, quorum ibi corpora jacent," and of Bardsey he says: "in ea, ut fertur, infinita sanctorum sepulta sunt corpora: ibique jacere testantur corpus beati Danielis Banchorensis episcopi." *Itinerarium*, II, vii.

² "In the same year came Makt ab Marallt to Anglesey, and devastated Penmon, which previously was the fairest spot in all Anglesey." *Myfyrian Archaeology*, ii, p. 493.

³ The chancels of Norman churches are frequently an approximate square on the plan, as e.g. at Stewkley (Bucks), St. Mary-de-Lode, Gloucester, Darenth (Kent), and Cassington (Oxon).

sept as we now see it is modern, having been rebuilt upon the old foundations in 1855, but the nave and south transept have retained their characteristic Norman form and features, this transept having an ornamental arcading running round the interior of its south and west walls with the chevron mouldings so commonly employed for the adornment of arches in the style.¹



5. Penmon Tower.

St. Seiriol shows a church built upon the same lines in the main as at Penmon; it has long been a ruin and a cottage has been erected on the site of the south transept, but the foundations alike of the earlier square chancel and of its later extension may be traced.

¹ A miniature arcade was often employed as a decorative feature of the internal wall-surface of an important Norman church, as at Peterborough Cathedral and Stow (Lincs) in the chancel.

Both these churches have a central tower, an arrangement usual for Norman cruciform churches,¹ and not uncommon even where there are no transepts,² and both are finished with a blunt four-sided spire of stone. This is a remarkable feature, for most of the Norman towers of Great Britain have lost their original finish, and in these two Anglesey examples we are enabled to see the characteristic Norman form of tower roofing, akin to the short four-sided spires of stone, though a good deal ruder in their



6. Penmon Tympanum.

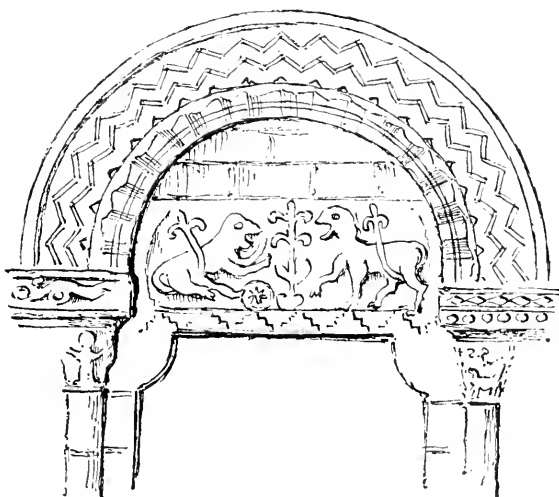
execution, that one comes across in the parallel development of architecture in Normandy in such examples as the churches at Thaon, Haute Allemague, Ver and Rosel in the Department of Calvados. The illustration (Fig. 5) shows the central tower and spire at Penmon, with belfry-lights of usual Norman character, consisting of two small

¹ As in the practically unaltered examples at Portchester (Hants) Old Shoreham (Sussex), and North Newbald (Yorks).

² As at Stewkley (Bucks), Ifley and Cassington (Oxon), and Studland (Dorset).

round-headed lights separated by a shaft. The lights on the south and west sides of the tower at St. Seiriol were evidently of like design, though now much decayed, but those on the north and east sides are plain and small single openings.

Another feature of great interest remains to be noted in the Norman work of Penmon—the south doorway of the nave, with its carved tympanum (Fig. 6). The en-



7. Llanbadarn-Fawr (Radnor) Tympanum.

closing arch of a Norman doorway was regularly semi-circular, and in cases where the opening for the door itself was rectangular the wall-space between this and the enclosing arch offered opportunity for the elaborate carved work in which the Norman builders delighted.¹ Some-

¹In the larger Norman doorways in Wales the opening for the door follows the line of the enclosing moulded arch, so that there is no tympanum, as at the west doorway of Strata Florida Abbey and the north and south doorways of Llandaff Cathedral. These are late in the style, as is also the west doorway at Llandaff which has a depending tympanum the centre of which is occupied by a statue of St. Teilo in episcopal vesture.

times the tympanum would be covered with a diaper pattern,¹ but figure sculpture of a conventional character and somewhat rudely executed, akin to the carved adornment of many Norman fonts,² often occupied this position. Carved Norman tympana are extremely rare in Wales, but the south door at Penmon has within its containing arch a dragonsque monster with a border (a good deal worn) of interlacing pattern. This tympanum has a parallel in the fine example at Llanbadarn-Fawr (Radnorshire) (Fig. 7), where two monsters face one another, and between them is set a plant—apparently the lily-pot emblematic of the mystery of the Incarnation.³ This subject of a tree, or conventional foliage, between two monsters seems to have been a favourite one with Norman workers, and it appears in elaborately carved tympana at Dinton (Bucks) and Ashford-on-the-Water (Derbyshire).

Norman work is comparatively rare in Wales as a whole, and the few traces of it in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire which may be observed at Aberffraw, Llaneilian and Aberdaron, besides some round-headed doorways at Llanbedr-y-Cennin and elsewhere, may be due to the influence of the Priory at Penmon.⁴

“Priestholme et Penmon” are, as has been already noted, generally referred to in documents as one Priory and are classed as belonging to the Benedictine Order by Dugdale, who gives 1221 as the date of a foundation here

¹ As at Wold Newton (Yorks), Tissington (Derbyshire) and Eberington (Glos).

² As at Avelbury (Wilts) and Hook Norton (Oxon).

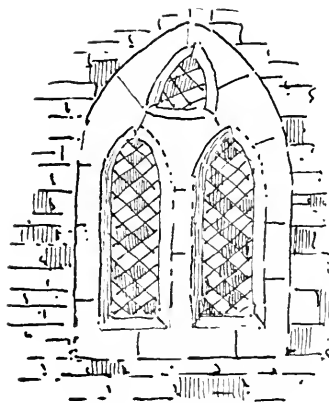
³ The lily-pot, standing for the purity of the Blessed Virgin is normally included in sculptured or painted representations of the Annunciation, and appears as a symbol in the work of all periods, as upon an early cross at Saucered (Cornwall), upon the tower at St. Austell (Cornwall) of the fifteenth century, and upon a fifteenth-century miserere at Tong (Salop).

⁴ This is suggested by Harold Hughes and Herbert L. North in *The Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 25.

by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth (the Great), but the monastery eventually came under the Augustinian Order, deeds running in the name of the Prior and Canons, in whose possession it remained until the Dissolution.

(II) WORK OF THE THIRTEENTH- AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY GOTHIC DEVELOPMENT.

Apart from the churches of the great religious houses, amongst which the Cistercian Abbeys in particular pre-



8. Llanfair-yn-Neubwll, East window.

sent fine examples of Transition from Norman to Gothic and of "Early English", Wales in general, as has been already noted,¹ has comparatively little to show of the great development of Gothic architecture which, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was taking place in Western Europe generally, and in which England took its full share.

The great Edwardian castle at Beaumaris belongs to the military architecture of the later part of the thirteenth century, but exhibits in the five lancet lights at the east

¹ See above p. 59, and cf. *The Church Architecture of Wales* § 5, in the *Cymmrodorion Transactions* 1916-7.

end of its chapel characteristic English work of the period very finely executed, finding a parallel in the beautiful little chapel at Conway Castle known as Queen Eleanor's Oratory.

In the native parish churches of Anglesey there is little noteworthy work of the "Early English" or "Decorated" styles, but during the centuries under review old churches were repaired and windows were sometimes inserted. Some of these windows are of fourteenth century date and consist of two lights with an opening above constituting a somewhat rude attempt at a traceried window, as seen, e.g., in the east window at Llanfair-yn-Neubwll (Fig. 8).

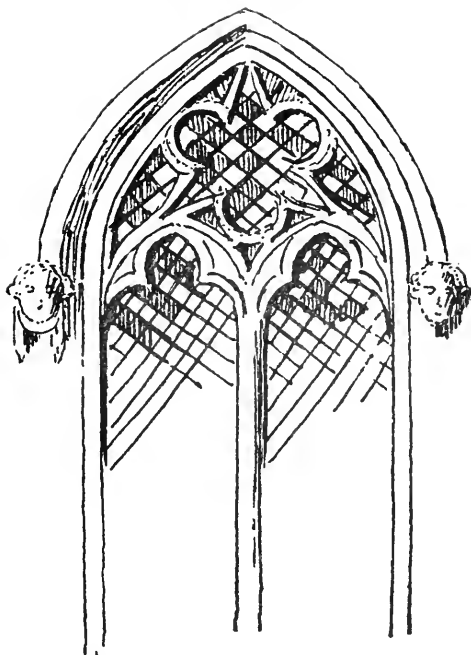
Beaumaris church has the best executed "Decorated" work (fourteenth century) in the island. In its arrangement—a nave with aisles and clerestory, a chancel and western tower¹—it follows the usual English plan of the period for a parochial church, but two outstanding features deserve special remark. The clerestory, somewhat exceptionally, has for lights a range of quatrefoiled circles in place of the more usual pointed windows of the period (Fig. 9). Circular windows occur in the clerestory



9. Beaumaris, Clerestory.

¹ The chancel was rebuilt late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century, and the upper part of the tower is of still later date.

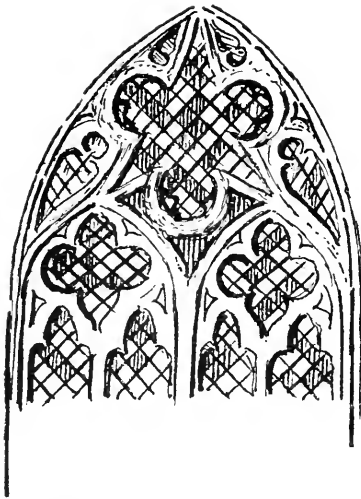
at Southwell Minster (Norman) and after this example lights of circular form were sometimes adopted during the prevalence of the Decorated style. In some cases these were plain circles, as at Alkham (Kent), but more often they were cusped in quatrefoil form as we see them at Beaumaris. Similar clerestory windows are found at Seaton



10. Beaumaris, Tracery of aisle windows.

(Rutland), Kingsland and Pembridge (Hereford), Piddinghoe (Sussex), Garsington (Oxon) and elsewhere, and this manner of treating the clerestory found especial favour with the Norfolk church builders in the later half of the fourteenth century, as may be seen at Ingham, Stalham, Ormsby St. Margaret, Filby, Rollesby and a good many other churches of that county. Foliated circular clerestory windows also occur again in North Wales at

Conway, where, as at Beaumaris, English influence is marked. The clerestory assumed its present position at Conway in 1872, when the roof of the nave was considerably raised, but the circular clerestory lights were copied from two original ones which remained. A further feature about the clerestory at Beaumaris should not escape our notice, viz., the later insertion of a plain three-light window, of late fifteenth century type, near its eastern end (see Fig. 9). This occurs on both the north and south sides



11. Canterbury Cathedral, Window tracery in Archbishop Meopham's Chapel.

and the insertion was made that additional light might be thrown upon the rood-screen with its figures, the fifteenth century being the period when most of the splendid rood-screens were erected in our churches. An exact parallel to this treatment of the clerestory at Beaumaris may be seen at Market Overton (Rutland), where the regular series of two-light traceried clerestory windows is interrupted near its eastern end by the insertion of a fifteenth century three-light window for the purpose of affording

extra light within the church at the spot where the rood-screen was erected. Analogous examples are found also elsewhere.

A second notable feature about the fourteenth century work at Beaumaris lies in the pattern of the tracery of the aisle windows (Fig. 10). This identical form occurs also in the tracery of a window at the north end of the Vaynol chapel at Llanbeblig (Carnarvonshire), and, oddly enough, is of a distinctly Kentish type. A very close parallel to it occurs in a window of Archbishop Meopham's chapel in Canterbury Cathedral (Fig. 11).

(III) PREVALENCE OF PERPENDICULAR WORK OF THE LATE
FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

—THE TUDOR PERIOD.

When a Welshman in the person of Henry Tudor had been seated upon the English throne the unsettled life of centuries past came to an end and Wales was at peace with herself and became reconciled to England. The period after Henry's accession was, accordingly, an era of great building activity throughout Wales, and during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII more churches were built, or rebuilt, or received additions¹ than at any period since the erection of the primitive churches on the plan of the oratories of the native saints. Thus it has come about that the churches of rural Wales, generally speaking, present an early type of plan and elevation in outline, with architectural detail characteristic of the close of the fifteenth century, or of the opening of the sixteenth century,² while the dominant style of architecture in the

¹ The custom of adding lateral chapels to the earlier churches at this time has been treated above, p. 61.

² Windows and doorways have frequently been remodelled, or new windows inserted, late in the fifteenth century, and to this period belongs the rectangular window of three cinquefoiled (or

greater parochial churches of Wales is the latest development of Gothic, named "Perpendicular", which prevailed in England throughout the fifteenth century,¹ and that not in its best and most vigorous form, but more often in the somewhat degenerate and debased character which marked the decline of the style on the eve of the Reformation.

The best and most remarkable work of this style in Anglesey is seen at Llanelian and Holyhead.

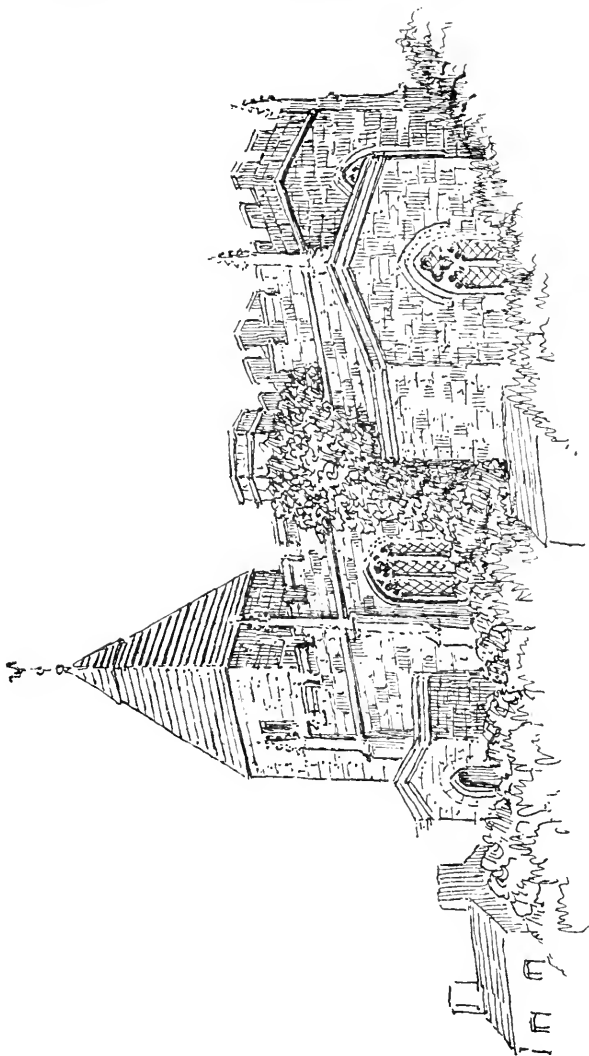
Llanelian (Fig. 12) has the proportions of an earlier church, having been rebuilt on the old foundations of the twelfth century, but now appears as a nave and chancel in fine Perpendicular style with battlemented parapets and buttresses terminated by crocketed pinnacles.² The work is similar to the contemporary work in the larger cruciform church at Clynnog-Fawr (Carnarvonshire), and will bear comparison with the best style of the time as seen in an English parish church. A feature of peculiar interest at Llanelian is the detached chapel of St. Eilian, which lies off the south-east angle of the nave and has a different orientation from that of the main building. This, though in its present form dating from the fifteenth century, occupies the site of the original oratory of St. Eilian and has been connected at a later time with the church by a passage. When the twelfth-century church was erected a new building was planned here at a little distance from

trefoiled) lights, which forms so frequent a feature of churches of the native type in Anglesey and elsewhere in Welsh Wales.

¹ Leland in the early sixteenth century notes that churches exhibiting fine work had only been built recently. Thus of Clynnog-Fawr (Carnarvonshire) he writes, "the church that is now there with cross aisles is almost as big as St. Davids, but it is of new work . . . the fairest church in all Carnarvonshire, as better than Bangor." Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 52, 86.

² Buttresses are regularly absent from native work, and do not occur at Clynnog, except in the tower.

the first church of St. Eilian instead of being built upon its foundations, as has happened in the majority of cases,



12. Llaneilian.

the original church thus surviving as a detached chapel. A most interesting parallel to this is met with at Clynnog,

where the large church was built at a little distance from St. Beuno's oratory, and the oratory itself was rebuilt, soon after the completion of the great church,¹ near its old site, and was connected, at a still later date, by a passage to the south doorway of the tower, near which it stands.

Holyhead is a large cruciform church whose architecture is for the most part typical of the final stage of the decaying Perpendicular style, but with some remarkable detail in its adornment.

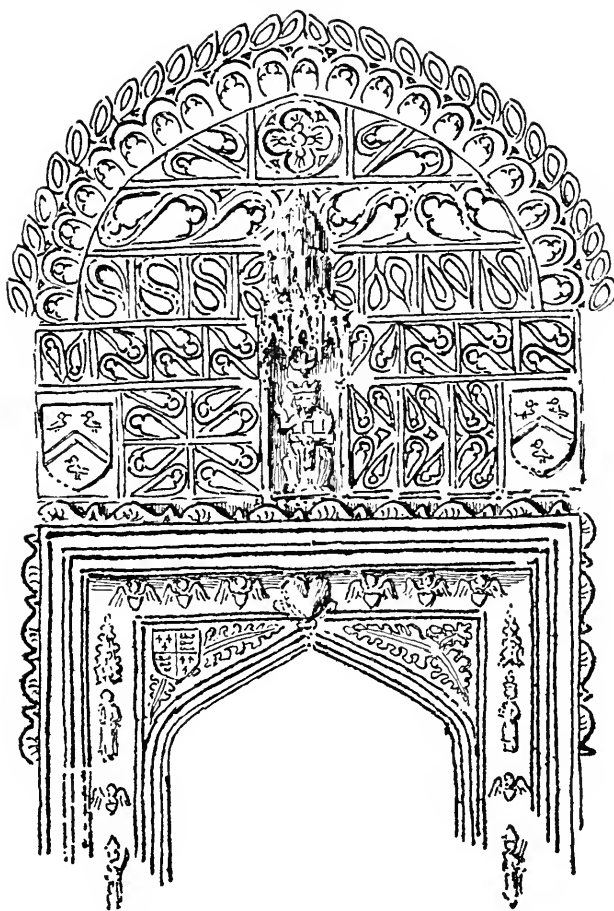
Most striking of all is the elaborate carving around the inner doorway of the well-proportioned and vaulted south porch (Fig. 13). The whole of the wall above the doorway is panelled, a treatment of wall-surface not unusual in churches of the Perpendicular style,² but the design here resembles rather that of a greatly extended tympanum. The ornament is elaborate in its conception, but unsymmetrical in arrangement, and so lavish as to be overcrowded and in places cramped. In execution it is somewhat clumsy. The openings in the scheme of tracery are for the most part cusped, but in the outer containing arch and in the third row of vertical panelling from the top occur the rather unpleasing cusplless forms, which constitute one of the sure signs of degeneration in Perpendicular tracery.³ To the right and left above the doorway are blazoned upon large shields the arms of Llywarch ap Bran, a benefactor of the church—a chevron between

¹ The older chapel of St. Beuno was still standing when Leland visited Clynnog, and this fixes a sixteenth century date for the rebuilding of the chapel in its present form.

² The wall above the doorway in the north porch at Long Sutton (Lincs.) is covered with rectangular panelling characteristic of fifteenth-century style.

³ See below on window tracery at Beaumaris, p. 84.

three choughs or crows, while the centre is occupied by a niche above which rises a tall canopy. Within this niche is a sculptured representation, in the conventional man-



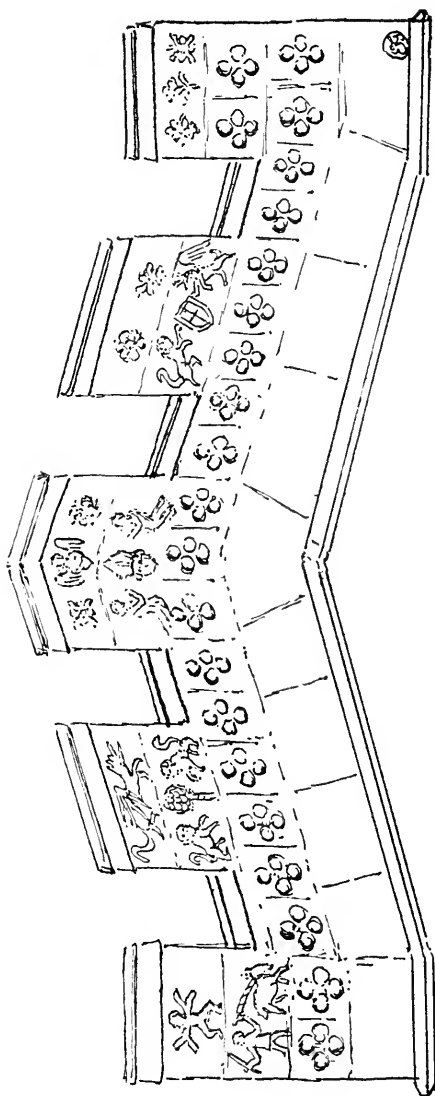
13. Holyhead, South doorway.

ner, of the Holy Trinity. The Eternal Father is crowned and seated in majesty, with the right hand raised in benediction, and supporting between His knees the Christ

upon the Cross, while above, under the shadow of the canopy of the niche, hovers the Holy Dove with outspread wings.¹ In the centre of the mouldings immediately above the doorway a large heart stands out noticeably in bold relief. The significance of this symbol is not quite certain. It may stand for "the Sacred Heart",² devotion to which was one of the many popular cults of the century before the Reformation, or perhaps it may have been set in this especially prominent position as a symbolic invitation "Sursum Corda", addressed to worshippers as they entered the church by this—the principal—door. The sculpture of the whole of this remarkable work, though late in date, is singularly archaic in feeling and expression. This applies more especially to the figures of saints and bishops, with accompanying tabernacle work, extending down the jambs of the doorway, where the execution is rude, verging on clumsiness; the large crockets, too, surrounding the head of the doorway are so awkward as to be positively ugly. As a scheme of external wall-decoration this Holyhead doorway is only paralleled at St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton, a work approximately of the same date, for this latter church was consecrated in 1524. The whole exterior of the church is there panelled and the porch front has figure sculpture in niches, the whole inspired by the same archaic feeling, and executed in like

¹ Similar representations of the Sacred Trinity occur on the canopy of the Black Prince's tomb at Canterbury Cathedral, on the font at Staple (Kent), in an alabaster fragment found at Madeley (Salop) and in the highest position amongst the statuary upon the west face of the tower of St. Austell (Cornwall) built late in the fifteenth century. A notable example of the like kind is found in stained glass of the fifteenth century at Llanrhychwyn (Carnarvonshire). In some cases the symbolic Dove is set upon the breast of the Father as though proceeding from His mouth and hovering over the head of Christ crucified.

² The present Vicar of Holyhead, the Rev. T. J. Rowlands, is inclined to accept this interpretation.



14. Holyhead, Parapet of south transept.

comparatively rude manner, which are notable features of the work at Holyhead.

Further figure-sculpture of like archaic type¹ occurs again in the parapet of the south transept at Holyhead (Fig. 14). Beginning at the west end of this parapet we see first the figure of a man with four arms and below him a man leading or driving a beast. These may symbolise in turn the strength of man and his dominion over creation (or over the powers of evil). Next we note the dragon emblem of Wales and below it a very conventional form of tree between two beasts (apparently lions). This last looks like a reminiscence of a theme that frequently appears upon Norman tympana, where two monsters face one another with a conventional tree between them.² In the centre of the parapet appears a demi-angel with outstretched wings, similar to the figures in the hood-moulding of the south door, with, below, a large mitred head which has a kneeling figure of small scale on either side of it. Next we have conventional flowers above a coat of arms with supporters, these being on the dexter side a lion and on the sinister side a dragon. The shield thus supported is bordered, and charged with a plain cross. In the last, or easternmost, compartment of this parapet we see more conventional flowers, with, below them, an extension of the quatrefoil panelling which runs as an ornamental band beneath the whole range of figure-sculpture.³

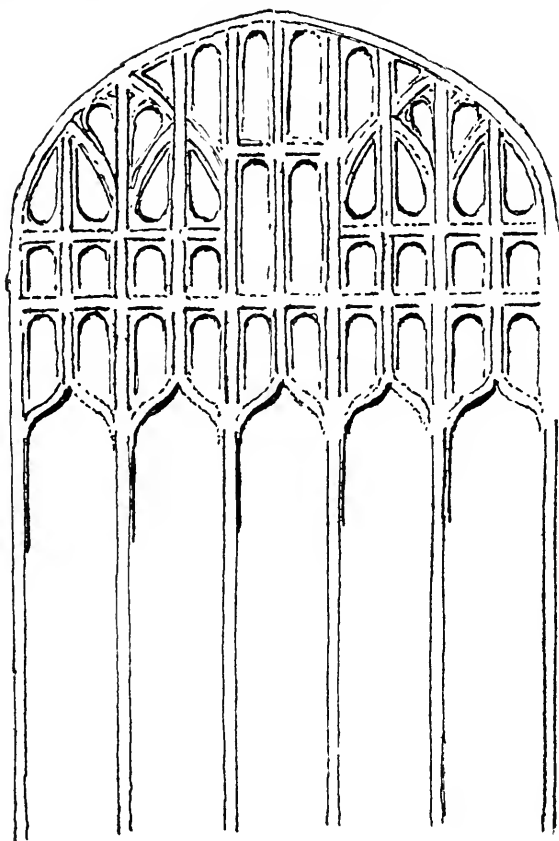
The church of Llanidan, now in ruins and superseded

¹ Figure-sculpture of the fifteenth century was for the most part delicate in execution and natural or life-like in its expression. The sculpture under consideration seems to hark back to a much earlier and conventional type, such as we find on Norman tympana or fonts.

² See above, p. 68.

³ It is open to question whether these figures occupy altogether the positions originally intended for them; some of the panelling has obviously been disarranged, and the present disposition of the figure-sculpture of the south transept may be due to a "restoration" of 1720.

in the last century by a hideous structure near to the hamlet of Bryn-Siencyn, has still remaining a good late fifteenth-century range of pillars and arches, which divided its twin naves, and in the west bay of the church, still

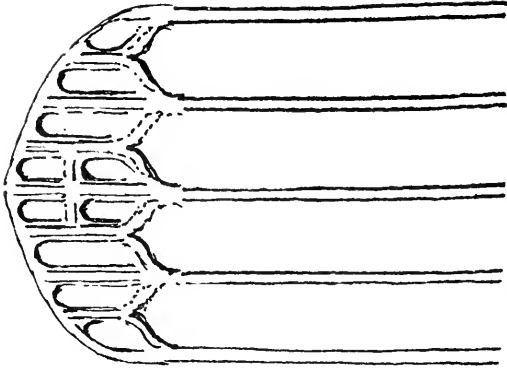


15. Beaumaris, Tracery of east window.

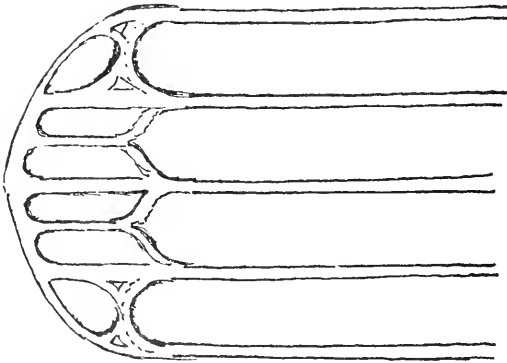
covered by a roof, are some remnants of very good Perpendicular tracery.¹

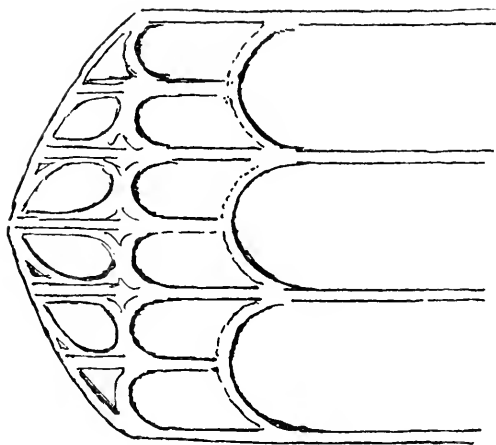
At Beaumaris the chancel was reconstructed in late

¹ The excellence of the work at this church is probably due to its connexion with the Priory of Beddgelert.

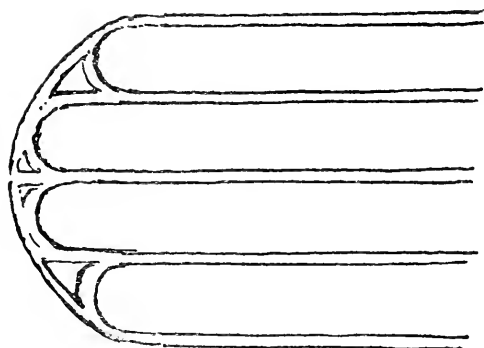


17. Weaverham (Ches.), Window tracery.

16. Beaumaris, Tracery of east window
of south aisle.



18. Prestwich (Lancs.), Window Tracery.

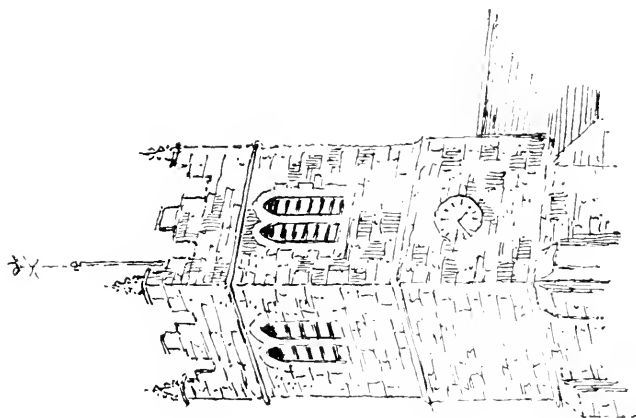


19. Burnley (Lancs.), Window tracery.

Perpendicular style. Its large east window of five lights is without cusps either in its lights or in the tracery above them, and its head is practically semi-circular in form (Fig. 15). The omission of cusps to lights and tracery and a reversion to semi-circular or segmental forms of arch were alike signs of the latest and decaying stage of the style. Both features appear also in the much less pleasing four-light window inserted about the same time at the east end of the south aisle (Fig. 16). This type of window tracery is characteristic of the late Perpendicular churches of Cheshire and Lancashire and overflowed thence into Northern Wales. The Beaumaris windows have a strong family likeness to examples at Weaverham (Cheshire) (Fig. 17) or Prestwich (Lancs.) (Fig. 18), and cusplless lights of the sixteenth century appear also at Bangor Cathedral and Llandegai (Carnarvonshire). Round-headed arches in the latest Gothic were not uncommon. They occur at St. Nicholas, Gloucester, and in the large south transept window at Thaxted (Essex), but are especially characteristic of late Perpendicular work in Cheshire and Lancashire, as at Bunbury and Malpas (Cheshire) and in the aisle windows of the parish church of St. Peter at Burnley (Lancs.) (Fig. 19). In North Wales similar instances of round-headed windows are found at Hope and Llanrwst (Denbighshire), and the wide arch at the east side of the crossing at Holyhead, forming the entrance to the chancel, is also of this form.

ANGLESEY TOWERS.

The fifteenth century was a great tower-building era throughout England generally, very many being built to accommodate the peals of bells which parishes were then so eager to possess, so that the characteristic English pinnacled tower belongs to the Perpendicular style of this



21. Llandegfan, Tower.



20. Beaumaris, Tower.

period. After the coming of the Tudors to the English throne we find that towers were erected in some parts of Wales where hitherto the native towerless church had held the field. With the exception of the Norman central towers at St. Seiriol and Penmon, the comparatively few church towers of Anglesey belong, accordingly, to the sixteenth century and after, or were raised, as at Beaumaris, upon the lower stage of an earlier tower. The poverty of design which marks these towers may be attributed to several causes. In the first place the type of tower imported belonged to the last phase of a decaying style. Then, again, distance from the English border militated against their being influenced by fine examples from which a pattern might be taken,¹ and they were obviously the work of native designers and craftsmen.

The Anglesey towers are unbuttressed after the traditional manner of native work.² Their battlements are coarse and rude, as at Beaumaris (Fig. 20), Llandegfan (Fig. 21), Llanfechell (Fig. 22), Holyhead (Fig. 23) and Llanerchymedd (Fig. 24), and lacking in the mouldings and finish found in the battlemented parapets of the churches at Llaneilian (Fig. 12) and Holyhead (Fig. 14). The belfry lights tend to be featureless apertures, as at Beaumaris (Fig. 20), and especially so at Holyhead (Fig. 23). Angle-pinnacles, where they occur, are of ungraceful detail, as at Beaumaris (Fig. 20), or stunted in appear-

¹ The Anglesey towers stand in marked contrast with the beautiful towers at Gresford and Wrexham (Denbighshire), Northop and Mold (Flint)—all late in the Perpendicular style—which are in no respect inferior to the best English work of the time.

² The typical Welsh tower of the Cardigan Bay coast, South Pembrokeshire and the Bristol Channel shore, of a semi-military type, and strongly influenced by military architecture, owing to their prime purpose of a refuge or defence, is also unbuttressed, and in Cornwall a characteristic local type of tower is without buttresses.

ance and set as though disconnected with the parapet on which they stand, as at Llandegfan (Fig. 21).

The tower at Llandegfan dates from 1811 and has the stepped battlements frequent in Irish work, and occurring in this part of Wales also upon the towers at Llanbeblig¹ and Llandrillo-yn-Rhos (Carnarvonshire).²

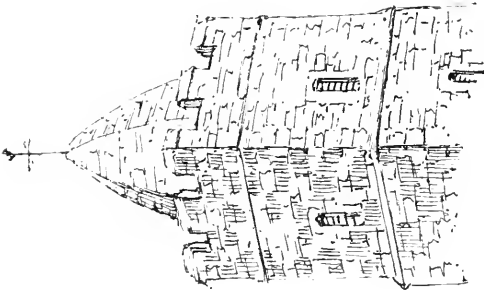
At Llanelian and Holyhead (Figs. 12 and 23) there are no pinnacles, but the towers are finished with a blunt four-sided roof, overhanging at Llanelian, but rising from within the battlement at Holyhead, after the early pattern of Penmon and St. Seiriol.

The Holyhead tower (Fig. 23) was erected early in the seventeenth century³ and is oblong in plan, with its greater measurement from north to south. In this it is similar to the tower at Conway. In the case of a cruciform church it was not unnatural that an oblong tower should sometimes be raised above the crossing, for when the nave and chancel were wider than the transepts the measurement of the central tower would be greater from north to south than from east to west, and we have examples of the kind in all styles, from the pre-Conquest Romanesque of Jarrow-on-Tyne to the expiring Gothic of Bath Abbey. An exaggerated case occurs at Stanley St. Leonard (Glos.), where the tower is as much as ten feet longer from north to south than it measures from west to east. Oblong towers at the west end of a church, as at Holyhead and Conway, are also occasionally met with.

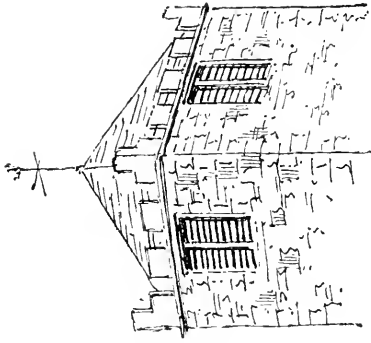
¹ Dating in its upper part from the sixteenth century onward.

² In South Wales we meet with the stepped form of tower battlement at Llanarth and Llanwnen (Cardigan), at Pembrey (Carmarthen) and at Ewenny (Glam.). Three of the Welsh gabled towers have their gables stepped, viz.: Llannor (Carnarvonshire), Llanrian (Pem.) and Llanmadoc in Gower (Glam.).

³ The date upon a stone in the west face of the tower is illegible, but Mr. Edward Owen, F.S.A., has found a note in an eighteenth-century MS. in the British Museum which determines the date 1636.



22. Llanfechell, Tower.



23. Holyhead, Tower.

though the same structural reason for the peculiarity does not apply, as at Bedale (Yorks), Bodiam (Sussex), and Ewelme (Oxon)—all in the late Perpendicular style—and in a Cornish group of late towers an oblong plan was deliberately adopted, as at South Petherwin, Falmouth, St. Mabe, St. Mawgan-in-Meneage, St. Anthony-in-Meneage, and Ruan Major.

The towers of Llanfechell (Fig. 22) and Llaneilian (Fig. 12) recall in their aspect the semi-military towers which set the type for the towers of the west and south coasts of Wales, the openings being mere slits or loop-holes. Llanfechell tower is heavily battlemented and crowned by a short stone octagonal spire of the sixteenth century. This little spire is markedly convex in outline, imparting to it almost a sugar-loaf appearance. It was usual to give a slight entasis to spires, but sometimes, as in this case, this was so exaggerated as to mar to some extent the effect of a spire.¹

The tower at Llanerchymedd (Fig. 24) has been over-restored, but retains the unusual provision that was here made for the accommodation of an exterior bell, which is hung within a gable that rises from the centre of the eastern parapet of the tower. A small bell—over and above the bells which were within the tower—was commonly rung in the Middle Ages at the Sanctus in the Mass, and at the Elevation of the Host, to notify the completion of the Consecration. Hence it has been generally called the Sanctus bell. The bell whose function it was to announce publicly the most sacred moments of the chief service of the Church was naturally hung in a position from which its sound might be widely heard. Accordingly, in an ordinary parochial church a special

¹ As at Glinton (Northants), Caythorpe and Welbourne (Lines), and—an extreme case—at Gilmorton (Leics).

little gable or turret for the Sanctus bell was erected over the east end of the nave just above the entrance to the chancel. Sometimes this sanctus-bell turret over the chancel arch was elaborated into a graceful spirelet of



24. Llanerchymedd, Tower.

stone so as to become an imposing feature of the exterior of the church as at Walpole St. Peter (Norfolk) and Mells (Somerset), and this became the fashion in a group of churches on the Wilts and Gloucestershire border, being

found at Wanborough, Castle Eaton, South Marston and Burton (Wilts) and at Barnwood (Glos). Rarely the extra bell was placed in some other position on the body of the church, as at Southwold (Suffolk)—upon the centre of the roof-ridge—or at Methwold (Norfolk)—upon the outer angle at the east end of the south aisle. In the eastern counties it became quite a regular custom to erect a special *flèche* for such a bell upon the roof of the tower.



25. East Hagbourne (Berks), Tower.

as at Swaffham (Norfolk), Boxford (Suffolk), Chelmsford (Essex), and many other churches in these three counties, while in a few cases a little bell is suspended upon the outside of a spire, as at Hadleigh (Suffolk), Ickleton and Hinxton (Cambs.), Wethersfield, Great Baddow and All Saints Maldon (Essex), Glaston (Rutland) and Oxborough (Norfolk). The tower of Ilanerchymedd is almost alone in the distinction of having a special *sanctus-bell gable* designed so as to rise from the centre of the tower battlement. A close parallel, however, exists at East Hagbourne

(Berks) (Fig. 25), where a graceful spirelet with flanking pinnacles stands upon the battlement of the tower, in the analogous position—on its eastern side, overlooking the body of the church.

Other Anglesey towers call for but little attention. The poor towers at Llangefni¹ and Llangeinwen date from the earlier part of the nineteenth century and are average examples of such attempts at "Gothic" as were made at that period, while Amlwch church has a tower of the eighteenth century type that followed upon the work of Wren, in which Gothic outline is maintained, with a balustrade for parapet and with quasi-classical detail, a tower that falls into the same category with those of Bangor-is-y-Coed (Denbighshire) and Llanfyllin (Montgom.), and such Shropshire examples as Whitchurch, Quatt, Bolas Magna and Wellington. New churches erected in place of old ones have been responsible for towers with spires of thoroughly exotic type in some Anglesey parishes, as at Llanedwen, Llanwenllwyfo and Llangaffo.

IV.—ACCESSORIES AND CHURCH FITTINGS.

(I) CELTIC CROSSES.

It seems somewhat strange that while Penmon was, from the far-off days of St. Seiriol in the sixth century, a centre of Celtic Church life the structure of the Priory church should be in the alien style of the Norman—a Norman minster, in fact, upon a small scale. There are, however, relics which connect Penmon with its earlier days in the shape of tall Celtic crosses, of which two are practically complete, while fragments of a third remain.

¹ Llangefni church was built in 1824 in the same enclosure with the older church, whose site may still be traced near the fine yew trees by the entrance to the churchyard.

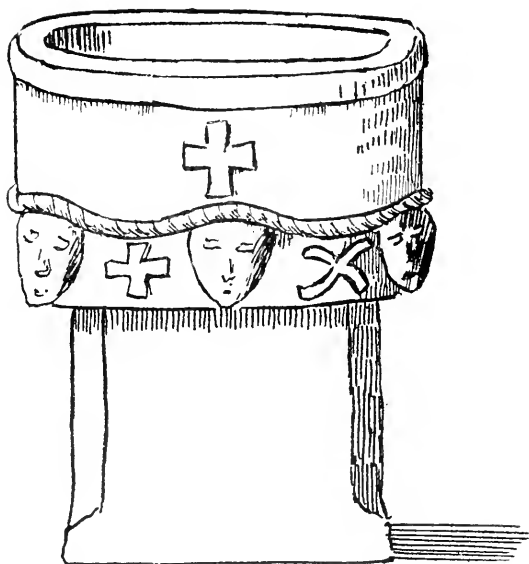
One of these crosses now stands in the south transept of the church, and there is a second at a little distance away in the Park, rather larger in size, but similar to it in form and in the character of its ornament. The cross of equal arms which crowns the shaft extends, in both cases, beyond the circular head,¹ and the shaft is adorned on all sides with key-pattern and strands of interlacing work, such as are usually met with in monuments of the kind. Figure-sculpture, which is dominant upon Irish tall crosses, sometimes to such an extent as to crowd their surface, is generally absent from the Celtic crosses of Wales and Cornwall, or only appears to a limited extent, and is quite subordinated to conventional patterns. The cross in the Park at Penmon is, accordingly, the more interesting, since some rudely executed figures appear upon two of its faces. One panel of its broad southern face has the figure of a saint with nimbus (or of Christ) between two nondescript creatures with bird-like bodies and animal heads, while on a smaller panel at the base is represented a man on horseback with some smaller figures. Upon the narrower east face of the shaft is carved the figure of a man with some animals.²

¹ As in the splendid tall crosses at Carew, Nevern and Penally (Pem.). At Carew the spaces between the arms of the cross and the circle are pierced, while at Nevern they are occupied by bosses. In the cross in Penmon south transept the like spaces are filled in with carved interlacing strands arranged in triangular form. The cross at the head of the example at Llanbadarn-Fawr (Card.) has no containing circle. In the fine cross of Maen Chwyfan near Dyserth (Flint) the solid circle at the top encloses the cross, so that this should be classified amongst "wheel-crosses," to which category the very numerous, though less tall, Cornish crosses, as a class, belong.

² One of these animals is figured upside down as though dead, suggesting that the intention of the craftsman was to represent a scene of the chase.

(II) FONTS.

When the heathen tribes who had overrun the Roman Empire in the West were first converted to Christianity it was the custom of the missionaries, after primitive precedent,¹ to resort to rivers, pools or springs for the baptism of their converts. Bede, writing of the planting of Christianity in the province of Deira, tells how Paulinus



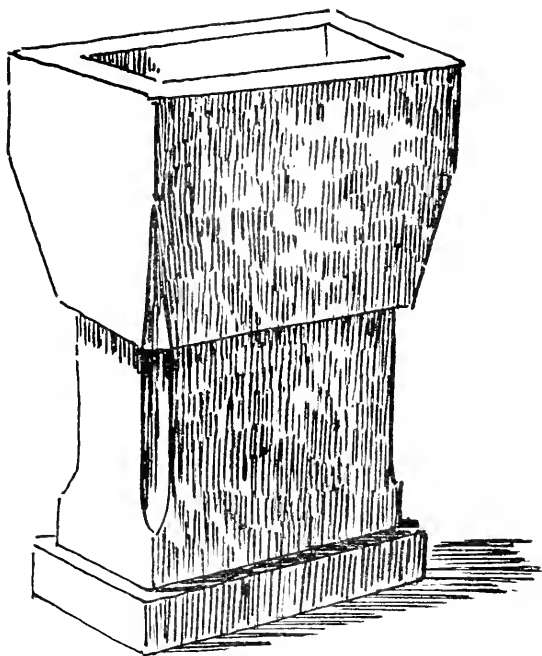
26. Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmmwd, Font.

was wont to baptize in the river Swale, no baptisteries having as yet been built.² In the Celtic lands of Wales, Ireland and Brittany the world-wide phenomenon of the cult of sacred wells, with its peculiar appeal to the native

¹ As in the example of the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch by St. Philip, Acts viii, 38.

² "Baptizavit in fluvio Sualia, qui vicum Caractacam praeterfluit. Nondum enim oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiae poterant aedificari." *Hist. Eccles.*, ii, 14.

imagination, found a special expression,¹ and Christian missionaries, acting in this as in other respects, upon the wise principle of adapting and sanctifying what was natural to man, baptized their converts at wells and springs which already had their religious, though heathen, association, placing them in the new dispensation under



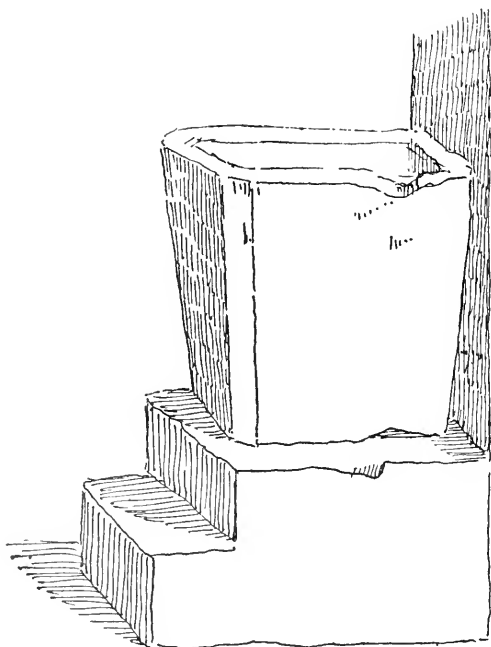
27. Llanfihangel-yn-Nhywyn, Font.

the protection of the true God and His saints instead of the spirits of pre-Christian mythology.²

¹ See Hartwell Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement*, pp. 381 et seqq.

² In Anglesey the well at Penmon may be seen in its own special structure at a little distance from the church, and at Cerrigceinwen the holy well is in the churchyard. Giraldus mentions two wells at Llanddwyn (*Itinerarium*, II, vii). Well-chapels were probably erected in the first instance to serve as baptisteries, and several structures of the type remain in Cornwall, as at St. Madron

By a natural transition the first artificial receptacles for the baptismal water would take a tub-like or tank form,¹ and when, in the period succeeding the Norman Conquest, a stone font became a regular article of the furniture of a church we find that it is of such shape.



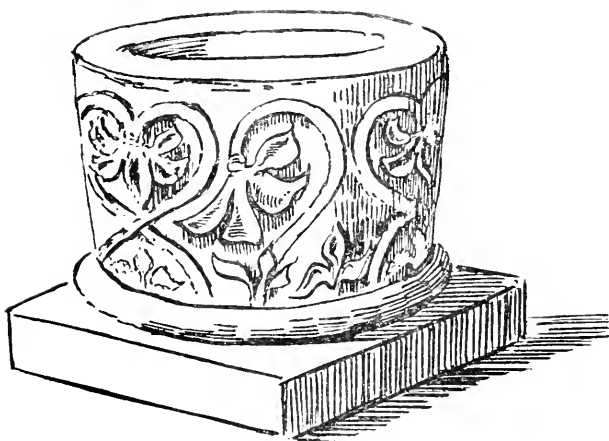
28. Llanrhychwyn (Carnarvon), Font.

Examples of early oblong rectangular fonts occur in Anglesey at Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmwd (Fig. 26), Llanfihangel-yn-Nhywyn (Fig. 27) and Tal-y-Llyn, and of the same

(a primitive example, now in ruins), Dupath Well (near Callington), St. Cleer (near Liskeard) and St. Breward (near Bodmin). In North Wales we have the example of St. Trillo's Chapel and Well, Llandrillo-yn-Rhos. See Bezzant Lowe, *The Heart of Northern Wales*, Vol. I, pp. 367-8.

¹ Illustrative examples are given by J. C. Wall in *Porches and Fonts*, p. 286.

primitive type is the plain early font at Llanrhyelwyn (Carnarvonshire) (Fig. 28). Of these the font of Llanfair-y-Cwmwd is of special interest on account of its adornment. The bowl has rudely-carved heads with crosses between them on its lower part, with above them a waving band of the cable moulding that appears frequently as a feature of twelfth century fonts. Anglesey is peculiarly rich in font bowls of this same period, of tub-like form, covered with well-executed ornament. Of these

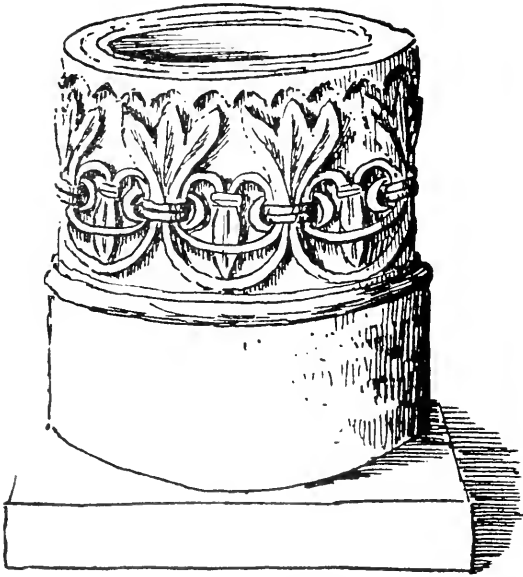


29. Llangeinwen, Font.

the fonts at Llangeinwen (Fig. 29) and Llanidan (Fig. 30) are remarkable for their very graceful patterns in relief showing influence of Greek classical design.¹ Other font-bowls of this tub-like form have been obviously influenced in their ornament by such designs as characterise the early Celtic crosses. Interlacing strands arranged in panels appear on the font-bowl at Llangristiolus (Fig. 33).

¹ Patterns of this class occur elsewhere chiefly in Devon (as at Plymstock) in Cornwall (as at Fowey, Ladock and St. Feock) and in a splendid Buckinghamshire group—all of the Norman period. The font-bowl at St. Tudno Llanduduo has a band of analogous ornament.

Incised lines set saltire-wise in panels are the only attempt at adornment upon the bowls at Llanfair-yn-Neubwll (Fig. 35) and Llangaffo (Fig. 36), the latter retooled in recent times, so that it has lost its archaic character. The tub-shaped font at Hen Eglwys (Fig. 34) is one of the most interesting of its class. Its main ornament is a range of arcading, such as formed one of the commonest features



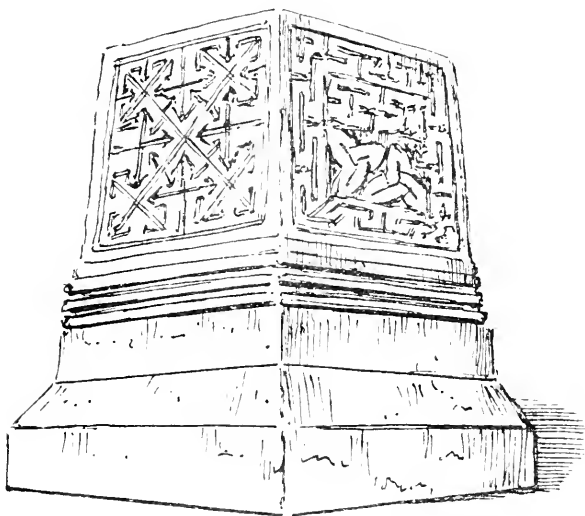
30. Llanidan, Font.

of twelfth-century fonts, with bands above and below exhibiting the key-pattern, and lozengy forms of incised lines such as occur in Celtic work.

Sometimes, instead of fashioning a font-bowl expressly for his purpose, a craftsman would economise in workmanship by making use of a block of stone already worked that lay ready to hand and was in its shape more or less suitable. Parts of columns from Roman stations in Britain have thus been converted into fonts at Hexham

(Northumberland), Kentchester (Hereford), Over Denton (Cumberland) and Wroxeter (Salop), while Roman altars have been hollowed out and similarly adapted at Choller-ton and Haydon Bridge (Northumberland), and the very curious monolith font at Old Radnor appears to have been fashioned from a Druidical altar.¹

Anglesey affords a most interesting example of adaptation of earlier worked material in the font at Penmon,



31. Penmon, Font.

which has been formed from the base of a Celtic cross, with a receptacle hollowed out to hold the baptismal water (Fig. 31). Its faces bear patterns characteristic of the tall crosses, including the key-pattern and the triangular knots of interlacing strands which appear upon the cross that stands in the south transept of the same church. There are some curious examples elsewhere of the employment of portions of tall crosses in forming fonts. At Melbury Bubb (Dorset) (Fig. 32) the font is evidently

¹ Described in *Baptismal Fonts* (S.P.C.K.), p. 19.

part of the cylindrical shaft of a cross, inverted so that the wider diameter is uppermost, and a hollow has been scooped out to serve for the baptismal basin. The font at Wilne (Derbyshire) has been made in exactly the same manner, so that in both these cases the lavish ornament, including animal figures, is now shown upside down. In yet another case—at Dolton (Devon)—both the bowl and pedestal of the font are formed by fragments of rectan-



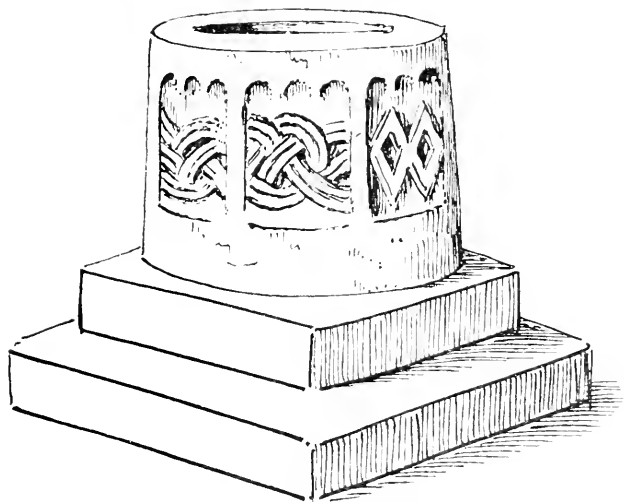
32. Melbury Bubb (Dorset), Font.

gular shafts of Celtic crosses, but apparently unrelated and dissimilar in the character of their ornament.

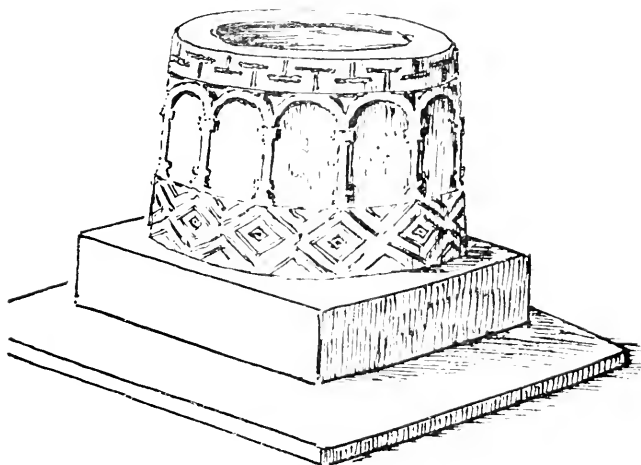
A good many Anglesey fonts, besides those above mentioned, are also of early type, such as those at Cerrigceinwen, Llanbabo, Llanbadrig, Llanbeulan, Llanddeusant, Llanynghenedl, Llanfechell, Llantrisant, Llechcynfarwy, Pentraeth and Trefdraeth.

From the later part of the thirteenth century onwards an octagonal form became usual for the font-bowl, and a good many plain octagonal fonts date from the fourteenth

century, and may belong to almost any subsequent period. Fonts of this kind are frequent in Anglesey, occurring at



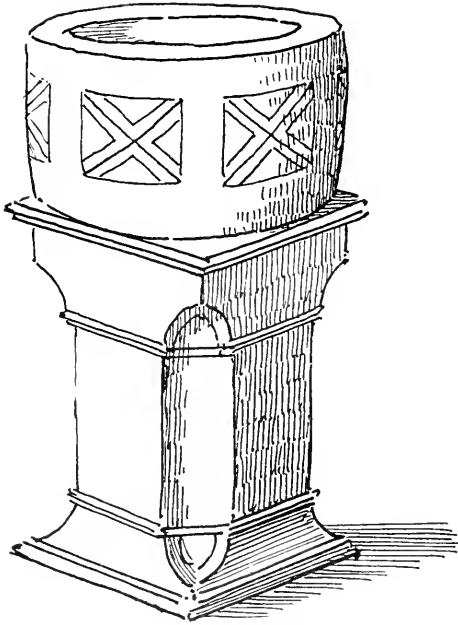
33. Llangristiolus, Font.



34. Hen Eglwys, Font.

Llanbedr-goch, Llanddona, Llandrygarn, Llandyssilio, Llanfaethlu, Llanfihangel-Dinsilwy, Llanfihangel-Yscei-

fog, Penmynydd and Penrhos-Iligwy. At Llandegfan the plain octagonal font-bowl had been discarded from the church and reposed for some time in the garden at Nanthowel. Now, given back to the church again, it has been erected upon a base of tiles, and stands in the church-yard in the space between the south transept and the

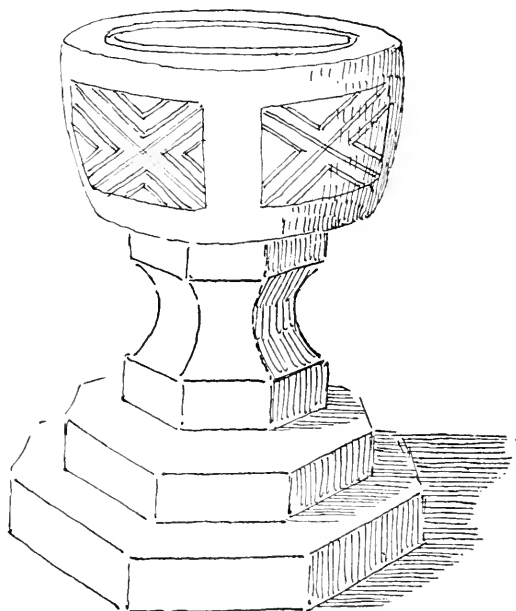


35. Llanfair-yn-Neubwll, Font.

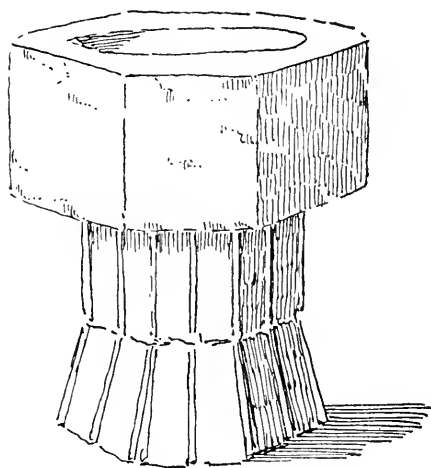
porch (Fig. 37). At Holyhead a plain octagonal bowl bears the inscription :—

ROBERT
 LLOYD
 ROBERTAP
 HVPROB
 ERT · WAR
 DENS

with the date OCTOBER 1662 (Fig. 38), commemorating its

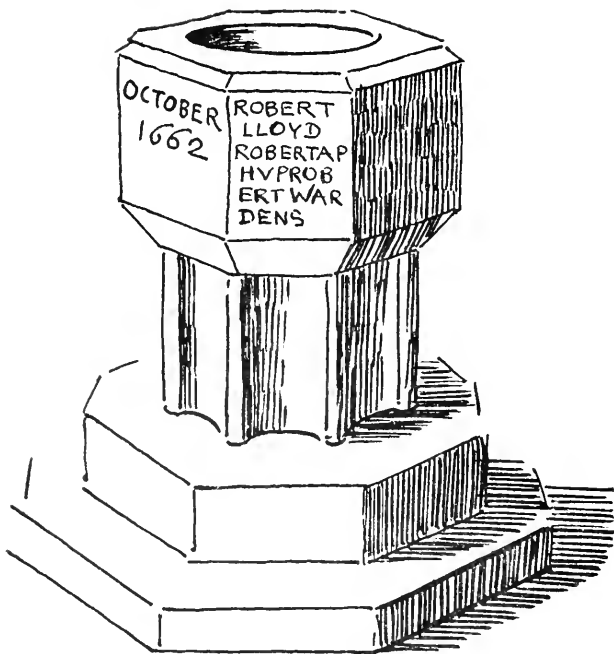


36. Llangaffo, Font.



37. Llandegfan, Font.

restoration to its due place in the church after the troubles of the period of the Commonwealth when many fonts were misused and cast away. Similarly a square bowl at Llanwenllwyfo, which has the appearance of an early one, is dated 1661, and at Tlanddeinolen (Carnarvonshire) the re-chiselled font is inscribed with the sacred name IHC, and

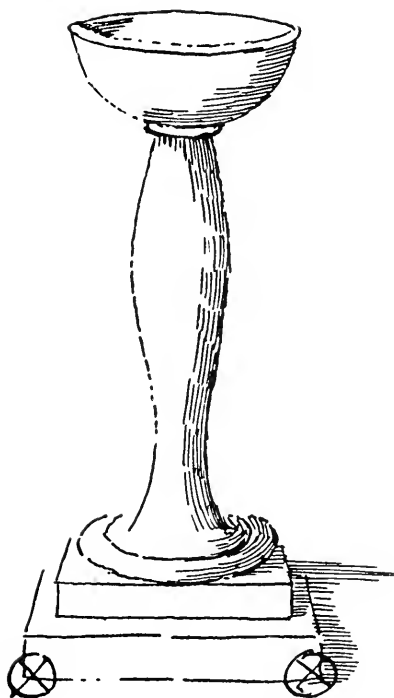


38. Holyhead, Font.

below it the date 1665 with the initials *ws* and *wp*, probably of churchwardens. A good many English fonts bear a date of this same period with initials or names of church officials appended. Thus at Rothwell (Yorks) we find—1662, C.R. (the King), R. W. VICARIUS WROTHWELL; at Sandal Magna (Yorks)—1662. C.R. (the King) H.B. : R.D. ; at Birkin (Yorks)—1663. John Morreth. John Hollings. William Leak. John Baxter; at Ripple (Kent)—1663.

R.P. ; and at Atcham (Salop)—1675 $\frac{18}{C}$ $\frac{WP}{W}$; St. Issey (Cornwall) 1664. At Ackworth (Yorks) the setting up of the font again after its profanation during the Commonwealth is more expressly commemorated, the inscription reading :—

BAPTISTERIUM BILI PIIANATICORUM DIRUTUM
DENUO ERECTUM. THO. BRADLEY D.D. RECTORE
H.A. : T.C. GARDIANIS 1663.



39. Beaumaris, Font.

A most curious example of a base-metal font at Beaumaris deserves special mention. In form it is of the sundial or garden flower-vase shape, with diminutive bowl, which found favour in the days of the eighteenth

century when men were indifferent to tradition in the ceremonial and fittings of our churches. This font is now placed within the south porch, and, being extremely heavy, is mounted upon a small square slab of stone provided with four little wheels, so that the whole may be moved without great effort (Fig. 39).

Fonts of metal, being strictly speaking uncanonical, are not very common, but there are altogether thirty-one leaden fonts in England,¹ and a solitary example of a brass font at Little Gidding (Hunts) dates from 1626, when Nicholas Ferrar, a devoted adherent of the Laudian school, revived a semi-monastic life in his mansion there. Fonts of iron are equally rare, there being only one example in our own country, viz., at Blaenavon (Mon), where a font of this material was provided for the church at the time of its erection (1805) by the proprietors of the local ironworks. The present Royal Font of England is also of metal—silver gilt—in the shape of a portable cup-shaped vessel standing 3 feet high. It was made by order of Charles II and is kept with the regalia in the Tower of London.²

(III) SEPULCHRAL MEMORIALS.

Under this head some outstanding examples may be referred to :—

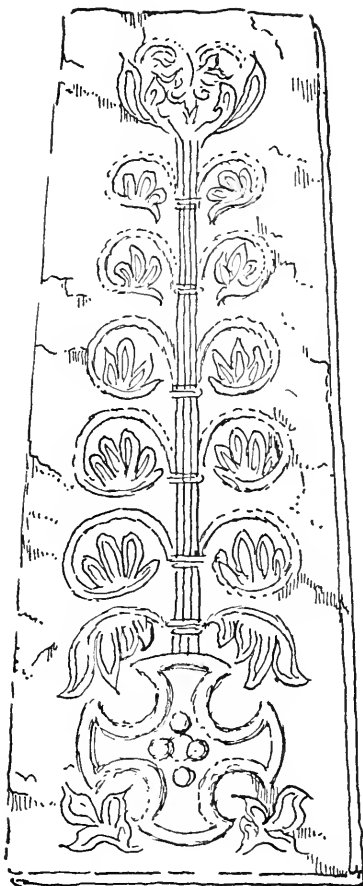
(A) Of early *Cross Sepulchral Slabs* an ornate specimen at Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmmwd is now fixed in an upright position to the north wall of the interior of the church (Fig. 40). The Norman semi-classical character of the foliage decoration, akin to that upon the font of Llangainwen and upon the large sepulchral slabs at St. Tudno

¹ Particulars of these are given in *Baptismal Fonts* (S.P.C.K.), Chapter ix.

² The Royal Font is described and illustrated by J. C. Wall in *Porches and Fonts*, pp. 193-4.

Llandudno, indicate a late twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century date.

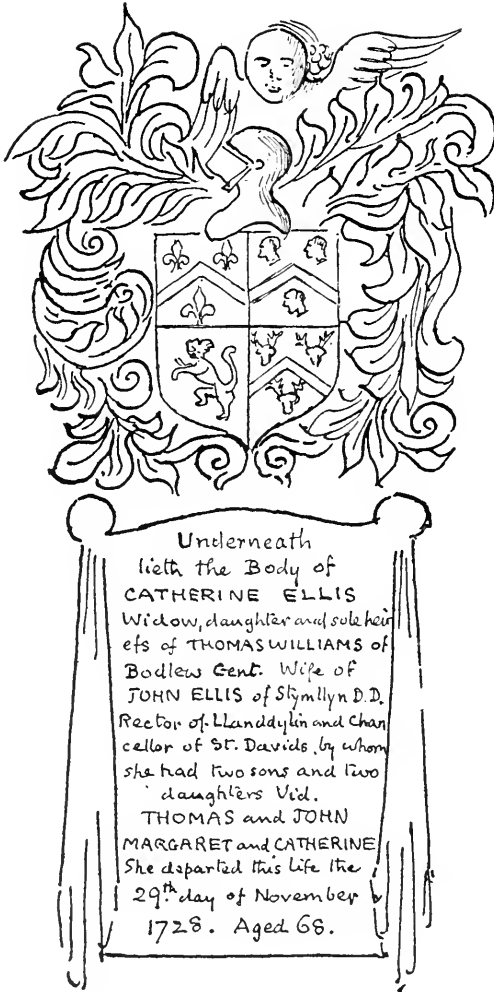
(B) In *Monumental Effigies* Anglesey is not rich. Llaniestyn church has an early example, popularly de-



40. Sepulchral Slab, Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmmwd.

scribed as a figure of St. Iestyn. In the grounds of Baron Hill near Beaumaris is preserved the stone coffin of Princess Joan, daughter of the English King John, with

her figure upon the lid. The illegitimate princess was bestowed in marriage by her father upon Llewelyn ap



41. Memorial Slab, Llanddeiniol-Fab.

Torwerth (the Great), the friend and patron of the monks and of the Franciscan Friars, and benefactor of Penmon

Priory, and was buried at her husband's foundation of Llanfaes, close to Beaumaris. After centuries of desecration the tomb is now carefully preserved. The not far distant church of Pennynydd also contains a fine monument with recumbent effigies, removed like Princess Joan's tomb from Llanfaes,¹ commemorating fifteenth-century members of the Tudor family which later became the royal house of Britain.

(c) The abundant local material of slate has been freely used for headstones in graveyards during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but has seldom been employed for interior memorials. There is, however, a most interesting example of a *Slate Memorial Slab* at Llanddeiniol-Fab (Fig. 41). This is now fixed to the inner wall of the porch and commemorates the heiress of Bodlew, who married Dr. John Ellis, Chancellor of St. Davids, and died in 1723. Such use of slabs of slate for interior memorials is specially characteristic of Cornwall, where their great number and variety form highly important evidence of the local art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²

(d) Of *Modern Memorials* special mention may be made of the altar-tomb, with attendant angels, to the Hon. W. O. Stanley, Lord Lieutenant of Anglesey, in the Stanley Memorial Chapel, which forms a striking feature of the interior of the church at Holyhead.

¹ Llanfaes Priory was a favourite burial-place in this part of the country. There were interred a son of the King of Denmark, Lord Clifford, and many of the knights slain in the Welsh wars.

² A few of these Cornish slate memorials are as old as the sixteenth century, as at Whitstone (1535), Lanivet (1559), Talland (1572), Michaelstow (1577) and Lanhydrock (1599). Amongst the very large number of seventeenth-century examples fine ones occur at Blisland, St. Breock, Davidstow, Egloshayle, St. Ewe, St. Ive, Landrake, Lanreath, North Hill and St. Stephen-by-Launceston.

(IV) WOODWORK.

The fifteenth century was, throughout the country, the golden age of church furniture, and in Anglesey,

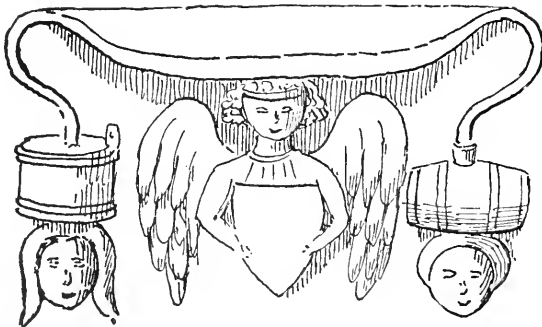


42. Miserere, Beaumaris.

as elsewhere generally, pre-Reformation woodwork of notable character dates from this period, being found usually in stalls and screens.

(A) *Stalls.*

The original fifteenth-century stalls remain at Llanilian in the chancel that was rebuilt at that time, and



43. Miserere, Beaumaris.

may be compared with the choir-stalls at Clynnog-Fawr (Carnarvonshire), of approximately the same date.

The chancel of Beaumaris, though later in date, has been fitted with some twenty-five seats of the fifteenth century, brought from the Priory of Llanfaes near by. These are of the usual type of their period, and are distinguished by the fine carving around the small "miserere" seat on their under sides. In the centre of each seat is a demi-angel with outstretched wings and holding a shield. The angel is in every case flanked by well-executed heads. Some are male heads, tonsured, hooded, mitred or crowned, while others are female, bareheaded, hooded or wearing caps. In some the occupations of daily life are pictured—a man carrying a barrel and women bearing in one case a sheaf of corn, and in another a milk-pail. Examples from these "misereres" are illustrated in Figs. 42, 43.

(B) *Rood-screens.*

In the old churches of the native plan the rood-screen which formed the division between the ritual chancel and the nave must have been the most interesting and the most ornate feature of the typical Welsh village church. Unfortunately the majority of these have perished, for, though they persisted through the changes consequent upon the Reformation, and lingered in considerable number through the subsequent difficult days of the growth of Puritan prejudice, and the period of neglect in the eighteenth century, they fell in the earlier half of the nineteenth century before the misguided zeal of church "restorers", being sacrificed to the craze for an open vista of a whole interior which marked that epoch. Thus most of the old Welsh churches lost their most imposing internal feature, and one, besides, that carried them back to a ceremonial arrangement that marked their lineal descent from the first sanctuaries built when Christianity was introduced into the land.

Fine examples of rood-screens, however, remain in the following churches:—

<i>Denbighshire.</i>	Gresford.
	Llanrwst. ¹
<i>Carnarvonshire.</i>	Clynnog Fawr. ²
	Conway. ²
	Dolwyddelan. ³
	Llanberis. ⁴
<i>Merioneth.</i>	Llanengan. ¹
	Llanegryn. ¹
<i>Montgomery.</i>	Montgomery. ¹
	Guilsfield.
	Llanwnog. ¹
	Pennant Melangell. ¹
<i>Brecon.</i>	Llandefalle.
	Llanelieu. ⁵
	Llanfillo. ¹
	Patricio. ⁶
<i>Radnor.</i>	Beguildy.
	Cascob. ¹
	Llananno. ¹
	Llanbister. ⁷
	Old Radnor.

¹ In these cases the screens retain their lofts above. The loft parapets at Llanrwst, Llanegryn, Montgomery, Pennant Melangell, Llanfillo, Cascob and Llananno are panelled, the panels in the last case being filled with statuary. At Llanengan, Llanwnog, Patricio, Bettws-Newydd, and Llangwm the loft parapets have their panels filled with pierced tracery of varied and graceful patterns.

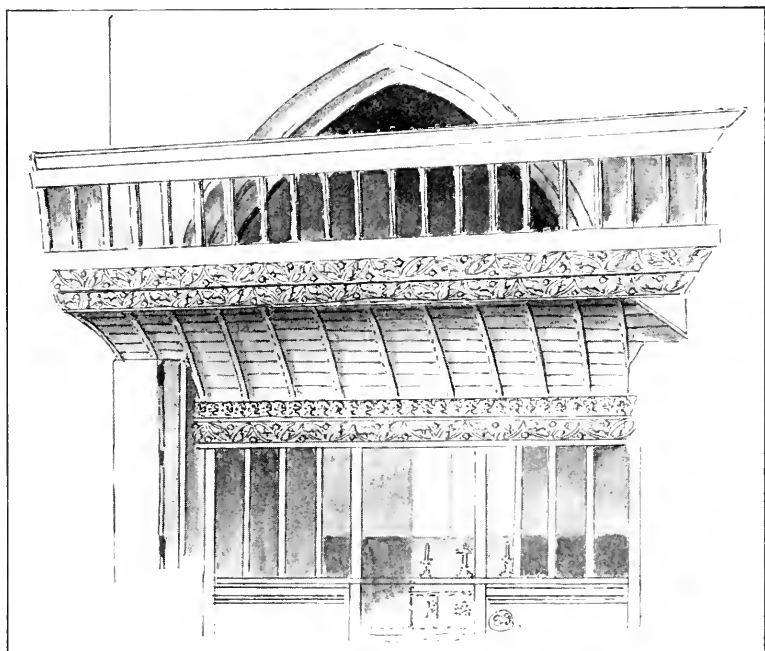
² These screens have retained the floors of their lofts.

³ This screen is now surmounted by an eighteenth-century balustrade.

⁴ Now removed to the west end of the church.

⁵ The screens at Llanelieu and Bettws are remarkable in having the whole space between the loft and the roof of the church boarded up so as to form a partition between the sanctuary and the nave, after primitive Celtic precedent.

⁶ At Patricio stone altars stand against the screen to right and left of the entrance to the chancel. This was a not unusual position



To face p. 113.

44.—Llaneilian, Rood-Screen.

Monmouth. Bettws Newydd.⁵
 Llangwm.¹
 Usk.⁸

The church of Llaneilian in Anglesey is fortunate in having retained its rood-screen contemporary with the rebuilding of the church in the fifteenth century (Fig. 44). The screen itself is of four rectangular openings, without tracery in their heads,⁹ on each side of the entrance in the centre, where still hang the original doors. Above this a coved projection supports the floor of the loft, and the horizontal mouldings and cornice are filled with a delicately carved pattern of stiff conventional flowers and leaves, with cusped tracery. The parapet of open panels is without tracery or carved ornament, and the loft was rendered easily accessible by a staircase within a stone turret at the south-east corner of the nave, which forms a prominent object in an exterior view, since it rises above the roof of the church, to which it also gives access (Fig. 12).

Portions of old rood-screens remain in some churches here and there in the country. At Newtown (Montgom.)

for subsidiary altars, as at Ranworth (Norfolk). It is a prevailing arrangement in France where rood-screens have been retained, as at St. Florentin (Yonne) and the church of the Madeleine at Troyes (Aube). A like arrangement is seen in Wales at St. David's, where the parish altar is placed against the screen to the north of the entrance, the chapter altar occupying the usual place of the high altar in the chancel. ⁷ An unusually plain and rudely-executed example.

⁸ The scheme of colour and gold has been restored in this case. Fragments of a screen recovered at Mount (Cardigan) during repairs in the winter of 1916-7 show traces of red and green colouring, and Meyrick in his work on Cardiganshire refers to the colouring of the screens at Llanbadarn Fawr. Fragments of the screen of Llanfairfechan, preserved at the Old Plas, are also coloured in red and green.

⁹ Contrasting in this respect with the compartments of such screens as Llanrwst, Conway, Llananno, and others, which have lace-like tracery in their heads.

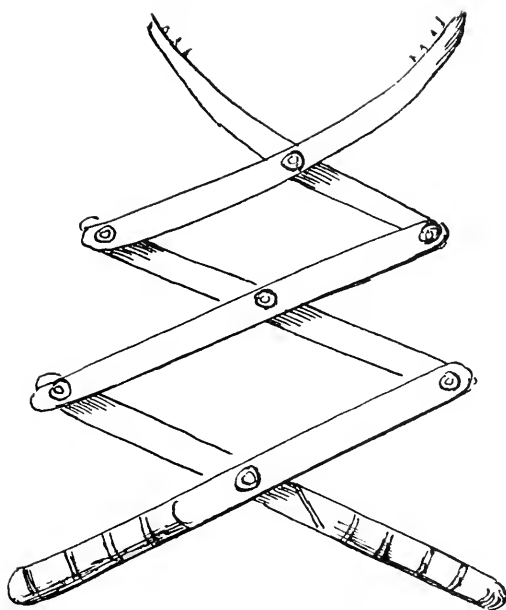
considerable remains have been converted into panelling around the sanctuary of the church which has succeeded the old parish church, now in ruins on the bank of the Severn. At Penmachno (Carnarvonshire) some parts are now incorporated in the communion rail, while St. Tudno Llandudno and Llangelynin churches in the same county also retain remnants of their screens. The Anglesey churches of Llanallgo and Llangwyllog have some relics of the like kind. Farther south we find some traceried panels of a former screen worked into a reredos at Llan-cynfelin (Cardigan), and two large beams of the rood-screen belonging to the old church of Llanina (Cardigan)—now beneath the waves of Cardigan Bay—may be seen at the west end of its poor and comparatively modern successor, while in Pembrokeshire at Manorbier the present chancel-screen embodies some part at least of the earlier and original one.

(c) *Pulpits.*

Wooden pulpits are rarely to be met with in our churches of a date antecedent to the fifteenth century, to which period belong some valuable examples such as those of Fotheringhay (Northants) and Wenden (Essex).¹ It was after the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when peculiar emphasis began to be laid on preaching, and the Anglican Canons of 1603 had ordered that a comely and decent pulpit be provided and set in a convenient position, that we find many of the churches throughout the land fitted with a pulpit with ornament typical of the "Jacobean" period. Anglesey churches have some fair examples of the type, as at Bodewryd, Llanfaethlu and Llangaffo. More curious is the finer pulpit in the lonely and ill-kept church

¹ A notable wooden pulpit of earlier date is the one at Lutterworth (Leics), from which Wycliffe, who held that benefice, must have preached.

of Llanfihangel-Dinsilwy, of the date 1628, whose ornament, of the characteristic forms of that time, is burnt into the wood instead of carved. There is also some very well executed carved wood-work incorporated into the pulpit, reading-desk and choir-stalls of the new church at Llanedwen, on the Marquis of Anglesey's estate, but this was obviously intended in the first instance for domestic and not for ecclesiastical furniture.



45. Llanedwen, Dog Tongs.

(V) DOG-TONGS.

In connection with the subject of church furniture mention should be made of dog-tongs, an instrument which seems to have been much in vogue with parish clerks in this part of Wales in the eighteenth century and early part of the nineteenth century, for the removal from the church, without personal risk, of troublesome dogs. A

curiosity of this kind is still kept at Llanelilian (dated 1748) and at Llanedwen (Fig. 45), the grip of the wooden pincers being strengthened in the second case by the addition of sharp iron spikes. In the neighbouring county of Carnarvon dog-tongs are also kept at Bangor Cathedral, at Llanfairfechan, at Llaniestyn (dated 1750), and at Clynog-Fawr (of iron, dated 1815).

V.—CONCLUSION.

The greater part of Anglesey, so far as natural attractions are concerned, is somewhat featureless. Its hills do not attain the dignity of mountains¹ and it is comparatively bare of trees, so that its aspect contrasts with the grandeur of scenery that characterises the neighbouring mainland of Wales.² But to the student and the thoughtful the human interest and associations of the island must always make their strong appeal, and it is the intimate connection of architecture with these that renders an intelligent examination of old churches especially attractive though somewhat difficult to carry out, for the churches of Anglesey are for the most part as closely locked up and the keys as inaccessible as when George Borrow tramped through "Wild Wales". The present paper will, it is hoped, help to make it clear that features of building due to extraneous influence have their fascinating story to tell, and their light to throw upon movements of history, but the dominant interest of Anglesey,

¹ Holyhead Mountain is a little over 700 feet high, while Parys Mountain only reaches the height of about 500 feet.

² Giraldus Cambrensis describes the natural character of Anglesey in a few words—"Est autem Moniae arida tellus et saxosa, deformis aspectu et inamoena." *Itinerarium*, II, vii. Of the church buildings of the island he tells us nothing, but with his usual interest in natural history discourses upon a local breed of tail-less dogs.

from our present point of view, lies in the little churches of the native plan which has, in the island, always held the field. The great wave of stone-craft and constructive skill which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries swept over Western Europe broke upon the barrier of the mountains of Wales and penetrated but little into its valleys, and remote Anglesey was, even more than the rest of Wales, immune from it. Thus, although the actual structure of an original oratory of the sixth century missionary saints in no case remains, yet the Anglesey churches are still in their plan and general aspect little more than the cells of the old Celtic founders whose names they perpetuate. Lonely upon a hill-side like Llanfihangel Dinsilwy under the shadow of Bwrdd Arthur—overlooking a storm-swept coast like Llanbadrig above the significantly named Hell's Mouth—or isolated by the waves of each tide like Llangwyfan and Llanddwyn—bare and rude in appearance and almost devoid of architectural features—they tell, equally with the town churches that preside over the market-place, or with stately cathedrals rich in carved work and imagery, of those eternal verities that lie behind all life. Since the Reformation, which well-nigh struck a death blow to care for the old sanctuaries, they have passed through a period of neglect, but in spite of this they witness still to man's hold upon the unseen by that faith which brings him strength for the struggle of the present and hope for the world to come, when the fleeting trials of this transitory life have passed.

“Yr hoedl er hyd ei haros
A dderfydd yn nydd ac yn nos.”¹

¹ Inscription upon the exterior sundial at Holyhead church.

Ironwork in the Teifi Valley.

BY THE REV. E. TYRRELL-GREEN, M.A.,

WHEN travelling about the country the student of Architecture, or anyone interested in artistic design, will always be quick to notice special features or peculiarities of a particular district. Sometimes in by-paths and out-of-the-way parts, or in a neighbourhood otherwise barren, a local fashion, or some native school of workers, has been responsible for detail of unusual merit, or for some prevailing feature that is either peculiar to the district, or only met with so rarely elsewhere as to be characteristic.

West Wales is not remarkable, generally speaking, for the architecture of its ancient buildings, which are for the most part simple in their plan and comparatively rude in their structure. Nor are the accessories and fittings of buildings in the same locality noteworthy for beauty of design or for sound workmanship. But there are occasional exceptions, and the lower part of the Teifi valley, from Llandyssul to Cardigan, has some unusually good iron-work to show, which seems to have been due to the skill and rivalry of famous local blacksmiths during the earlier half of the nineteenth century. The presence of such workmanship in remote places of this out-of-the-way district is the more remarkable, since good iron-work cannot be said to be common in Wales as a whole.

Very characteristic work of these Cardiganshire smiths is especially seen in the iron railings, with tall gates, which enclose graves of the period from 1800 to 1850 in some of the churchyards of the region. A great many of these are found in the churchyard at Llandyssul, and two of the

finest, exhibiting interesting variety in their design, are illustrated in *Figures 1 and 2*, while another especially

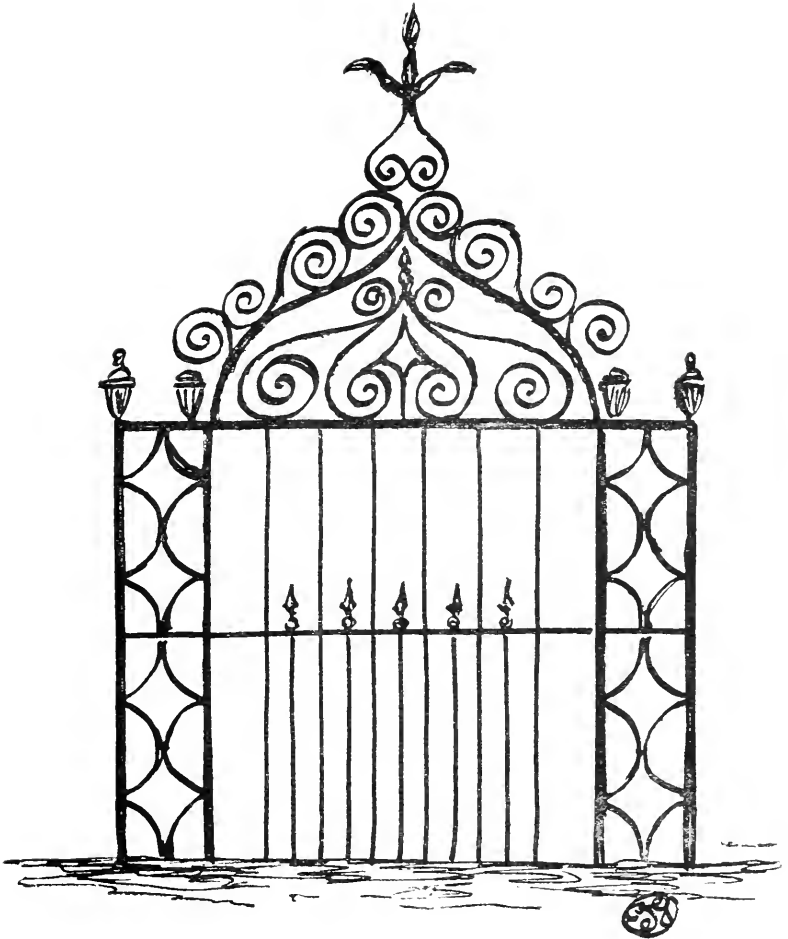


Fig. 1. Gate to grave enclosure, Llandyssul.

good example, almost identical in form with *Fig. 2*, occurs in the graveyard of Hawen Chapel at Rhydlewiss eight or nine miles distant.

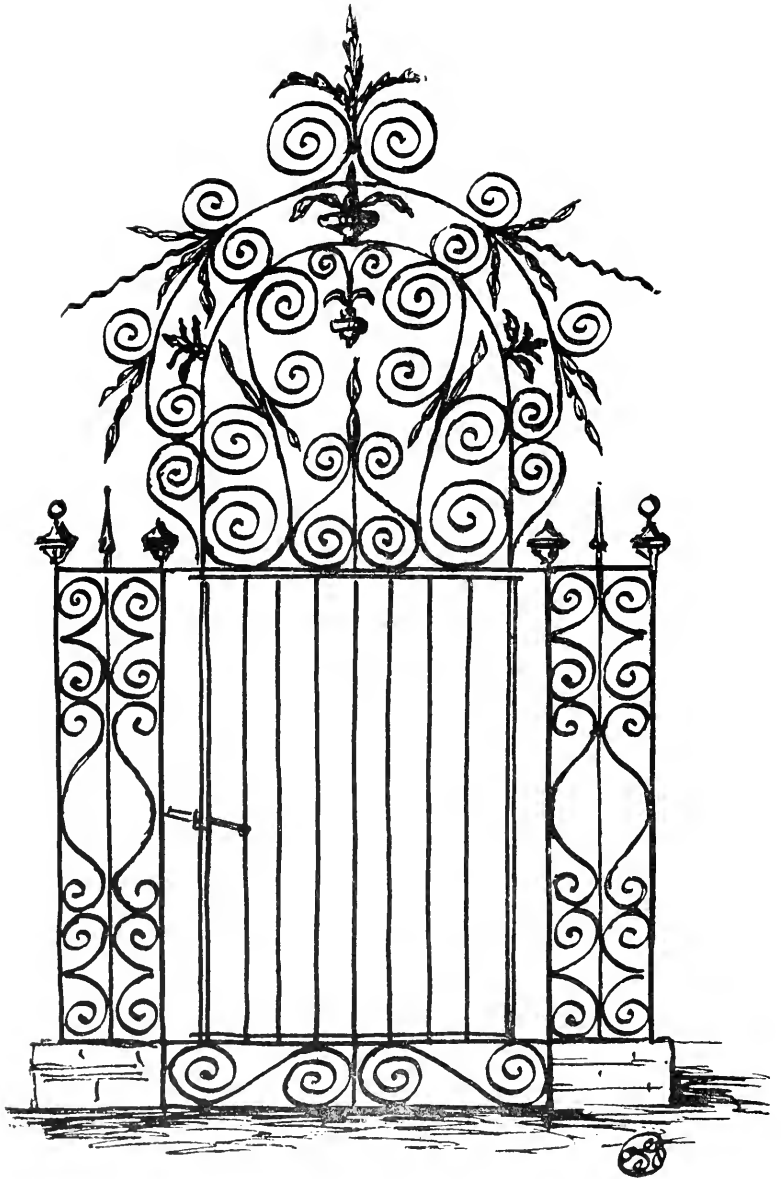


Fig. 2. Gate to grave enclosure, Llandyssul.

The little town of Llandyssul seems to have been the centre of the activity of this school of workers in iron, for Tyssul Castle, the largest house there, has some very well executed iron railings for its enclosure, adjoining the old bridge, and a chemist's shop in the town has railings of simple and effective design with very pleasing double gates in the centre surmounted by an iron arch with scroll-work, holding a lamp (*Fig. 3*).

Of design analogous to the Llandyssul grave-railings is the fine gate at the main entrance on the south side of the churchyard at Troedyraur (*Fig. 4*). This is known to have been the work of Thomas Jones, a blacksmith of the hamlet of Brongest, which lies in the valley below the church, and was made in 1831. The upper part with elaborate scroll-work is properly and prudently fixed in the stone-work of the enclosing arch, thus avoiding the heavy strain upon the iron-work which would result were the gates so formed as to open right up to the top. The actual gates, which open in the centre, measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high by 4ft. 3in. broad.

Cardigan, at the lowest extremity of the valley, has a graceful example of similar work, though on a smaller scale, in the gates which close a footpath leading to the grounds of the old castle which has now been long used as a private residence (*Fig. 5*).

The grandest examples of this local craft are at the upper limit of the district, about two miles above Llandyssul. These are the great gates to the enclosure of the farm buildings at Llanfair Farm, close to the banks of the Teifi (*Figs. 6 and 7*). The buildings themselves are solid and massive in character in the form of a quadrangle of unusually large scale, and bear the date 1797. A tall round-headed arch forms the entrance into the enclosure from the road, and on the opposite side of the quadrangle

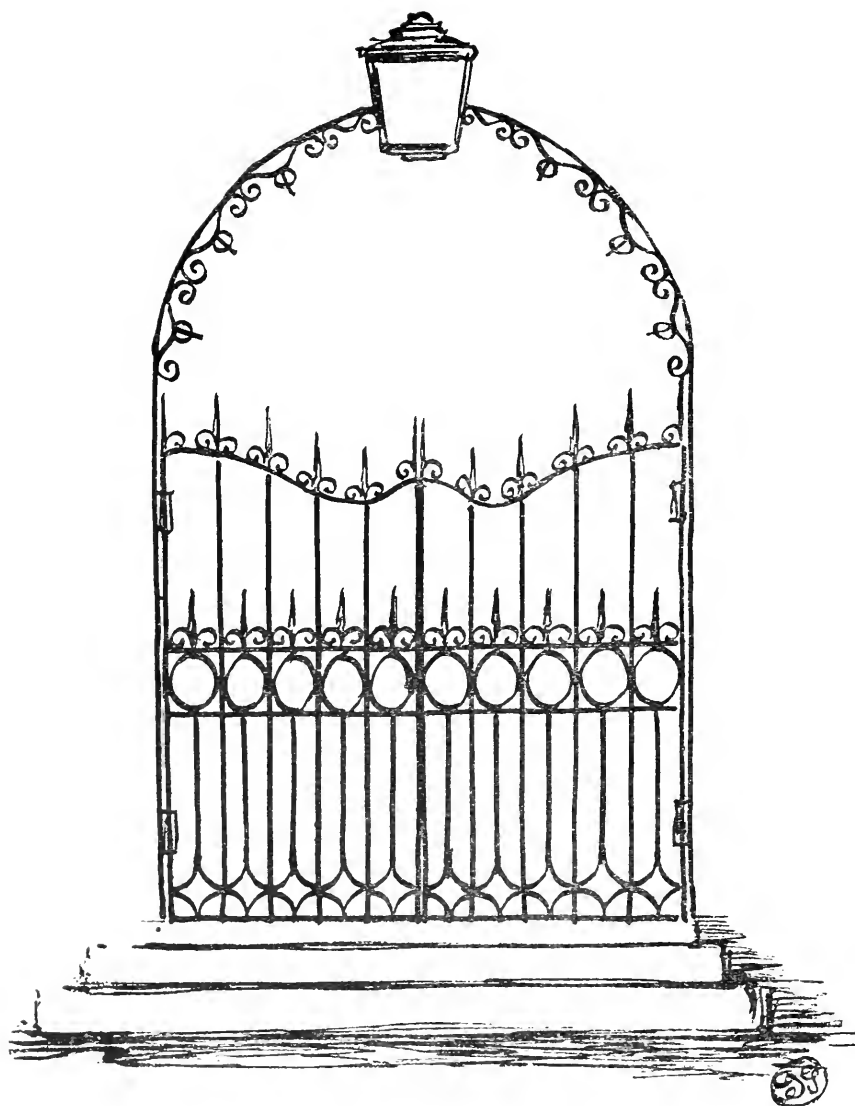


Fig. 3. Gateway to chemist's shop, Llandyssul.

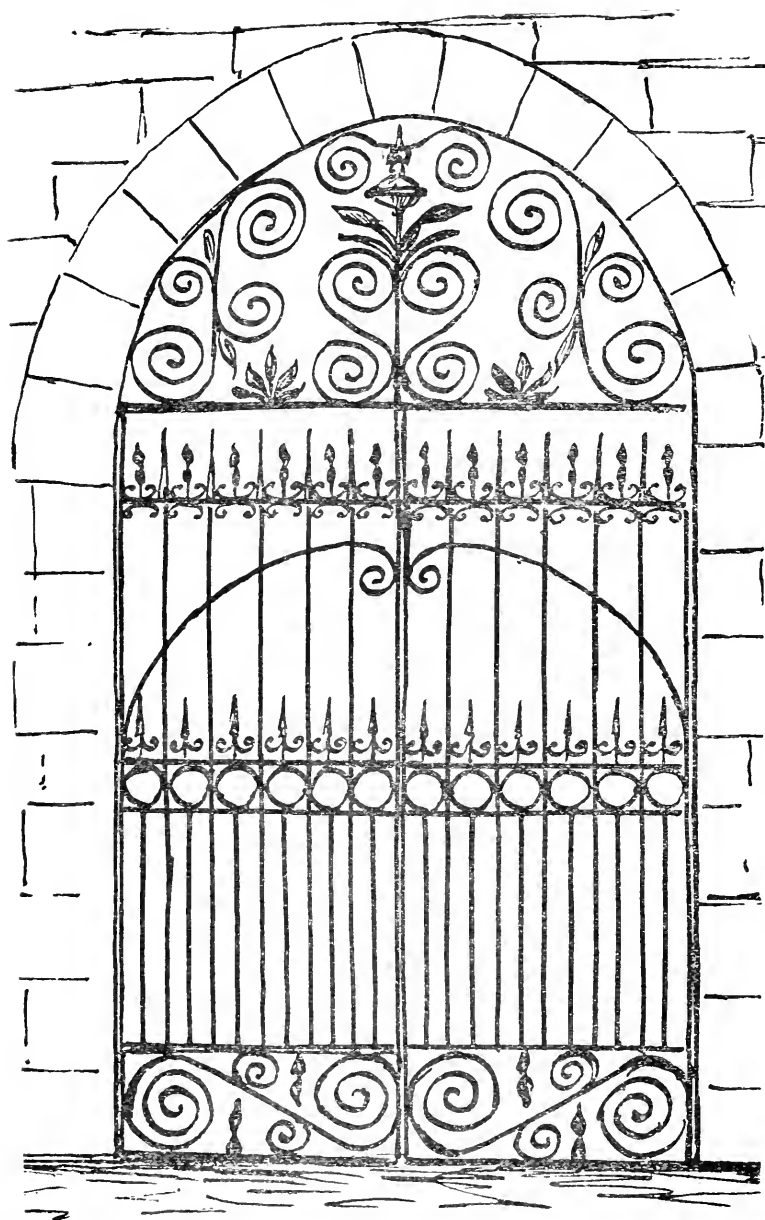


Fig. 4. Gateway to churchyard, Troedyaaur.

a similar archway leads into the river-meadows. Both these arches are filled in to the top with high gates, opening in the centre, of finely designed and well-executed iron-work. The current story is that the respective pairs of gates were the work of two rival smiths of the Teifi valley who strove to outvie one another in the magnificence of their work. The more elaborately designed gates are those opening from the road. These have a band of scroll-work at the base and are no less than ten feet in height. They are still strong and sound, though not kept in very good repair. The other gates, giving on to the meadows by the river, are of similar design and workmanship. Though less intricate in pattern they are of almost exactly the same measurement, and John Gôf Edwards, a blacksmith who lived near-by, used to claim that they had been made by his father. The scroll-work of these gates will bear comparison with the best work of the kind in other lands, and the high gates at Llanfair Farm in fact recall such famous examples as the similar infillings of *fer forgé* in the gates of the old monastery churchyard at Salzburg in the Austrian Tyrol. The Salzburg gates, like the one at the entrance to Troedyraur churchyard, have their upper scroll-work fixed in the containing archway, the barred gates below affording sufficient space, when opened, for passage in and out. At Llanfair Farm the gates swing open to the very top of the arch, a detrimental arrangement so far as the gates themselves are concerned, for the heavy weight of such very lofty gates has inevitably resulted in some bending and sagging of the work. But it was obviously essential that the farmyard archways should be opened to their full extent to allow for the passage of heavily laden waggons.

Down to about 50 years ago the smiths of the Llandyssul valley were famous for their good work, and one of

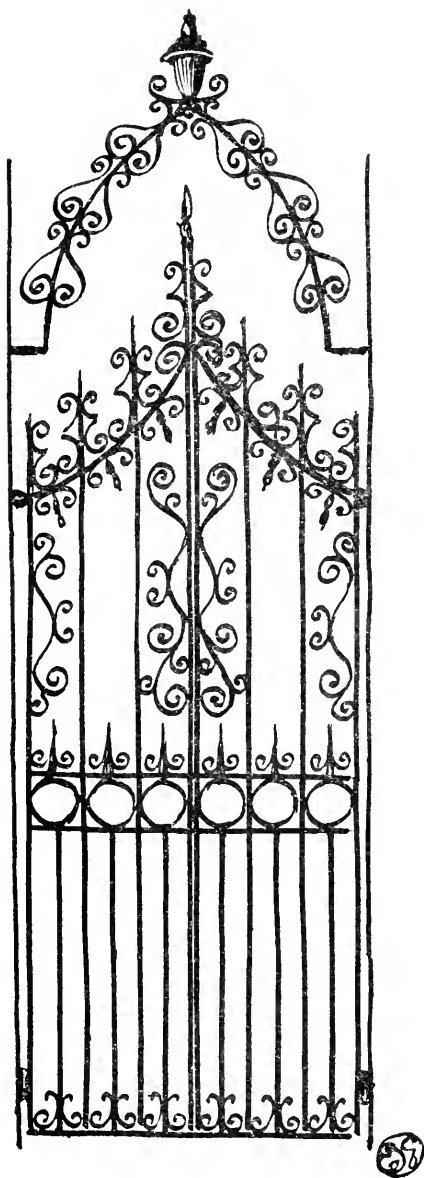


Fig. 5. Gateway to footpath to Castle Grounds, Cardigan.

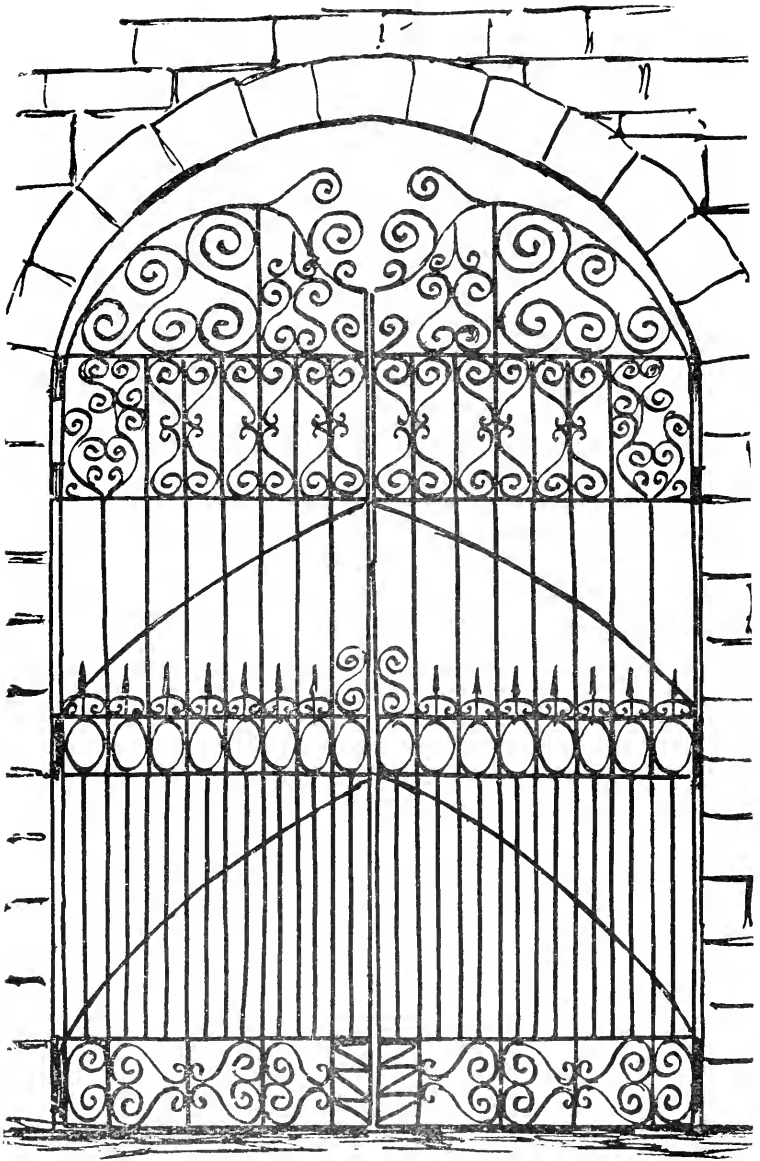


Fig. 6. Gateway to Llanfair Farm.

the last of the school, named Evan Rees, was responsible for the large vane in the form of a fish that still adorns a gable of the Porth Hotel at Llandyssul, a well-known house in West Wales with five miles of the best fishing of the Teifi, and a favourite resort of anglers (*Fig. 8*). A smaller fish-vane also surmounts a small lantern at Llanfair Farm house. Upon buildings by the banks of a river or near the sea shore, where men occupy their business in the waters, it is not uncommon for a weather-vane to assume this form. Examples occur at Oxborough Rectory and Downham Market in West Norfolk bordering upon the Fens, and upon the church steeples of Filey (Yorks.) and Piddinghoe (Sussex), the last-named being somewhat inexactly referred to by Rudyard Kipling in his well-known verses on Sussex—

“ . . south where windy Piddinghoe’s
 Begilded Dolphin veers,
And black beside wide-banked Onse
 Lie down our Sussex steers.”

In departing from the normal weathercock a vane by its form sometimes thus alludes to man’s sport as at the Porth Hotel, and as witnesses the not uncommon fox in the like position on farm buildings. Occasionally also its form is suggested by man’s daily work. A dainty example of this latter kind is found at the hamlet of Maes-y-Llyn buried away in a deep dingle not far from Llandyssul. Here the blacksmith has erected a diminutive plough, carefully modelled, upon the roof of his forge to do duty for a vane (*Fig. 9*). There are scarcely any other vanes of noteworthy design in the neighbourhood, and a discussion of the curious forms of vanes in general would take us too far from the subject of this article, which has been written to draw attention to some outstanding examples of the craft of workers in iron who have only in recent

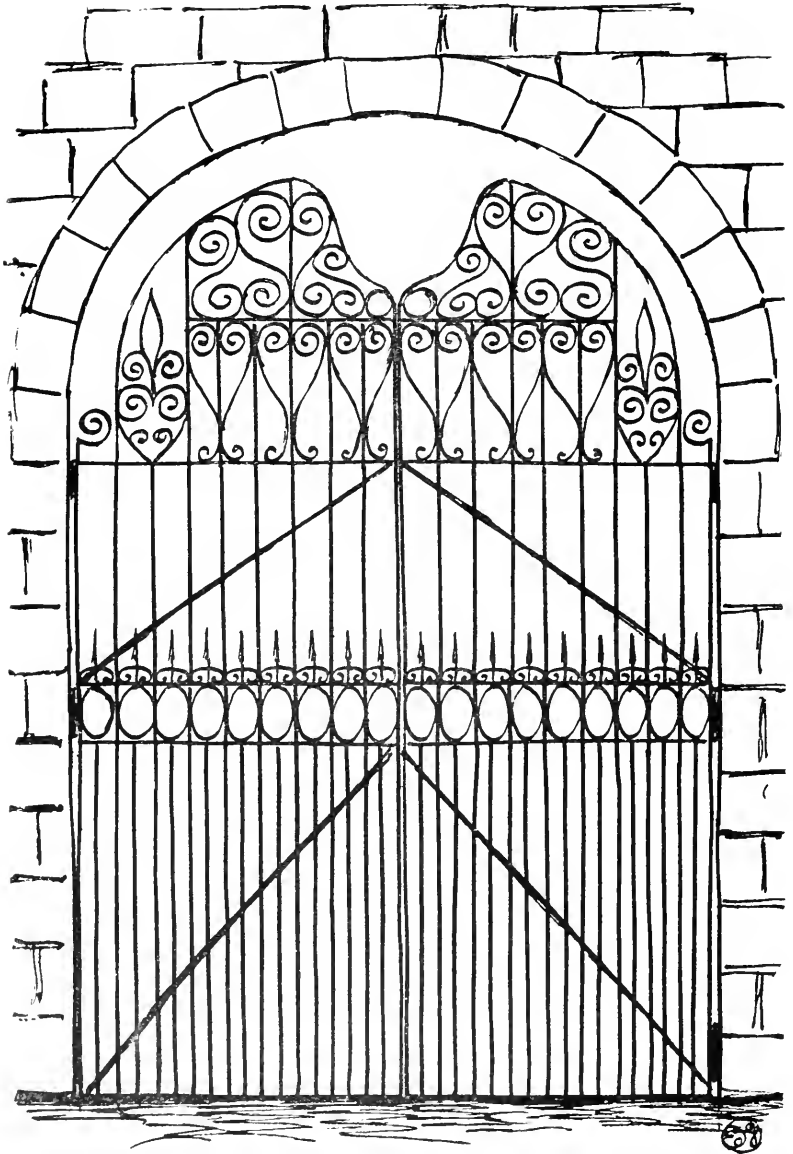


Fig. 7. Gateway to Llanfair Farm.

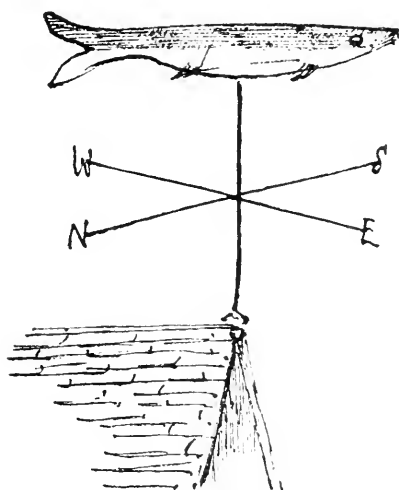


Fig. 8. Vane at the Porth Hotel, Llandyssul.

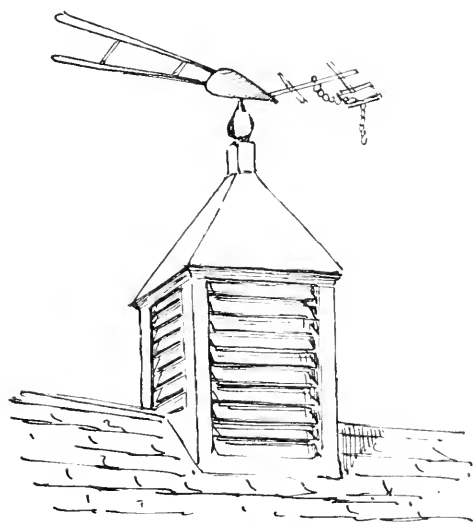


Fig. 9. Vane at smithy, Maes-y-Llyn.

times passed away from a district whose natural beauties so engross the traveller's attention that he is apt to overlook such evidences of man's handiwork as are here dealt with.

The Importance and Value of Local Records.

THE DOLGELLEY PARISH REGISTERS

By T. P. ELLIS, M.A.,

Author of "Welsh Tribal Law in the Middle Ages", and "Dolgelly and Llanelltyd".

PRELIMINARY NOTE, BY E. VINCENT EVANS, C.H.

THE importance and the value of Welsh Local Records have not as yet been fully recognised. In 1899 a Committee was appointed by the First Lord of the Treasury, with instructions to enquire as to the existing arrangements for the collection and custody of Local Records, with the then Lord Bishop of London (Dr. Creighton) as Chairman. Dr. Creighton died in 1901, and was succeeded in the Chairmanship by the Right Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L. The Committee issued a Report in 1902, and in regard to Parochial Records pointed out that the most important of such records included the Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, the accounts of churchwardens, and overseers of the poor, rate books, minutes of vestry meetings, title deeds, etc., relating to land, tithe maps and apportionments, and inclosure awards.

The earliest Churchwardens' accounts were said to date from the 14th century, and were of very great interest as throwing light on the fabrics and ornaments of parish churches, as well as on the social, ecclesiastical, and economical conditions of the parishes to which they

relate. Parish rate books were useful, as showing the occupations, and the changes in character, and in value of property, throughout the country. Amongst the records of some parishes there are ancient conveyances of land, and wills relating to benefactions to the Church, to the chantries therein, and to local charities, which are of considerable value for historical and practical purposes.

The Tithe Maps, which under the Tithe Act of 1836 were to be deposited with the incumbents and church or chapel wardens of the parish, or such other fit person as might be approved, were considered to be sources of wide information in regard to ancient monuments, field and place names, and local history generally. The Inclosure Awards under the Inclosure Act of 1845, copies of which were to be deposited with the Clerk of the Peace, and with the wardens for the time being, were of equal importance for purposes of research and information. The Committee, while acknowledging that in an increasing number of cases parish records were preserved with great care, pointed out that there was no general or uniform method or arrangement, and papers which threw considerable light on the history of a locality were in constant danger of being lost or destroyed. It was admitted, however, that within recent years there had been a growing recognition among the Clergy of the importance of ancient registers and other documents, and of the precautions necessary to ensure their safety.

In 1910 a Royal Commission was appointed for a similar object, but of somewhat wider import. The terms of reference directed the Commission to inquire into and to report on the State of the Public Records and Local Records of a public nature. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., was appointed Chairman, and Dr. Hubert Hall, a distinguished archivist and antiquarian, was appointed Secretary.

Wales, it may be said in passing, was fully represented on the Commission. In regard to Parochial Records the Commission reported (Vol. iii, 1919) that very few rural parishes now possess complete series of any class of their Civil Records. This they said was due not so much to recent neglect, or the deficiencies of modern legislation, as to frequent changes of custodians and the obsolete character of some of the records themselves. They strongly urged the importance of each separate class of document, as most if not all of them can be made to throw light upon social or economic history, and many of them are of great value to the archæologist. The Report states that Returns made in 1831 enumerate in the 11,000 parishes of England and Wales, 772 Registers beginning in 1538. The total number of such Registers extant in 1909 was 656, plus some 16, containing entries of an earlier date. A hundred Registers of this class have thus disappeared in 80 years. There have been three principal causes of loss, accidents (usually fires) befalling the repositories; continuous neglect on the part of custodians; and failure to provide for the safe transmission of records when benefices changed hands. Matters have improved in late years—the parochial clergy are as a rule fully alive to the interest and importance of these documents—but abuses are inseparable from the present system. The removal of the records to a central repository has been advocated, but against this suggestion the forces of local patriotism are strongly arrayed; from the local point of view, to deprive a parish of the records of the past is to inflict upon it a hardship. What can and should be insisted upon is a periodical inspection of all Registers, with penalties for neglect, and a special inspection at the time of every change in the incumbency of a parish. Provision through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or from some other source, should be made for

the proper accommodation and repair of the records, when the resources of the parish are too limited to provide the necessary expenditure. What is here said of the custody of the Registers applies also to the preservation of Churchwardens' Accounts, Overseers' Accounts, and similar documents, many of which are of the greatest interest. The Commissioners, whose words we have largely quoted, deplore the lack of detailed information from Wales. To some extent this has been remedied by recent enquiries, but in regard to the past the Commission came to the conclusion that by the year 1800 a large proportion of the 16th and 17th century records was already missing, and that since 1837 others have gone astray, or perished from sheer neglect. This they add is all the more to be regretted as, apart from the admitted value of such records for both national and local history, the surviving Welsh county records appear to possess features of exceptional interest, and the loss of those of an earlier date must be regarded by historical students as a profound calamity. To those of us who have a love and a respect for local traditions and status it is not reassuring to be told that the general condition of our Welsh records are less satisfactory than that which obtains in England. The Commissioners were not aware that any systematic description or inventory of parish registers, etc., had been made for any district of Wales as has been done in Shropshire and some other English Counties. In this connexion, however, it is only bare justice to mention the very excellent work done, all but single-handed, by Colonel Sir Joseph Bradney, C.B., D.Litt., in his transcripts of the Registers of various Monmouthshire Parishes, and his Ilandaff Records, and incidentally of course in his great History of Monmouthshire. What can be done by local investigation will be further apparent from the very interesting summary of

the contents of the Dolgelley Parish Registers, which follows this preliminary note, and is the reason why it was written. The summary is the work of Mr. T. P. Ellis, M.A., the author of "Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages," who after strenuous judicial labours in India has retired, and has taken a house on the estuary of the Mawddach near to Dolgelley, and employs his leisure time, of which he has too little to spare, in examining local records, and in writing up local history, of which he has given us a delightful example in his little book on "Dolgelley and Llanelltyd." We commend this study of parochial registers to our readers in the hope that it will quicken their interest in what is left of the records of the past, and induce them to follow the excellent example set by Sir Joseph Bradney and Mr. T. P. Ellis.

THE DOLGELLEY PARISH REGISTERS.

BY T. P. ELLIS, M.A.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

AN important class of documents which throw light upon the social and economic life of Wales, particularly in the early years of the nineteenth century, is that of the Vestry and other Registers of certain of the important parish churches of the country.

This source of information has hitherto been almost entirely neglected in Wales; and the following article is the result of an attempt to study the details contained in one such series, that of the Dolgelley Parish Church.

The Vestry Register begins on the 21st April, 1795, and the last entry is dated 11th March, 1898, when, the old Register being filled, a new one was opened.

The Vestry Register deals with many subjects, but the most important is the administration of the Poor Law by the Vestry during the years 1795 to 1837, when the new Parochial Amendment Act was applied to Dolgelley, and the administration of the Poor Law was, thereafter, transferred to the Board of Guardians of the Dolgelley Union. It is, therefore, with the Poor Law Administration of the parish that the first section of this article is concerned; and it is necessary, in order to economise space, to assume that the average reader has some knowledge of the Poor Laws of the period.

II. POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION.

1. *The Parish and its Vestry.*

Dolgelley parish consisted of seven "townships", Dolgelley, Cefn'rowen, Dyffrydan, Dolgledr, Brithdir Isaf, Brithdir Uchaf, and Garthgynfawr, and the operations of the Vestry were limited to those areas.

When the Board of Guardians came into existence in 1837, it was a Board of Guardians for a Union, comprising the parishes of Dolgelley, Llanfachreth, Llanelltyd, Llanaber, Llanddwywe, Llanenddwyn, Llangelynin, Llanegryn, Llanfihangel y Pennant, Llanymawddwy, Mallwyd and Talyllyn.

It is needful to bear this in mind in any comparisons that anyone may be tempted to make in considering the administration of the Poor Law before and after 1837.

The control of the Poor Law was in the hands of the Parish Vestry, that is of the whole body of parishioners. It was the Vestry, which met sometimes in the Parish Church, sometimes in the Town Hall, and to which everyone had access, that decided who was deserving of relief, what relief should be given, and what poor rate should be levied. But though the Vestry was open to all and sundry,

as a matter of practise it was attended, except on very special occasions, by very few people, sometimes as few as three and rarely by more than a dozen. Under the pretext of being "popular" government, it was, as popular government generally is, government by a clique.

The Vestry had executive officers: churchwardens for work connected with the Church, an overseer or overseers for Poor Law work, and a Vestry clerk, to say nothing of the Town Crier.

The all important executive officer in connection with poor relief was the Overseer.

In Dolgelley, with only one intermission, the Overseer was from 1795 to 1816 one of the Churchwardens named Thomas Jones.

There is an amusing reference to him on the fly-leaf of the Vestry Register, where his name is inscribed in large letters with the appellation "Heretics" attached to it, which suggests that he possibly found refuge in the fold of Methodism.

Thomas Jones was entirely illiterate: he was unable to write even his own name; and it would appear that such accounts as he maintained were maintained by his wife, who was also the local midwife.

He was the sole Overseer from 1795 to 1801, in which year (owing to the exceptional distress of the time) four Overseers were appointed. From 1802 to 1810 he was again sole Overseer, and in that year the Vestry drew up a list of "competent persons in every township" from which list it resolved that "one person from each township list should be appointed for a year to act as Inspectors of the accounts of the Assistant Overseers, hereinafter appointed", such accounts to be opened for their inspection every first Tuesday in the month.

Thomas Jones was appointed sole Assistant Overseer.

and he continued as such, being variously called Overseer, Assistant Overseer, Acting Overseer, and Managing Overseer, until he died in 1816.

Inspectors under this arrangement were appointed for the first year; but there is no record of any second list of inspectors. In 1810 there appears to have been some doubt as to the Overseer's capacity, for, in appointing him for three years, the appointment was made subject to the provision that "the said Inspectors do not find sufficient cause, in the course of the first year, to turn him out of office. In such case his appointment to expire at the end of one year, at which time he shall be at liberty to resign, if he should think proper".

Whatever doubts there may have been as to his capacity were allowed to subside; and we have the extraordinary fact that the practical administration of the Poor Law was for over 20 years in the hands of an entirely illiterate person.

During his term of office he was paid £25 per annum until 1805, when his salary was increased to £30.

On his death in 1816, three Overseers were appointed; and they were allowed £21 a year "towards the trouble of collecting and distributing the Poor Rate"; and they were given power to employ the widow of Thomas Jones or any other person to do the actual work. As a matter of fact they appointed the widow to do the work, and henceforth she was in sole control of the collection of the poor rate and the distribution of relief, as ordered by the Vestry clique, bearing the title of Overseer, until 1819. In 1819 her son was associated with her at the same salary, i.e., at £21 per annum. She remained Overseer until 1822, when, having re-married, she quarrelled with her son and was dismissed. Thus the 27 years' rule of an illiterate person and a midwife came to an end.

The details may appear of no importance; but as illuminatory of parochial government a century ago, and as explicatory of some of the corruption attendant thereon, it is necessary to mention the facts.

It appears that in 1822 some of the heavy ratepayers demanded a scrutiny of the Overseer's accounts for the previous six years, and the result may be told best in the resolutions of the Vestry:—

“ July 16, 1822:—‘ It having been found necessary that the Accounts of the Parish should be examined for several years past, it has been discovered that there have been great irregularity practiced, and also a very large balance appears to be due to it from E—— E——, the acting Overseer, as also various large sums remaining unpaid, It is ordered that Mr. H—— W——, Solicitor, be employed to assist the Vestry how to proceed with regard to them and her, and to take such legal advice as he may think necessary. It is also ordered that E—— E—— be prevented receiving any more money on account of the Parish, and not in any way interfere with the concerns of the Parish except attending as Midwife.’

“ Sept. 17, 1822.—‘ The opinion with regard to the affairs of E—— E—— and the Parish having arrived, It is advised that the following Persons (8 in number) be requested to consult with Mr. H—— W—— what further steps be taken concerning it and other affairs of the Parish, and report it to a general Vestry as they shall see proper.’

“ Decr. 20, 1822.—‘ It was also ordered that E—— E—— be called upon by Mr. H—— W—— and that he take the most summary way to make her pay the balance due to the Parish.’ ”

Whether anything was ever recovered and what the amount of the moneys embezzled was, is not stated.

That this state of affairs was common elsewhere is probable, for in 1819 an Act was passed to allow the householders and occupiers to appoint a Select Vestry for the administration of the Poor Law, in hopes of securing a more rational management.

Following on the dismissal of the fraudulent Overseer, such a Select Vestry of 19 was elected by the Vestry at

Dolgelley in July, 1822, and new Overseers appointed for six months at £10 10s. Another Select Vestry was appointed on December 20th, but for some reason or other it ceased to function after April, 1823, when the General Vestry again assumed control and stuck to it. The latter in April, 1823, appointed a new Assistant Overseer on £24 per annum, raised the following year to £30, and in 1826 to £40, reduced in 1827 to £36, at which rate it remained constant until the Board of Guardians was set up.

During the period 1822 to 1837 the accounts appear to have been properly kept, and no further case of misappropriation occurred.

The Vestry Clerk, whose duties were purely secretarial, was paid £2 2s. per annum from 1801 to 1818, £3 3s. per annum from 1818 to 1823, £5 in 1823, £2 from 1824 to 1827, and £4 from 1827 to 1856, when his remuneration was again raised to £5 per annum. The Town Crier received 2s. 6d. in 1796, a remuneration which was increased in 1833 to 10s.

So far we have been dealing with the executive officials of the Vestry. Was it possible in the period to have secured a better quality? Apparently yes, for it is quite clear that literacy was fairly high in the locality (this is obvious from the signatures appearing from time to time), and that there were men of ability in the locality. But, nevertheless, the control of matters was largely with the illiterate or the corrupt. Save the curate, and later on the Rector—and he only occasionally—it was rare that men of position and ability took part in the ordinary administration of the Vestry.

The reason, no doubt, was that common sin of Welsh small town life, jealousy of ability and knowledge on the one hand and disinclination on the other to come into the market place and compete with the "ring". It is only,

therefore, on occasions of stress that we find men of standing appearing at the Vestry. Whenever any matter of importance is mooted, whenever a mess has to be straightened out, then the man of knowledge is brought in, to be discarded as soon as the crisis is over.

Such, without entering into details, is the story of the Dolgelley Vestry, the ordinary meetings of which, dealing with the Poor Law administration, remained to the end mainly meetings of the uneducated or those with axes to grind.

2. *The Burden of Rates.*

We may turn now to a review of the total burdens imposed by the Poor Law upon the neighbourhood.

It must be borne in mind that the Vestry Registers do not contain accounts. These were kept, if kept at all, separately, and are no longer in existence. So far as the total burdens are concerned, we have nothing to go upon save the rate per £ sanctioned by the Vestry from time to time. We have not even the assessment value of the parish given us, and that assessment value varied from time to time. This variation will be dealt with later. We are, however, not without assistance in arriving at an approximate estimate of the total annual burden of the rates, for in March, 1837, at the very end of the period, the Register contains the following :—

“That a rate sufficient to raise £264/14/4, the estimate now produced (that is for a quarter’s relief), be allowed,”

and a rate of 2s. 3d. in the £ was accordingly voted. In the same year we find a Church rate of 1s. in the £ estimated to produce £117.

This was on the rateable value arrived at in 1831, so it can be asserted that, from 1831 on, rates of 2s. 3d. and 1s. were roughly equivalent to a yield of £264 14s. 4d. and £117 respectively, or in other words that a penny rate

yielded £10. Up to 1831 a penny rate obviously produced less, for the property assessed was more limited, and, so far as can be judged, up to that date a penny rate yielded a rough average of £7 10s.

On this basis, as the Register gives the quarterly rate practically without omission from 1795 to 1837, we can arrive at an approximate estimate of the levy for poor relief.

Columns 4 and 5 of Appendix I. give the figures (a) of the annual rates levied, and (b) the estimated annual yield.

It will be observed that there were six "quarterly" rates levied in 1801 (a year of great distress throughout the country), and five in 1826, that the period of greatest prosperity was from 1803 to 1811, after which there was, with occasional fluctuations, a progressive increase.

The poor-rate levy was, however, not the only source available for the relief of the poor.

Leaving apart for the time being special levies for other purposes than poor relief, we find the Vestry at times borrowing money. In 1801 £100 was raised on interest; in 1817 various sums from different people totalling £171; in 1826 £50 from the Bank, nominally for two months, but even seven years later the major portion was still unpaid, for in 1833 we find a resolution that "the Overseers do go and humbly solicit Messrs. J—— & W——, bankers, to wait until the Summer Quarter for the payment of £40 due from the Parish".

Occasionally also we find mention of charitable gifts. In 1796 £5, under the will of Mrs. Catherine Meyrick, was distributed among 160 of the poor, and we have references now and again to a still existing charity known as the Faenol Charity.

This was a bequest by one William John Evans of a farm in Towyn, the income from which was to be devoted

to the purchase of 32 penny loaves to be distributed in the Churchyard every Sunday. This bequest was under the control of the Rector and churchwardens, not the Vestry, and so the references to it in the Register are few. In 1796 the income of £23 4s. 6d. was paid out in relief to 22 people; in 1797 £9 19s. 6d. to 16; but thereafter there is no mention of it until 1857, when it appears that the rental of the farm had, up till then, been £21 a year.

Another charity comprised the bequests of John David and Ursula Owen, bequests in 1827 of £84, the interest of which was to be distributed in white bread every Sunday to the poor. This was invested at 3½ per cent. in the Rector's name, as trustee, in a mortgage on the tolls of the Dolgelley Turnpike Trust.

Yet another was the David Jones bequest of £20, the interest of which was to be distributed at Christmas by "the heirs of Brynrhug and the Overseers of the Parish".

In 1832 we have the solitary mention of an income of £30 from the rent of the Green, "the overplus for the use of the Township of Dolgelley" paid into the Vestry accounts; but, as under the Enclosures Act of 1811 the town became entitled to this income, and still enjoys it, it is certain that the Vestry had all along had some additional sum from this source at its command.

3. *The Application of the Rates.*

How was this money, derived from rates and other sources, employed?

Primarily, of course, in poor relief; and the mode of its distribution is apparent from the Register; but here, as in the case of "total annual burdens", the Register is not an account book. All it shows is the amount of "new" expenditure sanctioned in any one year. There is no list anywhere of the total number of paupers on the

books in any year, merely a record of orders passed on individual cases as they arose.

The total number of "new" cases dealt with and the total of the "new" expenditure sanctioned each year are given in columns 2 and 3 of Appendix I. The proportion between "new expenditure" (column 3) and "estimated total annual burden" (column 5) varies considerably; but this is explained to a large extent by the fact (a) that expenditure includes items besides poor relief, and by the fact (b) that there was a permanent list of recipients of relief which does not appear in the Register.

Nevertheless, the Register gives us indications of the size of the "permanent" list. It states, occasionally, that the list of those in receipt of weekly reliefs (not settlements, casual reliefs, etc.) has been checked with a view to alteration where possible. Some adjustments were made—increase or decrease in allowances—and in such adjustments the "list" number of the pauper so dealt with is quoted. In 1828, when there were only 37 "new" recipients, there were at least 194 paupers on the permanent list; in 1831 as against 72 "new" reliefs we find 198 "permanent" ones; in 1833 the figures are 21 and 178, so it is clear that there was a constant population of at least 150 in receipt of weekly doles over and above the new accretions made annually.

A "new relief" might mean a permanent addition; it might be a relief for a term; but its continuance or discontinuance, whether by death, change of circumstances, or other cause, is not noted.

Appendix II gives details of "new expenditure", showing roughly the classes under which the expenditure fell. The four principal forms of relief were "weekly doles", "settlements", "casual reliefs", and "rents" (these are my own terms), and the figures vary consider-

ably under each head. Much depended on the idiosyncrasy for the time being of the Vestry, and so we find a run at one time on "weekly doles", at another on "settlements" and so on; and sometimes it is difficult to determine whether a particular relief is by way of weekly dole or settlement. A small margin for error in classification must, therefore, be allowed for, but the totals of recipients and expenditure are accurate.

The figures in columns 2 and 3 of Appendix II require little elucidation. In some cases the lowest rate is an addition to an existing allowance; but the highest figure does give some indication of what was the minimum sum on which people could live in the period. Naturally the rate varied; but on a rough average it would appear that it was possible for a single person to exist on 4s. to 4s. 6d. per week throughout the period.

The figures for settlements also vary considerably; but the amount paid for a settlement depended on the utility of the person "sett" to the person with whom "sett", and on the power of bargaining.

What happened was that a list of "paupers" to be "sett" (or as the Register, with unconscious humour, occasionally reads, "lett") was prepared, and the Vestry then bargained with people ready to take over charge of the individual paupers. Argument was obviously lengthy at times, and sometimes it took several meetings of the Vestry before the list was got through.

An amusing entry in 1831 illustrates the procedure: "This Vestry do give leave that few of the parishioners do meet this day to try to bargain with R—— J—— with respect to J——, the son of J—— J——, mariner".

It is unfortunate that, except on rare occasions, we derive no information, save as to sex, about the paupers settled; but it appears that able-bodied men and women,

old and infirm, and children were all dealt with by this method, and that "paupers" were "sett" for varying periods of one to five years.

It is in these "settlements" that we have illustrations of some of the scandals and demoralizing effects of the Poor Law administration of the time. These results were common everywhere, and it is unnecessary to refer to observations of writers of the period on the matter.

Perhaps the worst feature of the Poor Law system, before its reform, was that able-bodied persons, perfectly well able to support their dependants, threw the latter on to the parish. There are numerous instances in the Register where men and women received doles for the maintenance of their wives and husbands, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, and even of their own children; there are instances where people refused to accept relatives on the terms offered by the Vestry, and the latter were then "sett" to complete strangers.

Writers of the time complain bitterly of the effect upon morals, and assert that people were actually paid by the parish to maintain their own illegitimate children. There are only two such instances in the Dolgelley Register; and, it may be noted, *passim*, that the amount of bastardy in the locality at the time, as indicated by the Birth Registers, was less marked than it is to-day.

On the other hand, we find the Vestry insisting on four occasions on the father of the child paying the parish for its maintenance. In 1810 we have the entry:—

"Ordered that Mr. H—— W—— be directed to take the necessary steps to recover the Money due from J. W. P——, Esquire, for the maintenance of his Bastard Child by A—— L——."

In 1812, "Agreed with O—— W—— to accept £14/- (to be paid in one month from this day) in discharge of any claim that may be made on his brother, W—— O——, for the maintenance of his bastard child by E—— G——."

In 1826, "Ordered that the Overseer do write to T— H— for the payment of £8/- towards his bastard child."

In 1833, "That the Overseers do agree with W— L— with respect to his natural son for the sum of £20/-."

Contrary, therefore, to the general denunciations of the time, and even to popular impressions of to-day, the Vestry and Birth Registers give no indication that the Poor Law system made for sexual immorality in this neighbourhood.

A more prominent scandal in regard to "settlements" is the fact that there appear to have been professional farmers of paupers, including some of the overseers, churchwardens, farmers and tradesmen of the locality. They did not, by any means, stand alone, for we find some of the principal landowners accepting able-bodied men and women set to them for lump sums, and even the Rector himself, in 1819 and 1820, was not averse from benefiting at the expense of the rates in this way. What it meant in practice was that pauper men and women were fed, housed, and clothed by those they were set to in return for a lump sum and services. An undertaking to pay any wages to a pauper "sett" occurs in only one instance in the course of 42 years.

The distribution of casual reliefs calls for no remark; but it was clearly not a popular method until towards the end of the period.

The payments of paupers' rents was everywhere a terrible scandal. What often happened elsewhere was that landowners demolished many cottages, depopulating rural areas in consequence, in order to prevent strangers acquiring a "settlement" in their parishes and becoming chargeable thereto. With the shortage of houses created artificially, owners of remaining houses were able to demand higher rents, and as the parish had to house its own paupers, it had to pay heavy toll in the way of rents to

house owners for such accommodation as was available.

With the exception, however, of one case, where a landowner was in 1830 paid £2 to put his own cottage into repair, this operated only to a very limited extent in Dolgelley, for the Sir Robert Vaughan of the time and on a smaller scale, Mr. Hugh Reveley were public spirited and built fairly extensively in the early part of the century. Practically nothing has been done since their days to provide cottage accommodation. Their efforts are evidenced by the fact that the Parish paid but few rents from 1803 to 1836 and by the fact that rents did not soar throughout the period. The minimum and maximum rents of 1795 (7s. to 32s. per annum) were maintained right up to 1836 (7s. to 20s. per annum) with little variation. The one apparent exception is the £7 10s. of 1796, but this was a special case where the rent of a farm occupied by a parishioner was paid to Sir Robert Vaughan by the Vestry.

It seems to have been one of the misdemeanours of the midwife Overseer that she had not paid rents, which she had been ordered to pay, for in 1822 we have the following entry :—

“ It having appeared to the Vestry that the half-year's rent due from Novr 12th 1821 to May 1822 ought in justice to be paid where it is fairly due, ordered that a rate of 1/- in the £ be collected for that purpose in the next Quarter, and that the Overseers do now pay rent due to May last, and in the next quarter that due to November last.”

The “ miscellaneous ” reliefs, afforded mainly in kind, are very heterogeneous, and occasionally of value as showing prices, and as illustrative of customs and manners.

Sometimes urgent cases were relieved by a “ gathering ” or a “ collection in Church ”. Such occurred in 1795, 1796, 1799, 1801, 1802, 1806, 1809, 1810, 1812, 1813,

1816, 1817, 1819, 1834 and 1836, and at times we get indications of how much a "collection" was expected to produce, the lowest estimate being 8s. and the highest £2.

Rates and taxes due by particular paupers were remitted in 1795, 1813, 1816, 1818, 1830, 1833 and 1836.

Clothing, generally of flannel, was given in 1795, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1806, 1810, 1811, 1816, 1824, 1826, 1827, 1828 (when we learn that a man could be fully clothed for 15s.), 1829, 1831, 1835 (when it is stated that a child could be clothed for 5s.), and 1836.

Shoes were distributed in 1796, 1797, 1799, 1801, 1802, 1806, 1812, 1816, 1818 (when 5s. was paid for a pair), 1822, 1823 (at the same price as in 1818), 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828 (when they cost 9s. 6d. per pair), 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1834, 1835, and 1836; and it is interesting to note that "clogs", which were given in 1800, 1801, cease to be mentioned thereafter.

Flour and grain were given in varying quantities; rye in 1795 (when a quarter was valued at 2s. 2d.), 1796, 1800 (when the "strike" measure is quoted), and 1830; barley at 17s. 6d. the measure in 1801; oatmeal in 1830; wheat in 1822 and 1836; and white loaves in 1796.

The commonest form of produce gifts was, however, potatoes, which were given partly for planting purposes, partly as food relief. Potatoes were first distributed in 1818, and thereafter in 1820, 1824, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1831 and 1836.

Seed grain is mentioned only on one occasion, namely in 1832.

Firing in the way of turf (from one to six loads at a time) was provided in 1797, 1800, 1801, 1810, 1828, 1830 and 1836 (when a load cost 6s. 6d.); and a ton of coal on one occasion only in 1833.

Assistance in the way of material and implements for

trades and handicrafts is frequent, and illustrates, to some extent, the pursuits of the people.

We find "cards" for weaving given in 1800, 1801, 1802, 1829, 1833, 1834 and 1836 (when they cost 5s. 9d.); in 1822, R—— T—— was allowed £1 12s. "towards buying a spring etc. for weaving"; in 1829 one man was given 30s. to buy a loom, and another 30s. for a "spring and shuttle"; in 1831 30s. was expended in purchasing a spinning jenny; and in 1834 8s. was paid to a pauper to buy cotton yarn. In 1829 the Overseers were directed to buy a loom which was to belong to the parish, and let out as occasion required to paupers. This was a repetition of a similar order of 1822 to the effect that "the Overseers do buy a loom or two for the use of the parish, and to lend them to paupers occasionally". In 1801 a smith was allowed £2 12s. 6d. to buy a new anvil, and 2s. 6d. were given to a shearer to "mend his shears". In 1802 a pedlar was granted 30s. to buy "pedlery (sic) ware"; in 1804 G—— E—— was given £6 "towards a share of a boat"; in 1812 the local harper, a blind man, was given a new harp. Something went wrong with it, for next year he received £3 towards buying another, but it was provided this time that "the harp do belong to the parish until it's paid". He was also provided with 5s. a week "until he can get a place to play in".

In 1821 a worker in leather was given £5 worth of leather, and in 1830 there is an entry of 8s. 2d. given to buy "short nets".

Medical relief is also referred to. In 1797 a "doctor's bill at Barmouth" is discharged, the patient having been in Barmouth for a fortnight in the preceding year at a cost to the parish of 3s. 6d. a week for food and lodging. In 1802 a medical bill of 19s. is paid; in 1810 it is ordered that "Mr. D—— O——, surgeon, be directed to adminis-

ter medical assistance to J—— O—— for about 5s. a week for a month or thereabouts"; in 1816 a doctor was paid an unspecified amount; in 1823 another doctor's bill of £1 1s. was met: in 1826 another of 8s.; in 1830 one of 30s., plus 15s. to a nurse: in 1833 another of unspecified amount, while in 1836 2s. 6d. were paid for leeches.

In 1831 there was a dispute with a Bala doctor over his charges, and the Overseers were directed "to go to Bala on a market day, and tender Dr. W—— the sum of £5 to discharge his demand against this parish".

For a while the parish appears to have tried the expedient of having a "parish doctor", for in 1825 it is ordered that "Mr. E——'s surgeon salary for the present year be £16, contingencies as before"; and in 1826 that "Mr. E—— surgeon be continued to act as Surgeon &c to the Parish for this year with the same salary as last year".

Associated with medical relief are two items in 1826, a blind man being sent that year to the School for Indigent Blind at Liverpool "to learn a trade", the parish paying £5 4s. per annum and supplying him with clothes; and a lunatic being placed in the Liverpool Lunatic Asylum. Insanity, it may be noted, was rare: there are only two other cases mentioned in a hundred years.

Funeral expenses were also paid. The only specific instance, however, of a non-pauper's funeral recorded is in 1836, when 11s. were expended on a child's funeral: but we have a series of references to contracts made with local carpenters to supply coffins, etc. In 1812 11s. 6d. was allowed per coffin: in 1816 the rate was reduced to 10s., a rate which continued to be paid until 1834, when the price was reduced to 7s. 6d., and in the case of "coffins for unbaptized children" to 1s., an entry which conjures up rather a gruesome picture. In 1829 parish shrouds

were contracted for at 3s. 6d. each, and candles at 4d., an interesting reference to a now extinct custom.

Another activity of the Vestry on its Poor Law side was the apprenticing of children, an activity indulged in only spasmodically.

In 1795 a boy was apprenticed to a tailor for two years with a premium of £3 12s. 6d., and, under a specific bequest for the apprenticing of "poor boys", three were apprenticed to unstated trades with premia of £3 12s. 6d., £2 10s., and £2. In 1796 four boys were apprenticed, one to a tailor for four years with a premium of £3 10s., one to a shoemaker for two years, premium £2 5s., two for five and three years respectively (trade not stated) with premia of 30s. For many years thereafter there were no apprenticings. In 1810 a boy was apprenticed as a "nailer" for 30s.; in 1818 another as a tailor for two years with a premium of 25s.; in 1819 one to a "straw hat manufacturer" without premium, and a second to a shoemaker, who, in lieu of a premium, was paid 1s. a week.

Thereafter "premia" rose rapidly. In 1822 £6 were paid for apprenticing a boy to a tailor for two years; in 1823, £7 10s. and a pair of shoes and £7 3s. for two boys in the same trade for three years; in 1824 one boy was apprenticed for three years to a tailor at £7, one to a shoemaker for four years at £7 10s., one to a weaver for ten months at £2 5s., and another to a shoemaker for two years with 1s. 6d. per week "towards his victuals, and the last year to be paid for his work by his master". In 1826 three boys were apprenticed for three years each to tailors with premia of £7, £7, and £4 respectively, and in 1827 one to a shoemaker for three years at £10 and two pairs of shoes.

In 1829 it was decreed "that the Vestry do not appren-

tice a lad to any trade whatever until he appears before the Vestry that every possible encouragement may be given to bring up lads as farmers". The last apprenticeship paid for out of the rates was in 1831, when a boy was apprenticed for five years to a blacksmith at £8, plus £5 for clothing, the boy "to receive a shilling a week from his employer in the last year".

In the meantime a bequest of £10 made in 1827 by one Humphrey Jones was increased to £100 out of the rates and invested as a permanent "apprenticeship fund", yielding £3 per annum, two years' income being applied biennially to apprentice sometimes two children at £3 each, sometimes one child at £6, the trades selected being shoemaking, tailoring, skinning, weaving, joinery, slating, cabinet-making and wheelwrighting, and two girls to "learn sewing for two years". To-day it is practically impossible to find a single person in the neighbourhood with even an elementary knowledge of any of these men's trades. This is due entirely to the decay of apprenticeships.

This apprenticing continued up to 1861, when, for some reason not apparent, the administration of the fund ceased.

The fund was misused in some cases, for no less than seven boys were from time to time apprenticed with premia to their own fathers, and one of the "poor boys" benefiting under the charity was the son of a very well-to-do tradesman, needless to say a prominent figure in the Vestry.

An interesting form of "assistance" was that of emigration abroad. In 1823 O—— G—— was allowed £3 "towards enabling his sister to go to America, a note of hand being deposited in the hands of the Overseer for £5, in addition to the £3 allowed by the Parish", from which

it may be inferred that £8 sufficed to travel as an emigrant from Dolgelley to the States.

In 1824 it was agreed that "the Vestry do consent allowing M. W—— some assistance towards enabling her and five children to go to America, where her husband is at present"; in 1831 R.J. was allowed £10 towards going to America, and in 1832 there is an interesting entry which throws light on the arrangements necessary for emigration. In that year it was ordered that:—

"H.C. . . tailor and family be assisted in the sum that will defray their expenses to go to America, and that the Asst Overseer do go with him to Liverpool to make the best possible contract he can with the contractor there. The money be borrowed, and that £10/- be paid July next, and the remainder by the same instalments yearly at that time, until the whole expence with legal interest is wholly paid".

Miscellaneous travelling expenses also appear, and throw some light on what it cost to get from one place to another.

In 1799 M.G. was allowed 10s. 6d. "to take her to her mother in London"; in 1814 a woman was allowed £2 travelling expenses to Liverpool; in 1823 a man was given 10s. to go to Worcester, and 25s. were allotted to J.C. "to go to Scilly with his family"; in 1829 E.W. was allowed £4 "to enable him to go to the wells at Dyffryn for the benefit of his health"; in 1831 £3 were given to a woman transferring herself to Ireland; and in 1833 30s. were given to M.J. "to enable her to return to her parish, Cripplegate, London".

Education was not a heavy charge on the rates, as it has since become. The Grammar School was a "free" school for a dozen or so boys; it was endowed by Church benefactions, sadly mismanaged until the thirties; and towards the end of the period the Church opened its "National" Schools, which cost the ratepayers nothing.

Most people in those days paid for education, if they wanted it, as they paid for food and clothing. It is almost heresy to suggest it; but it is an open question as to whether the neighbourhood was less "educated", in the real sense of the term, than it is to-day, when money is poured out like water with mighty little result.

However that may be, the only instance of expenditure out of the rates occurs in 1825, when the Vestry decided that "4s. a week for a twelvemonth be allowed J.P. to support him at the National School, Bangor, where 6s. a week is wanted", the difference of 2s. being made up by Sir Robert Vaughan.

There are a few miscellaneous items of relief and expenditure, which are worth noting as illustrative of the varied activities of the Vestry. In 1807 £1 11s. 6d. were paid "towards conveying the household stuff of D.T.'s widow". In 1809 it was ordered that "E.O., a balloted man, be paid the sum of £6, his substitute having died prior to an order having been made by a Magistrate". Merioneth levies were, in those days, garrisoning Deal and Dover, and other echoes of this fact are found in other entries. In 1795 it was ordered that the "money received for purchasing a man to serve in the militia instead of R.P. should be given for that purpose"; in 1798 £8 was allowed "towards a substitute to serve in the Militia"; in 1796 6d. in the £ was levied on the parish to "compleat the tax imposed for raising men to serve in the Marines for the parish"; while in 1810, the Overseer of the Parish was authorized "to borrow on the credit of the parish a sufficient sum to pay the allowance due to the respective families of the local Militia for this county, now in actual service, until the same be repaid by the Receiver General". Dilatoriness and red tape in the War Office is no new thing.

In 1805 "it was settled in feuter (sic) that for killing a Fox the sum of 10/-" should be paid; and in 1817 we have the entry:—

"Allowed for killing a fox the sum of 10/6 for every Old Fox and 5/- for every young cubs untill after the 12th day of August";

and in 1814 it was ordered that the Overseer "do pay £5 for R.P.'s cow which is to remain the property of the Parish & marked by the Overseer".

4. *Attempts at Reducing Expenditure.*

If we look at the Appendices we cannot fail to be struck by the fact that though the figures of "new recipients" never, except in 1831, approach those of 1800-1—in fact there is a marked decrease—the total expenditure frequently, almost invariably, exceeds that of the famine period. What is the reason? Partly it would seem that the additions to the "permanent list" exceeded annually the diminutions occasioned by death or other causes; in other words, because once a community, even in a period of distress, becomes accustomed to relief, the habit of demanding its continuance becomes ingrained in that community, that is "poor relief" tends to become "a right to maintenance", with the consequence that there is extreme difficulty in bringing about a reduction when the urgency which brought "relief" into being has passed away. Reduction means a determined, but unpopular, effort against which all sorts of vested interests are arrayed. Moreover, there is an ineradicable tendency for the distribution of poor relief to corrupt not only the recipients but also the distributors.

Both of these facts are illustrated by the Dolgelly Register.

There are no indications whatsoever of any effort being

made to reduce expenditure up to 1819. In that year, it is stated that "every reduction possible (has been) made that circumstances would admit to weekly paupers"; but whatever reductions were then made had no effect upon total expenditure.

In 1822, when the old regime of illiteracy and midwifery came to an end, we do arrive at some attempts at improving matters, but we can only regard them as pathetic. In that year some attempt at method was considered, and it was decided that all "quarterly payments (are) to be demanded & settled in the quarter, & the Poor to settle their accounts every quarter, or not to expect their money from the Vestry afterwards". In the same year it is recorded that "in consequence of the low price of corn & other food, the Vestry have thought proper to reduce the allowance to the poor of this parish", but it is dubious if the proposed reductions were put into operation, for the record is immediately followed by another in these words, "but it having been represented to the Vestry that the weight of the loaf of bread is not in conformity or equal to the price of corn, it is ordered by the Vestry that a petition be presented by them to the Magistrates of this district, most respectfully requesting that the Assize of Bread be regularly taken & made in pursuance of the existing Acts of Parliament".

In 1824 it was directed that "any person keeping a dog shall have no relief from this parish"; and at a subsequent meeting that "no relief be given in future to any poor person belonging to this parish while there is a clock or any useless furniture in the house, & that all the other goods be marked with the parish mark".

In 1828 small reductions were made in the weekly allowances of 51 weekly paupers; in 1831 37 paupers had their allowances reduced to the extent of 30s. 2d. per week,

partly compensated for by an increase in the allowances of 27 others to the extent of 9s. 5d. per week, and more than made up by the granting of no less than 138 casual reliefs totalling £38 13s. ; in 1831 it was ordered that the " Crier do proclaim that the Overseer will not be responsible for paupers incurring debts by ' truck ', but to pay each pauper in money " ; in 1832 it was ordered that " no farmer do expect any pauper debts to be paid by the Parish " ; and in 1833 16 paupers had their weekly allowances reduced to the extent of 13s. 9d. per week, while 10 others had their increased by 4s.

These are the only instances—none of them representing a reduction of £50 in the year—of any attempt at grappling with the problem of reducing the amount of " poor relief ", the expenditure on which was one of the main causes for the decline in the town's trade.

The time-honoured dodge, which is being repeated today, of making things look better by extending the area of or valuation for assessment, with a view to reducing the rate per £, was tried more than once ; but, though no doubt some individual assessesees benefited, so far from alleviating the burden on the community as a whole, extensions only gave the Vestry more money to play about with. Side by side with it there was corruption in the process of re-assessment.

The year 1801 was, as we have seen, a period of financial stress. Not only were the ordinary rates levied five times instead of four, but an extra levy of 2s. was also imposed. This resulted in a complaint " by some of the parishioners of the inequality of the present rate " ; and a proposal to make a new and more equal one was put forward, " which we, the undersigned, being a majority of the meeting, do most highly approve of & will endeavour to accomplish ". The complaint resulted in a decision that

“ all lands & houses charged with the land-tax shall be assessed according to the sums they are respectively charged to the land-tax ”.

There was some reduction in the rate for a time, but when in 1810 the rates began to rise again, the question cropped up once more, and there was another plea for a further widening of the basis of assessment, for it is recorded “ that at a Vestry held for the purpose of taking into consideration the proposal made for assessing houses & other property to the Poor Rate, not assessed to the land-tax : the proposal being taken into consideration, resolved that the assessment for the next quarter be made upon the rate fixed in such proposal ”.

There was a temporary drop in the rate the following year ; but it began to soar again immediately, and, with occasional fluctuations, it went on rising until the rate of 10s. in the £ became a more or less fixed one in the region of 16s.

There were murmurings from time to time, and then in April, 1830, it was resolved “ that the old rate of the parish is unequal, & that the parish be re-rated, taking in every species of property rateable according to law. It was also resolved that the above propositions be published by advertizements or handbills, to request all persons who are willing & capable to undertake it do send to the Churchwardens & other publick officers of the parish their proposals for doing so ”.

The result forms a striking illustration of ineptitude. One Rowland Jones, apparently quite unqualified for the task, came forward with some proposals, promising to re-rate the whole parish in six weeks. What the proposals were is not stated, but he was immediately appointed to re-rate, being promised £50 for doing so. A “ Committee ” (blessed word and institution) was also appointed to “ ob-

ject to any item " in the matured proposals, the majority vote thereon to prevail.

The majority could agree neither with the Assessor nor among themselves; and when an impasse had been reached, the Vestry proceeded to appoint a new " committee ", one of landlords (men, as it happened, with some experience of valuation, who might have been consulted at the start) to consider the valuation made. This committee would have nothing to do with the matter as things stood, and then in January, 1831, we get the following resolutions :—

" That no rate be levied on the valuation of the Parish delivered to the Vestry by Mr. Rowland Jones, his valuation being proved to be incorrect ", and

" That Mr. Rowland Jones hath not fulfilled his contract with the Parish of Dolgelley, inasmuch as he has put down lands and tenements in his valuation as having been valued by him, which he has never looked over or made any enquiries of the holders or occupiers of the said lands and tenements, as to the other boundaries and other necessary particulars; therefore, Mr. Rowland Jones is not entitled to the sum of £50/—, which was named at a former Vestry; nevertheless, this Vestry is of opinion that Mr. Rowland Jones ought to be compensated for his trouble. It is agreed that a Committee be named and elected to find a proper person to re-rate the parish, and that the Committee may appoint any person they think proper, provided that person is not a Steward or Agent to any of the landed proprietors, or in any way connected with the parish ".

The Committee nominated consisted almost exclusively of " landed proprietors ". Now there was some cause for the bar placed by the Vestry on " stewards " and " agents ", for the stewards and agents of the landed proprietors had rather distinguished themselves for dilatoriness and corruption in their proceedings under the Enclosures Acts, but the hopeless ineptitude of the " popular " Vestry, first in ignoring those qualified to deal with the matter and appointing one utterly unqualified, and then, on discover-

ing the impasse their action had led them into, asking for help in terms calculated to secure a rebuff, ended, as it was bound to end, in a refusal of the newly-appointed Committee to sit.

The next step was to try and buy off Mr. Rowland Jones, who was vociferously demanding his £50, and eventually in September, the Vestry resolved "we hereby authorize Mr. L. P— of the Bank to make a compromise with Rowland Jones for his services in re-rating the parish. We limit him to £25".

Apparently Mr. Rowland Jones accepted the £25 (not a bad reward for six weeks' incompetent work), but the Parish remained still un-rated. In despair, the Vestry, consisting for the occasion of three illiterates and two others, "unanimously agreed that the Churchwardens & Overseers do fix a rate upon every house & landed property that is not already rated in this parish, & the Churchwardens & Overseers are ordered by the Vestry to go & fix a rate upon the aforesaid property".

The Churchwardens and Overseers declined to budge without a quid pro quo, so, some months later, the Vestry resolved that—

"it is unanimously agreed that the Churchwardens and Overseers do re-rate the Parish forthwith, and that the sum of ten guineas be allowed them for their trouble".

Apparently they did re-rate, but not very satisfactorily. There were some law-suits, and in 1836 the question cropped up again. One of the Assessors appears to have been the tenant of the Angel Inn, and possibly that accounts for the fact that in 1836 the Vestry ordered that

"the persons who rated the parish do make a more equitable adjustment upon the Lion Inn, the Angel Inn, and the Ship Inn, separating the rate upon the farms and out-buildings from the rates upon the houses severally".

The particular Assessor was shortly afterwards in

trouble with his Church accounts, and his activities as churchwarden were soon dispensed with by the Rector.

The jurisdiction of the Vestry in regard to Poor Relief ended in the beginning of the following year; but the matter of assessment was not yet finished with, for the new Board of Guardians entered into the lists, and in 1838 the Vestry was summoned "for the purpose of taking into consideration a communication from the Board of Guardians of the Dolgelley Union relative to the valuing of this parish for the purposes of the new Parochial Amendment Act".

The "consideration" ended in a pathetic resolution:

"that the parish having been recently valued for the purposes of the Poor Rate at a great expence, it is deemed unnecessary to incur the expence of another valuation, and that it will answer the requirements of the new Parochial Amendment Act to treble the rateable value settled by the last valuation, and to assess the Poor Rate thereon accordingly.

This apparently was done and other property brought in, for the approximate valuation of £2,500 became in a very few years a valuation of just under £12,000.

5. *Friction with the Board of Guardians.*

When the Vestry lost its control of Poor Relief, its functions were limited to the appointment of Overseers and rate-collectors; but there was considerable friction between it and the Board of Guardians. This friction reached its culminating point in 1842, when it was proposed that a petition should be presented to Parliament to revert to the old system, "the new Poor Law not having been found to work beneficially in this parish". It was also resolved to appoint a Committee to enquire into the increase or decrease in expenditure under the new system; but apparently the Vestry was told to mind its own busi-

ness, for at a stormy meeting three months later we have the cryptic entry :—

“ Proposed that R. J., the clerk to the Guardians, who was saying much about the matters of the Guardians and the Parish, was asked to produce some accounts of the Board to explain what he was talking about, but he refused ”,

and immediately after this there is the following :—

“ The petition to Parliament was produced and begun to be signed ”.

Nothing more is heard of the petition : but in 1844 the Vestry appointed another Committee to “ investigate the accounts of the present & late Overseers from the commencement of the new Poor Law ”.

This was the beginning of another dispute with the Guardians, who wished to appoint an Assistant Overseer and Collector of its own at £30 per annum, but the Vestry insisted on its own nominee being appointed on £20. This nominee was found in 1848 to have embezzled £237 6s. 3d. and to have borrowed another £45 from two farmers on the security of future collections. This was the end of the squabble, for the Vestry threw up the sponge and implored the Guardians to appoint anyone they thought fit. They did so, and there is no further mention of a Collector of Poor Rates being appointed by the Vestry until 1857. So ended in a stormy quarrel and a capitulation the long administration of the Poor Law by a clique operating the Vestry.

III. CHURCH AFFAIRS.

The Vestry, however, dealt not only with the Poor Law, but with other matters as well. Chief amongst these were Church affairs, and, as elsewhere, it had the power of levying a Church rate.

The amount of this rate is not given with complete regularity, but it appears frequently in the Register, 3½d.

in the £ in 1796, 2d. in 1797, 3d. in 1799, 2½d. in 1800, 6d. in 1802-3, 1s. in 1804, 6d. in 1805, 3d. in 1806-7-8, 1s. 6d. in 1809, 4d. in 1810, 6d. in 1811, 8d. in 1812, 3d. in 1813-4-6, 4d. in 1817-8, 6d. in 1819, 1s. in 1820, 6d. in 1823, 8d. in 1825, 1s. in 1826-7-9, 6d. in 1830-1, 8d. in 1833-4, 1s. in 1835, 8d. in 1838, 4d. in 1840, 1½d. in 1841-2, 1¼d. in 1843, 1d. in 1845-6, 2d. in 1847, and 1d. from 1848 to 1858, when the immemorial right of the Vestry to levy such a rate was taken away.

The ordinary rate was applied to "defray expenses attendant upon divine service", to "maintain the fabric of the Church", to "preserve the graveyard", and many other purposes.

As Nonconformity spread, the control of the Vestry passed practically into its hands, and there are many cases where the Vestry was packed with Nonconformists with the deliberate object of humiliating the Rector and loyal Church people. These cases I pass over, for some of the protagonists are still alive, advanced in years, and the mantle of others has fallen on their descendants.

Occasionally we find extra Church rates levied for special purposes. In 1809, an extra rate of 1s. was levied towards procuring a new bell; in 1813 and again in 1814 1s. "towards building the intended wall about Marian Bach for a burial ground", and 2d. in 1844 "to buy a new hearse upon springs with four wheels & shafts & pole".

The burial ground and the hearse play a part in the economy of the Vestry. It may seem trivial to touch on such matters; but it is the "parish pump" which concerns most parishes, and the life of the common run of men must be studied, if we would understand a period, by looking at what they were interested in. Moreover, in these days the question of burial grounds has become a

matter of national interest ; so too has municipal trading, and the parish hearse was a municipal enterprise.

Further, the Dolgelley burial ground has had an enormous indirect effect upon the growth of the town. It occupies just that portion of ground along which, had the graveyard not been placed there, the town itself would naturally have spread, and have avoided the terrible congestion of the poorer quarters to-day. It is a standing local monument of the inability of " popular government " to look into the future.

The first mention of the new graveyard is in October, 1806, when

" at a Vestry held . . . for taking into consideration the State of the Churchyard, It is unanimously agreed that a new burial ground should be obtained, and that the freeholders of Dyffrydan be requested to give Marian Bach for that purpose ".

Nothing further happened for five years, during which period the burial ground was donated to the Church, and then in December, 1811, estimates were called for for the building of a wall round the plot by publication in Church. No estimates being received the project slept for two years ; and then in October, 1813, a Church rate of 1s. in the £ was levied before the work was contracted for, followed by another levy of the same amount in August, 1814 : " £35 or thereabouts, being the remainder of the expence of walling, etc., the new Churchyard " being borrowed on interest in September " until a Church rate be made for that purpose ". No further Church rate was levied, but a poor rate of 3s. 6d. was, partly to pay for the balance of cost.

The first hearse, which had a pair of wheels only, was ordered in 1803, and a contract given to a stone mason to build a " house " for it, with a vestry room attached, at 4s. per running yard. " he to find stones, gravel & lime,

& to be at the expence of carrying same". In 1806, it was agreed that 6d. a mile should be paid for the use of the hearse, and 2s. 6d. per day to "the Person who attends it out of the sum produced".

This was considerably enhanced next year, when a daily charge of 13s. was fixed for hire. The hearse was springless, for in 1836, i.e., 30 years after, it was decided to furnish springs for the vehicle, and in this state it served the parish for another eight years, when a four-wheeled spring hearse was bought out of a Church rate of 2d. in the £ for "the use of the parishioners of Dolgellau to convey bodies to & from the parishes of Dolgellau, Llanfachreth, & Llanelltyd"; and 10s. was fixed as its hire if "to convey bodies into any other parish", plus 1s. for cleaning.

It continued in use until 1878 and possibly later.

Part of the Church rate was devoted to repairs and replenishings. So in 1803 we find £10 being paid for a "new pulpit with a sounding board above"; the south side of the Church repaired in 1820; new leads (bought in Chester) placed on the roof; the Church clock repaired in 1824, and eight new casements let in in 1825.

In that year the Archdeacon on his visitation seems to have made some pointed remarks about the delapidated state of the fabric, for the Vestry "took into consideration the said remarks as to the repairs to the Church", and so it was ordered that "the timber work of the steeple be thoroughly repaired where it is found deficient, & the wall be cemented where necessary, & the other parts pointed, also the West entrance door of the Churchyard be repaired & painted". In 1828 the building of a new vestry in the north-west angle of the Church (i.e., where the present vestry stands) was ordered; in 1832 chandeliers were purchased; and in 1837 somewhat extensive

repairs were effected in the chancel and to the churchyard wall, over which the Churchwardens got somewhat involved in their accounts, necessitating "a collection in proportion to a rate of 1s. in the £ . . . for the purpose of defraying the expences incurred in the repairs of the Church, etc., amounting to £117".

It is noteworthy that thereafter there is no mention of expenditure on repairs, and the very extensive alterations made in the sixties are unnoticed in the Register.

There was a time when the Dolgelley Church Choir had a great reputation in North Wales; and it is, therefore, of interest to find that so early as 1827 £2 2s. per annum were allowed to J.R. "out of the Church rate for conducting the psalm-singing in Church & giving instructions in same", and this continued to be paid for at least 15 years, for in 1842, when Nonconformity was beginning to capture the Vestry, there is an estimate (the bottom of which is torn off) of expenses for the current year attached to the Register, and the charge of £2 2s. is noted in the estimate as "objected to".

The other items in the estimate deserve quotation, for they show the cost of Church services at the time. The "sacramental wine", based on an average, was estimated to cost £8, but was cut down to £5; "bread" appears as costing 9s. 6d.; repairs to Church windows at £2; sweeping the Church and Seats at £2 10s. (cut down to £2 2s.); winding the clock at £2 2s.; firing at £1 10s.; candles for lighting at £10 (cut down to £6); washing the surplices, etc., at £1 15s.; and new bell ropes at £8 (cut down to £4 10s.). The "Liberation Society" was at active work.

The entry regarding "sacramental wine & bread" is of very great importance. One of the common charges brought against the Church is that the celebration of the Holy Eucharist was neglected. That is true enough so

far as many churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are concerned; but the estimates quoted show that in the first half of the nineteenth century celebration was frequent and well-attended, and that the reduction of average charges by $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for this duty in 1842 marks the beginning of the Liberationist "anti-Communion" campaign.

There is another entry in the Registers also which meets another charge very adequately, namely, that one of the reasons for the growth of Methodism was that there were few services in Church, and those not in Welsh. This again is partly true, but it has no application to Dolgelly. The entry is dated 1801, ten years before the Methodist secession. Up till then the Church had been served by the Rector and curate. The former lived at Garthmaelan, one and a-half miles or so away; and in 1801 when the Rector dispensed with the services of a curate, he found the existing services too heavy to carry on alone. Accordingly a petition was sent to the Bishop of Bangor, and a copy of his orders on the petition is inserted in the Register. It runs thus:—

"Whereas the Revd Francis Parry, clerk, our Rural Dean in and for the deaneries of Ardudwy, Estimaner and Pen-y-bont in the county of Merioneth and our jurisdiction hath transmitted to us a Representation or Petition signed by the Churchwardens and principal inhabitants of the parish of Dolgelle in the said county of Merioneth to the following tenor and effect, that is to say:—

To the Revd Francis Parry, clerk, our Rural Dean of the Deanery of Ardudwy and Estimaner in the county of Merioneth, We, the Churchwardens and principal inhabitants of the Town and neighbourhood of Dolgelle take the liberty of representing to you that as Mr. Hughes, the Rector of this parish, has been pleased to take upon himself the entire Church Duty thereof, and having taken into consideration the heavy duty of the Parish, which is very populous and extensive, and his living at the distance of near two miles from the Church (there being no glebe house belonging to it) and consequently how very inconvenient it must be for Mr.

Hughes to attend the eight o'clock service on Sunday morning, and more particularly as that service is but thinly attended. We humbly conceive that such service may be dispensed with, as there are two other services in the same language every Sunday at eleven and three o'clock, and a Service on Tuesday, Friday, and Saturday every week. Therefore, we beg you will be pleased to represent this matter to the Bishop, and we have no doubt but his Lordship will be pleased, under the before-mentioned circumstances, to dispense with such early service in future;

“And Whereas our said Rural Dean hath recommended to us to comply herewith, We, therefore, William, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Bangor, having duly considered the premises and being willing to grant this request, Do hereby give our consent, that the customary service at eight o'clock in the morning of Sunday in the Parish Church of Dolgelle aforesaid be from henceforth dispensed with and that the Rector of the said Parish Church and his Successors, Rectors for the time being, do cease and for the future omit to perform the same”.

IV. MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES.

What may be termed the municipal activities of the Vestry, though they were within its scope, play but a small part until the second half of the period.

The first municipal action belongs to 1805, when on the 10th September, it was ordered “that the cleaning of the streets in the said town of Dolgelle be set on Tuesday next from that time to the 12th May next, & also that the Surveyors remove all other Nuisances”, an order which was followed a fortnight later with another, “that the cleaning of the Street & other parts of the town of Dolgelle be set to J.M. for the sum of 26s. from this time to 12th May next to be cleaned weekly, & for every neglect thereof he shall pay 20s.”.

No other municipal action occurs until December, 1832, when the question of “watch & ward” came under discussion, and a motion “for having the Town better protected was agreed upon, and any Voluntary Subscriber

from within 5 miles of this Town should be entitled to the assistance of the Police so to be formed in case of necessity". A committee of five was nominated to conduct the watching of the town and four watchmen appointed.

In the following February, however, the town mustered in force at the Vestry, and it was decided by 47 votes to 36 that no town watchmen should be appointed. So matters remained until 1842, when, in accordance with recent legislation, a Vestry was summoned to prepare a list of 20 men qualified and liable to serve as Constables for the parish, on a precept issued by the Magistrates.

The list was prepared, and it was also decided that a paid constable should be appointed at a salary of £40 a year, the parish to provide clothes and pay all disbursements. No appointment was apparently made, for in the following year the town again mustered in force, and it was "carried by vote that there be no police for the ensuing year at the expence of the poor rates". Four months later, under pressure from the Magistrates, this decision was once more reversed, and it was resolved unanimously to appoint a paid Constable under Act 5.6. Vict. c. 109, on a salary of £5 per annum. Thereafter, we find 20 constables nominated annually until 1852, when the number was reduced to 15 nominated constables, and two paid ones on £5 per annum each; and this continued to be the rule until the whole police system was reorganized on county lines.

Another matter which fell within the scope of the Vestry was that of lighting. Apparently the town was unlighted until 1855, when a Vestry was summoned to consider the Lighting and Watching Act (3.4. Wm. IV. c.90), and it was decided to adopt the Act. Three Inspectors were appointed to carry out the purposes of the Act,

and it was resolved " that the total amount of money which the said Inspectors shall have power to call for, in the succeeding year, in order to carry out the purposes aforesaid shall be the sum of £80 ". Such Inspectors appear to have been appointed regularly until 1863, but the cost of lighting was reduced in 1857 to £64 per annum, raised in 1858 to £67 and reduced in 1859 to £60, at which figure it remained constant under contract with the new Gas Company from 1861.

In regard to roads we find but little mention. In 1805 the Vestry ordered that " the sum of 6d. in the £, according to the land tax assessment, & in lieu of Statute labour, be immediately raised for repairing the roads ". There is no other mention of the subject for 45 years: though, as elsewhere, there are incidental references to Turnpike Trusts, one of which operated in Dolgelley parish.

In 1839, we find the Vestry dealing with proposals to divert certain pathways, and it appears there was a Surveyor at that time, but it is not until 1850 that there is any record of " Surveyors of Highways " (nine in number) being appointed.

These are the only municipal activities noted.

V. THE SCHOOL.

The Dolgelley Grammar School was founded in the seventeenth century by Dr. John Ellis, Rector of the Parish; and he endowed the School with a farm called Penrhyn in Llanaber. Subsequent endowments were those of a farm called Cilgwynbach (Denbigh) by Mr. Elis Lewis, £300 in Consols by Rev. Mr. Tamburlane, and a donation of £80 invested in the Dolgelley Turnpike Trusts.

The title deeds of the properties still repose in the Church safe, though the School is no longer " under the

control of the Rector and twelve good men of the neighbourhood”.

In 1857 the income from the endowments was £37 10s., which according to the Vestry Register was paid to the Master, the Rev. Dr. Price. This income had been available for many years, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century the School had fallen on evil days. There is no intention of tracing here the history of this old foundation, but merely to note the part played by the Vestry, in so far as the Register indicates that part, in restoring the School to usefulness.

The first mention of the School in the Register is in May, 1813, when it is noted that at a Vestry held at the Town Hall “for the purpose of taking into consideration several matters relating to the Free School, the number of persons attending being very few, It is resolved that the Vestry be adjourned to Tuesday next”.

The adjournment lasted for 18 years, for that length of time expired before anything more was done. Then Mr. Richard Richards of Caerynwch began to interest himself in the decayed institution; and, through his instrumentality, in December, 1831, a memorial was drawn up and presented in the following terms:—

“Ordered that the following memorial be presented to the Rector of the Parish as trustee for the time being of the Free School.

“We the undersigned, being parishioners of the Parish of Dolgelley, beg to submit to you, the Rector of the Parish aforesaid, the trustee for the time being of the Free School in the Town of Dolgelley, that the said school is not conducted according to the intention or in fulfilment (sic) of the Wills relating to the same, and that this is a loss and grievance,

“We beg therefore respectfully to request that to cure the same grievance, you will be pleased to displace and change the present Master and to appoint another in his stead to carry out the trusts of the different Wills relating to the said School with execution, and in support of this our request,

we submit to your consideration the following circumstances which may be proved.

“ For sevl years the present Master has absented himself from the School for considerable times beyond the Holidays. From the month of June last the schoolmaster has altogether absented himself from the School.

“ Under the trusts of Wills devisg or bequeathg emoluments to this School (which are respectable in amount) the Bachelor (*sic*) must be a Bachelor of Arts at the least, but the present Master has appointed a Deputy who has not attained that degree and who consequently cannot conduct the education of children placed in the school according to the intention of the Wills before mentioned.

“ The original Schoolroom is now let out to labourers or Workmen for dwellings.

“ Three or four boys only of respectable parentage have been placed in the School for about 6 years, which shews the consequence of these and other neglects.

“ The School house is in a delapidated state, and the timber of one of the farms devised in trust for the School has been cut by the present Master and the woodland has since been un-inclosed and neglected.”

This was followed up by another in similar terms in September, 1832 :—

“ At a Vestry held—the 11th day of September 1832 for the purpose to take into consideration the management of the Free School.

“ Ordered that the following Resolutions were agreed to: That the Free School of Dolgelley is not conducted according to the intention or in fulfilment of the wills relating to the same, and that Timber growing upon one of the Farms devised by will for the support of the School has been cut by the present Master, & the proceeds of the same, which we believe to be considerable, not accounted for, nor the Woodland inclosed, and that the above circumstances are great grievances to the inhabitants of this Parish.

“ The following petition to the Dean and Chapter of Bangor was moved by Mr. Hallowes, seconded by Edward Owen, Esq., of Garthynbarad and carried:—

“ We, the undersigned parishioners of Dolgelley, beg most respectfully to request that to cure the same grievance you will be pleased to displace and change the present Master, & appoint another in his stead, and to carry the trusts of the different Wills relating to the said School into execution, and that you will be pleased to take such measures as you

deem proper to make the present Master account for the proceeds of the Timber above mentioned. In support of this our request we submit to your consideration the following circumstances, which can be proved.

“For several years the present Master absented himself from the School for considerable time beyond the holidays, in particular from June 1831 to Decr of the same year he was absent altogether.

“Under the trust of Wills devising or bequeathing emoluments to the Schcol, which are respectable in amount, the Master must be a Bachelor of Arts at the least, but the present Master, when absent, appointed a Deputy who has not attained that degree and who moreover is perfectly incompetent to instruct Children in the rudiments of the English language, consequently the education of the Children placed in the School is not conducted according to the intention of the Wills before mentioned.

“The original School Room is now let to labourers or workmen for Dwellings, only three or four boys of respectable parentage have been placed in the School for about six years, which shews the consequence of these and other inflicts (*sic*).

“The School house is in a dilapidated state and the Timber on one of the Farms as before mentioned as divided in trust for the School has been cut by the present Master, & the Woodland has since been left unenclosed and neglected.”

The eventual result of this action was the rehabilitation of the School, which entered upon a new career of usefulness to the locality. The course of action is detailed in the Charity Commissioners' Reports. There is a collection of pathetic letters in the church safe from the Master, who cleared the deck for action by dying at an opportune moment.

Founded and endowed by Rectors of the Parish and restored to efficiency by a few zealous Churchmen, the School continued under the management of the Church, which had created it, until it was removed from that control by the Intermediate Education Act, and its name abolished until, a short while ago, the old name was restored to official use, thanks to the historical bent of the present Headmaster.

VI. OTHER REGISTERS.

In addition to its valuable Vestry Book, the Parish Church of Dolgelley possesses a complete series of registers of baptisms, burials, and marriages from 1640 to the present day.

Up to 1840 or so, they are of considerable value for statistical purposes. Until 1840 practically everyone was baptized, married, and buried by the Church; and hence the Church registers are almost as valuable for those purposes as the present-day Registrar's records. After 1840 their value decreases, more and more as the years go by, for the habit then grew up of such rites being conducted by various ministers of Nonconformist bodies.

The first Register covers the period from 1640 to 1688. It was maintained in Latin until 1652, when English came into use till 1661, i.e., throughout the Commonwealth period. On the Restoration Latin was again used and continued to be used far into the eighteenth century.

The vital statistics disclosed by the Registers for the period can be tabulated thus:—

Years.	BIRTHS.		ILLEGITIMACY.		DEATHS.		MARRIAGES.	
	Total.	Ann. Aver.	Total.	Percent-age.	Total.	Ann. Aver.	Total.	Ann. Aver.
1640-1650	2430	49.6	164	6.75	382	34.72	88	8.
1651-1662					30	2.5	30	2.5
1663-1673					111	4.8	46	4.2
1674-1688					948	63.2	102	6.8

The "birth" figures show no violent fluctuations from year to year, save that in 1651 only nine baptisms are recorded; but for this there is a good reason, namely the ravaging of the land by the Parliamentarians at that time. In 26 out of the 49 years covered, the annual total was in the forties or fifties. The Commonwealth period shows an average of 32.2.

The percentage of illegitimacy is slightly lower than

the present county rate of 7.5; it was fairly constant throughout the period, with a slight diminution under the Commonwealth.

The mortality figures are peculiar. It is quite clear that from 1651 to 1673 the record of burials was not properly maintained, in fact many years are blank. Why this should have been so is a matter of conjecture only; but a study of contemporary local documents shows that economically the Commonwealth period was one of great uneasiness and insecurity of title, and this feeling of insecurity may account for the failure to record deaths. The date when regularity again appears in the registers coincides with the passing of the Test Act; and whatever the merits of some provisions of that measure might be, it indubitably did restore discipline in the services of the Church, after a long period of hopeless confusion; 1673 also saw the induction of one of the finest Rectors Dolgelly has ever had, the Rev. Maurice Jones, who was the donor to the Church of its magnificent chalice, one of the finest Post-reformation chalices in Wales.

Prior to 1673 the highest recorded mortality was in 1649, a year of frequent military operations in the neighbourhood, when the deaths totalled 74. In 1673. there is a high total of 141, and in 1674 of 118, after which there is a drop of 50 per cent. or more. It is suggested that these high figures indicate the presence of plague in the locality.

The record of marriages is also unsatisfactory; and it is again obvious that, in the same period, causes operated to prevent a full record being made.

Three small facts are worthy of notice. To the end of the period the old Welsh habit of a wife retaining her maiden name after marriage is common; the use of surnames has not become completely established; and from

1680 it became customary, on the baptism of an illegitimate child, to record its sponsors, who undertook in Church to relieve the parish of liability to be burdened with its maintenance. This continued until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. The common phrase appended to the baptism record is as follows :—

“A et B vestraw (*sic*) fidejussorunt ne infans predictus huic parochiae sit oneri.”

From 1689 to 1840, the records are complete and full ; and, subject to the possibility of small, but negligible, errors in computation, the vital statistics are as follows :—

Years.	BIRTHS.		ILLEGITIMACY.		DEATHS.		MARRIAGES.	
	Total.	Ann. Aver.	Total.	Percent- age.	Total.	Aver.	Total.	Aver.
1689-1724	2137	59.3	100	4.6	1958	54.3	533	14.8
1725-1754	1816	60.5	57	3.13	1554	51.8	543	18.1
1755-1784	2241	74.7	70	3.12	1904	63.4	526	17.5
1785-1804 } 1805-1810 }	1927	74.1	36	1.8	1399	54.5	581	22.4
1811-1840	1746	58.2	97	5.55	1680	56.	583	19.4

There is no definite material whereon to form an accurate estimate of the size of the population ; but my own estimate, for what it is worth, is that the parish contained about 1700 A.D. a total of some 2,000 people, which rose to approximately 3,250 by the end of the eighteenth century. However that may be, the statistics in the registers disclose a fairly steady rise in population up to 1810 ; and the period covers the time during which the local industries, connected with wool, were in their most flourishing condition. Thereafter, there was a steady decline in the town's prosperity, which is reflected in the decreased average birth-rate. Years of heavy mortality were 1699 (138), 1729 (117), 1763 (153), 1768 (100), 1777 (131), 1784 (103), and 1794 (84), in which latter years the registers record a great number of deaths from small-pox. No

reason is given for the high mortality in the other years ; but it was probably due to small-pox or cholera.

The figures in regard to illegitimacy are interesting. One school of thought has maintained persistently, without the production of much evidence, that the eighteenth century in Wales was a period of serious moral depravity, against which the Nonconformist movement was a protest ; another school of thought suggests that a period of perturbation in the religious life of a people, especially when it is emotional, is frequently associated with an increase in sexual laxity.

The statistics quoted are quite inconsistent with the first contention ; and there is no doubt that locally there was a sharp and continued rise in illegitimacy from 1805 to 1840. It is regrettable that since 1840 the figures have shown a still more marked upward tendency.

My own view has always been that a rise in the figures of illegitimacy is concomitant with the rise of insurgent new ideas in the world of intelligence, coming into conflict with old established ones. As soon as such new ideas become the catch-phrases of the market-place, there is frequently a revolution in religious outlook (which may be super-religious, if I may use such a term, or anti-religious), and *pari passu* with the resulting break away from old sanctions and disciplines, there is a distinct decadence in the standard of sexual morality. It is not that sexual immorality is a necessary outcome of emotional religion, or of a repudiation of religion ; but the two are separate facets of the same general insurgent movement operating on a populace which thinks it can think, but cannot discipline itself. The local facts seem to corroborate that view.

One interesting fact of a non-statistical nature emerges from the registers of 1760-8. During that period, a few

Quakers, who had hitherto formed a strong body locally, were admitted into the Church. They were as a rule young people. The Quaker community diminished greatly as time went on, partly by emigration, and partly, apparently, by reception into the Church. The Church, in fact, had a greater appeal to Quakers than Presbyterianism, which was far more intolerant of the Society of Friends than the Established Church ever was. By 1840 the community had practically ceased to exist in the immediate neighbourhood.

In addition to the registers referred to already, there is a rare type of register, called the "Register booke of the parish of Dolgelley in the County of Merioneth, provided by vertue of the Act of Parliament for burying in woollen".

It opens in 1678: and the following is the normal entry:—

"J. W. was buried the 12th day of January. I received an affidavit, the 18th day of January, 1678/9, made by E. E., & subscribed by W. P. & E. E. witnesses, & taken before & subscribed by R. A. Esq, one of the Justices of the Peace of this County of Merioneth, that the above registered J. W. was buried in woollen onely, according to an Act of Parliament entitled, An Act for burying in woollen."

This legislative enactment was passed with a view to encourage the woollen trade; but the observance of its provisions was neglected, as time went on, and eventually the Act was repealed, I think, in the reign of George II. At any rate, in Dolgelley, it was observed up to 1693. In 1694 it was very largely ignored; in 1695 its provisions were once more enforced, but, thereafter, it ceased entirely to be regarded.

A very interesting memo was inserted in the registers of 1776. The parish of Dolgelley, having been a Crown living, escaped the appropriation to lay hands on the great

rectorial tithes, an appropriation which was one of the characteristics of the Reformation. Nearly every parish, if not every one, in Merioneth, attached to the Bangor Diocese, save Dolgelley, suffered by having its tithes diverted into others hands than the parochial church in the sixteenth century.

In 1776, the Bishop of the Diocese paid a visitation to Dolgelley; and one of the results was the insertion of a "terrier" of the Dolgelley tithes in the Parish Register. It is of some value as showing how tithes were assessed in the locality in the eighteenth century.

The "terrier" runs thus:—

"A true Note and Terrier of the Parish and Parish Church of Dolgelley, in the County of Merioneth and Diocese of Bangor, made this 22nd day of July, 1776, by the appointment of the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Bangor, and exhibited at his Primary Visitation held at Dolgelley in the said County and Diocese aforesaid, upon the 29th day of July, 1776.

"Imprimis, the Township of Brithdir Ucha pays tithe in kind of everything, excepting Hay. In consideration for which there is four pence from every tenement paid yearly to the Rector, penny and half penny for every Milch cow, one penny from every Mare and Fole. The township of Brithdir Issa pays the same.

"The township of Garthcynfawr likewise the same, excepting Gwanas, which claims an exemption from tithe by paying forty shillings a year, and the moduses hereafter mentioned, a meadow called Dolship pays yearly four shillings; Cae maesdylaran pays two shillings and sixpence; Caepentyraran pays four shillings. Dolnwheogryd meadow pays three pounds for tithe corn only. Dolgelley meadow, called Maesmawr, pays twenty shillings a year, from every garden two pence. Item the tithe of Lambs in their proper kind.

"There is no Modus in the Township of Dyffrydan, but pays tithe in kind of everything. Neither does the Township of Cefnrowen claim any Modus, but pays tithe in kind as before mentioned.

"So likewise does the Township of Dolgledar, excepting the Moduses called Werndaufach, Werglodd gron, and Werglodd gudd, belonging to Glynmalden, which pay yearly eleven

shillings, and Pontbrenarreg, which belongs to Hengwrt, pays three shillings."

[The meadow Maesmawr, formerly called Dolgelley, is the parent of the town's name.]

A few miscellaneous papers in the Church records throw light on local affairs.

The parish of Dolgelley, originally of far greater area than it is to-day, has had three other parochial charges carved out of it, namely, Bryncoedifor in August, 1853, Brithdir and Islawdref in October, 1896, and Arthog (a portion) in July, 1914.

The foundation of the present Grammar School by Dr. Ellis dates back to the seventeenth century; but neither his will, nor any other documents relative to his endowment are traceable in the Church records. In 1727, Mr. Elis Lewis, then Rector of Ruthin, endowed the School with a tenement called Cilgwyn in Denbighshire, and the title deeds of that property, dating back to the reign of Henry VIII, are in Church custody.

The School was, of course, originally a Church school, founded and endowed by clergymen of the Church; but it came later under the Intermediate Education scheme. These deeds continue in Church custody for a peculiar reason.

The testator endowed the School with certain sums, including £50 from the Cilgwyn estate, "towards building a Free School". The site of what is still called the "Old Grammar School" was bought in 1728 for £5 5s. out of the £50, and the rest of the legacy was apparently applied to building the school-house. It was maintained and repaired by the Church, and finally restored in or about 1857; but with the passing of the Intermediate Education Act, the building and site were taken over by the Board of Education without compensation to the Church. The Church was, however, accorded the privilege

of buying back its own property in 1912 for the sum of £142, the equivalent of the highest offer made for it at public auction. Hence the retention of the old title deeds.

Other property of the Church comprises the site of the National School, given by Sir R. W. Vaughan in 1844; the site of the Rectory, bought in 1870 for £319; the Rectory house, built by subscriptions of members of the Church since 1870; Henfelin, a kind of class-room, bought in 1874 for £70, with the intention of starting a "ragged school" there, and bought on trust "for the creation of a school thereon, or on some part thereof, for the education of children, & for such other use or purpose in connection with the Parish Church of Dolgelley, as shall be for the benefit of the children or other inhabitants of the said Town & parish"; and the site of the graveyard, conveyed to the Church in 1793 by Griffith ap Hywel Vaughan of Hengwrt for 10s., and consecrated in 1814.

Save the inconsiderable Faenol Charity, which is distributed at Christmas to the poor of Dolgelley, these properties, being "modern endowments", are all that have survived the holocaust of the Disestablishment and Disendowment Act. "Sic transeunt bona Ecclesiae".

VII. CONCLUSION.

There are many small matters, in addition to those referred to above, touched on in the Vestry Registers, and it would be possible to afford further information on several points by resort to other material.

The object, however, of this resumé is to draw attention to the fact that in our parish vestry registers in Wales there is an important source of information regarding the life of the land a century or so ago, a time when the national life was, for good or for evil, passing through a crucible. Many ideas of the most inaccurate kind have

been and are still prevalent as to the state of the land in those days, and these ideas can only be corrected by reference to matter of fact contemporary documents.

The material is worth collecting, and anybody with a modicum of intelligence can collect it. Without seeking to reproduce every detail, it is easy to extract and reduce to order everything that is germane to local history and conditions contained in these registers.

Some churches have already lost their Vestry Registers, and it is possible that, in course of time, many more will go the way of our mediæval records. It is worth suggesting to our incumbents, curates, local schoolmasters, or others interested in the past, that they might go through their parish registers on lines similar to those adopted in this article, and thereby add to our present sources of knowledge a by no means unimportant additional item.

In addition to the historical interest, there is the psychological one of community action, of local government, wherein incompetence, corruption, lust for power, and jealousy perpetually play their part. They are oft-times the mainspring of human action. "Tempora mutantur; sed mores?"

APPENDIX I.

Year.	No. of Paupers Newly Relieved.	Approximate Total of New Expenditure.		Poor Rate in the £	Estimated Total Annual Burden.	
		£	s. d.	s. d.	£	s. d.
1795	154	298	2 1	8 0	720	0 0
1796	150	368	12 8	8 0	720	0 0
1797	142	325	15 2	8 0	862	10 0
		(plus special county rate		1 7		
1798	92	239	2 10	7 6	675	0 0
1799	77	199	7 6	7 0	630	0 0
1800	250	879	13 10	9 0	845	0 0
1801	262	871	8 6	15 6 (5 levies)	1575	0 0
		(plus special rate		2 0		
1802	127	251	7 1	11 0	990	0 0
1803	51	210	3 6	8 6	765	0 0
1804	29	110	4 9	9 0	810	0 0
1805	35	144	0 0	9 0	810	0 0
1806	26	88	15 6	8 0	720	0 0
1807	22	77	19 6	9 6	845	0 0
1808	16	94	6 0	10 0	900	0 0
1809	21	109	5 6	10 0	900	0 0
1810	36	141	13 0	11 0	990	0 0
1811	26	125	11 0	10 0	900	0 0
1812	56	236	9 0	12 6	1125	0 0
1813	68	350	7 9	14 6	1305	0 0
1814	40	209	18 8	14 6	1305	0 0
1815	19	111	12 6	13 6	1215	0 0
1816	117	338	19 6	11 0	990	0 0
1817	136	521	16 0	17 3	1556	0 0
1818	138	446	13 0	16 0	1440	0 0
1819	85	273	2 6	13 6	1215	0 0
1820	61	189	19 0	14 6	1305	0 0
1821	63	208	0 2	13 6	1215	0 0
1822	82	216	16 0	10 6	1035	0 0
				1 0		
1823	156	403	7 0	12 6	1125	0 0
1824	96	261	14 10	13 3	1192	10 0
1825	75	177	0 8	14 0	1260	0 0
1826	121	286	15 0	14 6	1665	0 0
		(plus special levy		4 0		
1827	123	160	6 0	16 0	1440	0 0
1828	143	330	9 3	15 8	1410	0 0
1829	172	413	7 0	16 9	1507	10 0
1830	151	359	11 0	16 0	1440	0 0

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Year.	No. of Paupers Newly Relieved.	Approximate Total of New Expenditure.			Bor. Rate in the £ s. d.	Estimated Total Annual Burden.			
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
1831	283	391	19	6	16	3	1462	10	0
1832	115	279	5	6	12	9	1530	0	0
1833	76	234	12	0	12	10	1540	0	0
1834	95	217	9	10	12	8	1520	0	0
1835	99	279	11	10	12	4	1480	0	0
1836	133	234	17	9	12	4	1480	0	0
1837 (one quarter only)					2	3			

NOTE.—Where the figures of rates differ from those given in my book on “Dolgelley and Llanelltyd” it is due to the computation in the one by “calendar” year, in the other by “financial” year, which began and ended on May 12th.

APPENDIX II.

Year.	Weekly Reliefs.		"Settlements."		Casual Reliefs.		Rents.		Misc. Reliefs.	
	No.	Rates per wk. s. d.	No.	Rates per ann. £ s. d.	No.	Rates. s. d.	No.	Rates. s. d.	No.	Rates. £ s. d.
1795	71	3 to 2 9	24	2 0 0 to 5 5 0	14	5 0 to 39 0	37	7 0 to 1 12 0	8	
1796	86	3 to 3 6	25	2 0 0 to 5 5 0	18	2 0 to 37 0	15	8 0 to 7 10 0	6	
1797	83	4 to 3 6	17	2 10 0 to 8 0 0	19	4 0 to 36 8	21	1 6 to 2 0 0	2	
1798	49	3 to 2 6	23	2 2 0 to 7 13 0	11	2 6 to 21 0	9	13 0 to 2 12 0	Nil	
1799	25	6 to 4 6	28	2 2 0 to 5 17 0	7	6 6 to 37 6	11	9 6 to 1 11 6	6	
1800	146	6 to 5 6	45	2 0 0 to 8 4 0	18	7 0 to 36 0	29	8 0 to 1 0 0	12	
1801	140	6 to 8 0	58	2 0 0 to 7 16 0	21	5 0 to 39 0	32	7 6 to 1 7 0	11	
1802	58	6 to 4 9	35	2 0 6 to 7 10 0	11	9 6 to 30 0	12	7 6 to 2 2 0	11	
1803	6	6 to 4 0	38	2 5 0 to 15 12 0	7	1 0 to 30 0		Nil	Nil	
1804	7	6 to 3 0	19	2 2 6 to 6 10 0	2	10 6		Nil	1	
1805	10	9 to 5 0	19	2 2 0 to 6 10 0	4	11 6 to 21 0	2	15 0	Nil	
1806	8	3 to 4 6	10	3 3 0 to 6 10 0	3	16 0 to 23 0		Nil	5	
1807	3	6 to 1 0	15	2 7 0 to 10 10 0	3	7 0 to 21 0		Nil	1	
1808	3	1 0 to 3 6	13	2 10 0 to 9 0 0		Nil		Nil	Nil	
1809	12	6 to 12 0	6	3 2 6 to 7 0 0	1	21 0		Nil	2	
1810	5	9 to 5 0	22	3 14 0 to 26 0 0	3	2 0 to 14 0	2	30 0 to 1 11 6	4	
1811	6	6 to 2 0	18	2 12 0 to 9 12 0	1	17 0		Nil	1	
1812	20	6 to 6 0	25	2 0 0 to 16 18 0	7	4 0 to 35 0		Nil	4	
1813	31	6 to 6 0	30	2 10 0 to 9 2 0	4	15 0 to 27 0	1	15 0	2	
1814	13	6 to 5 0	20	2 0 0 to 10 0 0	6	10 0 to 39 0		Nil	1	
1815	6	1 0 to 6 0	11	3 15 0 to 8 0 0	2	30 0 to 36 6		Nil	Nil	
1816	51	3 to 4 0	38	2 0 0 to 8 0 0	14	5 0 to 39 6	6	10 0 to 2 2 0	8	
1817	67	6 to 8 0	42	2 2 0 to 10 0 0	16	2 6 to 36 0	9	10 0 to 1 15 0	2	

Year.	Weekly Reliefs.		"Settlements."				Casual		Reliefs.		No.	Rents.		Misc. Reliefs.
	No.	Rates per wk. s. d.	No.	£	s. d.	g.	s. d.	No.	s. d.	s. d.		Rates. s. d.	£	
1818	73	3 to 5 0	35	2 0	0 to 11 15	0	0	9	5 0	to 32 0	16	15 0	to 2 5 0	5
1819	9	6 to 2 6	50	2 0	0 to 11 10	0	0	17	5 0	to 39 0	7	10 0	to 2 2 0	2
1820	3	1 0 to 2 6	40	2 0	0 to 11 18	0	0	9	7 0	to 30 0	8	10 0	to 2 0 0	1
1821	10	9 to 3 0	41	2 0	0 to 10 17	0	0	11	5 0	to 34 0		Nil		1
1822	15	6 to 3 0	43	2 0	0 to 10 6	0	0	12	4 0	to 37 0	9	7 6	to 1 10 0	3
1823	48	6 to 6 0	36	2 0	0 to 11 0	0	0	31	2 0	to 37 0	33	5 0	to 2 0 0	8
1824	28	2 to 3 6	31	2 0	0 to 10 6	0	0	19	2 0	to 36 0	13	5 0	to 1 0 0	5
1825	25	6 to 5 0	24	2 0	0 to 5 0	0	0	14	5 0	to 39 0	8	10 0	to 1 0 0	4
1826	47	3 to 4 6	18	2 0	0 to 5 0	0	0	36	1 0	to 36 6	10	5 0	to 1 0 0	10
1827	37	3 to 3 6	21	2 0	0 to 9 0	0	0	50	1 0	to 38 0	10	10 0	to 1 14 0	5
1828	37	3 to 4 6	31	2 0	0 to 11 15	0	0	54	1 0	to 30 0	12	5 0	to 1 10 0	9
1829	51	2 to 5 3	29	2 0	0 to 11 0	0	0	70	1 0	to 38 0	16	10 0	to 2 0 0	6
1830	49	2 to 6 6	19	3 4	0 to 11 0	0	0	62	1 0	to 30 0	10	10 0	to 2 0 0	11
1831	72	3 to 3 6	33	2 0	0 to 12 0	0	0	138	1 0	to 33 0	16	5 0	to 1 10 0	24
1832	24	6 to 3 0	33	2 0	0 to 10 0	0	0	49	1 0	to 30 0	6	15 0	to 1 0 0	3
1833	21	6 to 3 6	27	2 0	0 to 18 0	0	0	20	1 0	to 30 0	3	20 0	to 2 0 0	5
1834	25	3 to 3 0	25	2 5	0 to 10 0	0	0	31	1 0	to 39 6	8	10 0	to 1 10 0	6
1835	34	3 to 3 0	31	2 0	0 to 10 0	0	0	29	1 0	to 30 0	3	7 0	to 1 0 0	2
1836	27	2 to 2 3	28	2 0	0 to 11 0	0	0	54	1 0	to 39 0	4	20 0		20

A Scottish Surgeon in Wales in the Seventeenth Century.

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WHEN Sir Thomas Browne, the distinguished physician and man of letters—author of the *Religio Medici*—in a letter to his son, referred to the incorporation, in 1682, of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, he observed: “I doubt the English will not like the setting up a colledge of physitians in Scotland . . . If they set up a colledge and breed many physitians, we shall be sure to have a greate part of them in England”.

It is known, however, that Scottish physicians had practised in this country long before the foundation of the College at Edinburgh. Since James the First's reign Scotsmen had crossed the Border, and many Scottish names are to be found on the roll of the London College of Physicians. One young Scotsman came from distant Aberdeen to practise the healing art among the Welsh people.

Alexander Reid (Read, Rhead, Rede or Rheadus), *Scoto-Britannus*, as he describes himself, is said to have been born somewhere about the year 1586. There are, however, reasons for believing the date to be 1580, or even earlier, because in the preface to his *Chirurgicall Lectures of tumors and ulcers* (1634) Reid says that he had practised “Physick and Chirurgery now 42 years”.

He belonged to a singularly gifted family. His father, James Reid, was minister of Banchory Ternan, near

Aberdeen. Alexander was the third son. The second, Thomas, afterwards became Latin Secretary to James the First. Like his brother Alexander, Thomas Reid was a generous patron of the city of Aberdeen, bequeathing his collection of books, together with the sum of six thousand marks, to the town and new College. He died in 1624. By his Will, dated 19th May of the same year, Thomas also left the sum of four thousand marks to his brother Alexander, together with his "best Cloack, having six Laces, lined with Plush".¹

Alexander Reid's life may be said to fall into three main periods: his early life in Scotland; his career as a country physician in Chester and North Wales; and, finally, his professional and literary career in London.

Of his early life in Scotland nothing is known. That he afterwards cherished a deep affection for his native town may be seen from a letter written in 1633, in which he refers to his life at Aberdeen as "the most cairles and contented part of my Lyiff".² Sir D'Arcy Power, in his article on Reid in the Dictionary of National Biography, informs us that Reid received his early education from his father, and that he afterwards proceeded to the Marischal College at Aberdeen, where he graduated M.A. about the year 1600. The records of the College are unfortunately defective for that period and, although it is highly probable that Reid became a student there, the presumption does not appear to be supported by documentary evidence.

Whatever may be the actual facts concerning Reid's early education, there is no doubt that he studied surgery at the great medical schools in France, and that he travelled widely throughout Italy and Bohemia. We have the authority of his own works for this statement. In his

¹ Anderson. *Fasti Acad. Mariscall. Aberdon. I.* p. 195.

² *ibid.*, p. 228.

Treatise on wounds,¹ writing on the subject of snake-bites, he observes: "When I travelled in Bohemia, the Earl of Rosenberg the younger, during the summer time did eat the flesh of adders for the preservation of the sight and the staying of old age".

On his return from abroad Reid set up in practice at Holt, on the borders of Wales. The exact date of his appearance in the Principality is not known, though it was probably about the year 1600, or even earlier.

The circumstances which led to his association with that country are somewhat obscure. It is possible that during his travels he may have come into contact with youthful representatives of one or other of the prominent Welsh families, making the Grand Tour through France and Italy. Eloquent in praise of the great physicians of Myddfai, these young men may conceivably have depreciated the abilities of the local Welsh practitioners, at the same time emphasizing the need for just such a skilled physician and surgeon as Reid himself professed to be.

Letters of the period would seem to confirm this hypothesis, and the skill of the Welsh physician is challenged by more than one writer. "I find all our Chirurions unwilling to meddle with me in regard I had beene in cure att London", writes one, and adds, rather severely, "I thinke that is but an excuse to colour their insufficiency".² Sir Roger Mostyn, in a letter written between 1606 and 1611, comments upon the illness of Sir John's married daughter, Mary Bodvel, and is convinced that her physician Sir Thomas [Williams] "knoweth no more of her estate than [the writer]". "I remember well", he continues, "that when my wyeffe being sicke of the first chyld, he cam to her and would needes perswade us that

¹ Lecture 14.

² National Library of Wales. Llewenny Paper, No. 3. 107.

she was not with chylde . . . so that I conclude that his cominge fitteth him better to deserne my cosin Nell Powell *Febricula* [fever] than my systers infirmitye".¹ As a sequel to this experience we gather from one of Read's letters that he was eventually called in to prescribe for the lady.²

At that period it was not unusual for the gentry living in remote country districts to consult one or other of the eminent London physicians by correspondence. This was especially the case in Wales, where doubtless the skilled physician was harder to come by than in England. The patient compiled a list of his symptoms, leaving blank spaces for the specialist's written opinion.

Although it would seem that the country districts of England and Wales alike, experienced a need for the qualified physician, the balance of probability is strongly in favour of the view that seventeenth century Wales suffered more than England from this insufficiency. Many Welsh names, it is true, are inscribed on the rolls of the Royal College of Physicians of London. Dr. George Owen, for example, was physician to Queen Elizabeth and held the office of President of the College in 1553/4. Matthew Gwynne, the first Professor of Physic at Gresham College, Oxford, belonged to an old Welsh family; and there are others. It is, however, significant that these eminent men practised their profession beyond the confines of their own country. There were, of course, certain physicians, such as Sir Thomas Williams, William Salusbury of Rûg, and the descendants of the family of Myddfai, who resided in their own country; but, with the exception of the physicians of Myddfai, these would appear primarily to have been men of letters, and nearer akin

¹ National Library of Wales. Wynn Papers, No. 580.

² See below, p. 196.

to the tribe of herbalists and quacks who infested the country districts of England and Wales.

In his preface to Owen Wood's "Alphabetically book of physickall Secrets" (1639), Reid reviles those "bold knaves and impudent Queanes" who "meddle with the practise of Physick, to the utter ruine of no small number of rude and improvident persons, who commit themselves to the Skill and Cure of such unworthy persons. That this is truth", he adds, "the manifold complaints which come to the Physicians' Colledge, when the Fellowes sit, doe make good".

It is therefore highly probable that the advent of such a man as Reid, fresh from the great medical schools of the Continent, would create something of a stir in Wales. With his headquarters at Holt and Chester, Reid's practice extended throughout the greater part of North Wales, and his clientèle comprised a number of the leading Denbighshire families. Doubtless the local doctors were jealous enough when they saw their patrons competing for the newcomer's services. "I had thought to have sent Mr. Reade to have conferred with you", writes Sir Roger Mostyn in 1609, "but he telleth me . . . he hath a cure upon his hand wherin his credit is farre engaged".¹ While, in another letter, Mostyn writes: "I will myself ride to Dr. Lobell,² if *Read be not to be had*".³

The story of Reid's dispute with Sir Thomas Williams

¹ Wynn Papers, No. 523.

² Matthias de L'Obel, the famous Flemish botanist. In a Book of Memoranda of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, which is amongst the *Wynn Papers* (No. 732), there is a "Recipe for 'The making of right good Metheglin' by Doctor Lobell, a netherlander, in anno 1610." L'Obel died in 1616. His "Stirpium Illustrationes," edited by William How, was printed in 1655. The original MS. copy contains some eulogistic verses by "Alexander Rhedus" [Reid] of which the last eight lines were never published. See Gunther, *Early British Botanists*, p. 252.

³ Wynn Papers, No. 580.

affords an interesting example of this professional jealousy. It must be assumed that the "Sir Thom. W." referred to in Reid's letter, is the famous lexicographer Sir Thomas Williams, who at that time practised medicine in Denbighshire. We have already seen that his professional skill had been questioned by Sir Roger Mostyn, who advised Sir John Wynn to send for the Scottish physician.

The affair begins when Reid, at the instigation of Sir Roger Mostyn, wrote to Sir John Wynn in a professional capacity. The letter, dated 10th March, 1609/10,¹ commences with a careful diagnosis of the worthy knight's complaint. Then follows the prescription, an "operative julep", compounded of the usual simples. This letter is endorsed with a brief note from Sir Roger (who appears to have been a powerful ally of Reid's), urging his father-in-law to follow the doctor's instructions. "I had thought to have sent Mr. Reade to have conferred with you", he writes, "but he telleth me, by beinge with you, can advise you no further than he doth by letter. Yett, if you please, the next weeke I will send him to you".

Thereupon, Sir John sent the prescription to Sir Thomas Williams, desiring "his furtherance for the making of ye julep", for Williams would seem to have had a fair knowledge of local herbs. In Sir John Salusbury's annotated copy of Gerard's "Herbal" there is a note that "Mr. Thos. Williames, Clarke and physician, sent it [*Parnassia palustris*] mee Sir John Salusbury, knight, for another herb. It groweth in a meade of Sir John Winn, Knight".²

The jealous eye of the Welsh doctor was quick to note the weak points in his rival's prescription. The Scotsman, ignorant of local conditions, had prescribed simples which were not to be found in that part of the country! He

¹ Wynn Papers, No. 523.

² See Gunther, p. 243.

immediately makes Sir John acquainted with this fact. Again, Reid does not appear to have favoured the administration of rhubarb as a remedy. Williams therefore urges its use! The correspondence between Sir John Wynn and Sir Thomas Williams is unfortunately lost; but we have the whole story from Reid himself, whose indignation at this uncalled for criticism finds expression in three closely written foolscap pages of a letter, dated 17th April, 1610, and addressed to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir¹ :—

Xs. Right woorshipfull yo^r lettir I receaued after my coming from Cheshire xiii day of this moneth accompanied with a testimonie of your woonted favour. And as I was exceeding glade to here of your securitie, so it greeued me to understand that your woonted streyngth did not returne even according to your owin wishe. Becaus I am willing to shew my self in any thing, but chefely in y^t which concerneth your owin welfayre, alwayes ready (as I am bownd) to fulfil your woorships desyre, I made what hast I cowlde to send wnto you the julep. Receaued it therefore, which I wishe may do yow as much good as I cowlde desyre at Goddis handis. The simples, I assure yow, were exceeding good, for I had them of my owen, & in y^e making I tooke that care which was fittest to be taken for such a one as one much revered. Take of this, becaus it is strong of the simples, iiii ounces about v a clock in y^e morning, warme, & sleep afterward; & so much about iiii a clock in y^e afternoone, cowlde. According to y^e benefit yow reape by it (which I hoape wilbe soone) your woorship may continew the use of it. I bowldly affirme it to be more lykely to doo good then your medical bere, the use whereof yo^r woorship shal fynd by taking of it to subvert yo^r stomach. The lettir contayning the description of the state of yo^r body I cowlde not as yit fynd out; when I fynd it I wil send it. In your woorships last lettir a fownd enclosed a brefe schedul of your owin to Sr Thomas Williams, wherein yow desyre his furtherance for the making of y^e julep. His answer I redde wryten upon the back of it. But becaus in it I perceaued a selfe looue, a disdayne of others, & a censuring humor, here brefely I wil examin every poynt of it. Now first of al, to cloake his unwillingnes to meddle with anything prescribed by others, as showld seme, he taketh occasion presumptuously to enter to y^e examination of my recept. But fayne would I know why

¹ Wynn Papers, No. 527.

his charitie wil not suffer a poore body to passe by his doore if he wil bestow no almes? But let us here what he can say. The rootes of grasse are prescribed. Go too! But there are divers kyndes of grasse, it is trew, more then ather Mathwylus,¹ Dodonaus² or Lobelius³ as yit have sett downe, as I can proove when occasion shal be offered. What then? There is a dowbt left what kynd of grasse rootis are to be taken. What doeth this trowble a master wnto ye which every apothecaries boy wil readely answer? Is not this familiar to al pragmaticks by a trope, to wit, synecdoche? *Generis pro specie* to use ye denomination of the general for the special, as *R rad. aperitiu.*, being notwithstanding farre more aperittive rootis then are used by ye apothecaries. The right is *grawen canarium*, quick grass, which the husbandman unwillingly seeth whensoever he harroweth. But becaus, Sr Thomas, al corne by yow is not winter corne, yow might have fownd it wheresoever harrowing was for oatis or barley. He sayeth, in lyke maner, that your tract wil not afford the other simples. There is agrimonie enough everywhere in the dew season, which I marvel he can lake; yea, & hartis towng, & mayden hayre about Denbich castel (if not in your owin rockis); sorel, persley rootis, fennil rootis, succorie & borrage rootis in your owin garden, liquirice & anise seedis (I make no dowbt) at hoame. Thus one may see his dealing. Neverthelesse, he referreth the making of it to me, but apoynteth the place, Chestir to wit. I would he showld know, first of al, that I wil use none of there ineffectual owld simples to anyone of woorth, secondly, that I wilbe taught by no apothecarie in England to make, aording to art, any composition. I admire not that which sundrie commend. But I am drawin on by ye fayre tytle of an observation. But which is it? Yo^r woorship is hypatick & not splenetick! How soo? There is no prooffe, wherefore *quod ratione non fulcitur, eadem facilitate contemnitur qui asseritur*. If it be so, why are his simples splenetical rather than hepaticall? That wormewood is stomachical & ceterach & tamarisk splenetical I appel to Dioscorides⁴ & al practizers. Behowld what fyne harmonie there is betwene this mannis theorie & practice! I see not how, when twoe members are

¹ Matthiolus or Mattioli, an eminent physician and botanist, born at Sienna in 1501. He died in 1577.

² Dodoens or Dodonaeus, a learned physician and botanist, born at Mechlin in 1517. He died in 1585.

³ Referred to above, p. 192.

⁴ Dioscorides, of Caesarea, in Cilicia, who lived in the second or first century B.C., author of the classical "Treatise on Materia Medica."

apoynted for one use, the one being affected, the other can be free. As, for example, the boanis of the leggis being fractured, the muscules must also suffer, Now the liver and splen have one common end, sanguification. Wherefore I did so temporat my description y^t that the greater part of the simples revived the liuer. To discours of ye jellow jandice at large the bowndis of one epistel wil not permit. From hence, he goeth to the defence of the ministration of Rheubarb, ascribing ye cure of the jandice wnto it, next wnto his Lord, as if emongst Christians in this realme there [were] more then one Lord, although there be sundre sortis (I graunt) of woorshipping. He is behowlden to ye puritans for this phrase. But I pray you, Sr, is not Rheubarb a purgatiue? It can not be denied! Now seing three thinges are requisit to purge according to method: The streyngh of nature, the preparation of the humor & the opennes of the passages, why did yow attempt the ministration of it before the obstructions were opened? Doo not yow say y^t his woorships gale did ouerflow? And is not this becaus ye ductus fellis, inserted into ye duodenum, was stopped, the cistis being full? Can a mil damme ouerflow unlesse ye sluice be shut? What that, in the end of your obseruation, yow dreed a scirrhus which can not be imagined wt out ane obstruction, nether can reason permit to beleve that one potion at the very same tyme can be both preparatiue & purgatiue. As for rheubarb, ye purgatiue facultie of it, the dose, & dyers preparations I wil undertake to teach yow, if yow wil not be wilfullie ignorant. Whosoevir knoweth not it, & sena to colour the urine, is ather very ignorant becaus he knoweth not, or negligent, becaus he observeth not if he be a practizer of physique. The lyke happened to your woorship (if I wel remember) a lytle before I came to Gwyder to see m^{res} Boadwel. But he hastueth to ane end, & so doo I, with giuing me counsel in this busines, for the which I howld myself nothing at al behowlden wnto him. What! Must I use al aperitiues? It is a hard mater. They are, in there latitude, hidden from any one man, if not from al. He nameth some lest he showld seme ignorant. As for asparagus, seing it is a woord signifying many thinges, as one may reed in the epistel of the learned Fallopius to Mercurialis, I beseech yow, let me in kyndnes ask what signification is meant? It is a farre harder mater to fynd now the usual sperage then grasse rootis. Of Ceterac & Tamarisek I have spoaken. If he think it a favour to sett a man at work I willingly wil requyt him by giuing him a task (if he wil) which he shal fynd hard enough if he labour to discharge it. Last of al, to answer his confident Terentian proposition, this haue I resolved to doo: *ubicumque fuero*

mentem rationum pondere librari faeile patiar; non item philantias aut contradicendi reste trahi. Si quando latebit veritas, eam ex artis prineipiis deducere conabor; per modestam opinionum collationem detractabo—sed modestam. Altereando amittitur potius veritas quam invenitur. Yo^r Woorship here seeth y^t I have stayed somewhat to long in the examination of Sr Thomas his answer to your letter, which I did not so much becaus it towched me, as that it aymeth at a course which seemeth best to be taken for the reconerie of your health, which I wishe may be shortly, & long continew to the comfort of your frendis & the good of the common wealth & your owin ofspring. I would counsel your woorship to send to London for *Myrobalani Kebuli*, preserved. The Straytis merchants bring them; they are sowld for vs a pound. Being taken after meales, & at other tymes, they doo exceedingly strengthen the noble partis. The use of good whyte wyne with borrage water, borrage itself & sugar is convenient. If yow haue not borrage water use spring water, boyled. These thinges are confirmed by experience & set downe by the learned Arnoldus de Villa nova¹ in his treatishe of the tardation of owld age. Your woorships to be used at al tymes.

ALEXANDER READ.

From Guysannes [Gwysaney?], 17 April, 1610.

To ye right woorshipfull Sr John Wynn of Gwyder, knight, his much revered frend, deliver this.

It must not be supposed that Reid's path was continually beset with disputes of this nature. Scattered throughout his works are references showing how pleasant must have been his association with the Principality. It can be stated with certainty that he attended Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, and fourth Earl of Pembroke. In his "Treatise of the first part of Chirurgerie" (1638), which he dedicates to the Earl, Reid says:—"When I had occasion to use your Honour in my lawfull businesses". Herbert was afterwards created Baron Herbert of Shurland, in the Isle of Sheppey. This fact would pro-

¹ Arnold de Villa Nova was a famous physician of the 14th century. He practised medicine at Paris. He extolled *Aqua vitae*, or water of Life, because it strengthens the body and prolongs life. With it he made tinctures of herbs and regarded these as having special virtues.

bably account for Reid's visit to the Isle, because in one of his lectures he mentions "being in the Ile of Sheppey, in Minster Street, curing one Clover, an aged man".¹

The name of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, Lord President of Wales, appears in the dedication to another of Reid's works,² and affords a further link with the Principality.

Thomas, first Baron Gerard of Gerard's Bromley, was appointed President of the Council of the Marches of Wales in 1616/17. In his "Treatise of the first part of Chirurgerie" (1638), Reid tells us how, shortly after Gerard's appointment, he received a sudden call to Gerard's Bromley to attend the Lord President's tailor, who had sustained a serious fracture.

"About 20 years ago," he relates, "returning from the Bath, in Somerset-shire, to the Howlt, five miles from Chester, where then I remained, having lodged in Newport in Shropshire by the way; I was called by this Lord Gerard's grandfather to Gerard's Branley [Gerard's Bromley, co. Staffs] to take a view of his Taylor, who had fractured both the soucils of the legg, a little below the knee, about the breadth of a Palme. When I did behold the fracture with a wound, and the extenuation of the body, for the accident fell out ten weeks before, neither were the bones united, and besides there was a great tumour in the knee, I pronounced a lingering death to the party, unless he were out of hand dismembered above the knee. Being entreated by the sick party, and the Earl, to perform this operation, I yielded unto their request; but having by me neither instrument nor medicament, thus I supplied the defect of both. I made a medicament of Umber and unslaked Lime, taking equal parts of both, which I found there, the house then being in reparation. I used a Joyner's whip-saw, newly toothed, and . . . I dismembered the Lord's Taylor . . . who lived many years afterwards."³

Reference has already been made to Reid's association with Sir John Wynn of Gwydir and Sir Roger Mostyn. Another prominent Welsh family with whom he came

¹ Treatise on Ulcers, Lecture 29. ² Treatise on Musesels.

³ Workes: II. Treatise of wounds, p. 12d. (1650).

into contact was that of Salusbury of Llewenny. Sir John Salusbury, Kt., younger brother to Thomas Salusbury of Babington Plot fame, enlisted Reid's services in the vain attempt to save the life of a valued retainer.

Sir John Salusbury was the author of some delightful poems which show his love of flowers, and which were printed in 1597. His mother was the famous Catherine of Berain, granddaughter of Henry VII. She married four times, Salusbury's father being her first husband. Sir John Salusbury is said to have been called "Syr John y Bodiau",¹ from the fact that he had two thumbs on each hand and two great toes on each foot. He was also known as "the Strong" because of his enormous strength. He is credited with slaying a fabulous monster called the "bigh" or "bych", from which the town of Denbigh is said to derive its name. Sir John also appears to have displayed his strength in uprooting forest trees as though they were weeds. In Christ Church Library, Oxford, there is a copy of Gerard's "Herbal" which contains marginal notes in Sir John's own handwriting, of the plants to be found in North Wales.² It is interesting to find that the Scottish doctor refers to Sir John Salusbury's surgical skill as well as to his botanical knowledge. The history of the case is as follows:—

"In this Towne³ . . . a lusty young man, whose sirname was Owin, whose father was a retainer to Sir John Salisbury, had the like tumor in the Vertebrae of the loynes, after a lingering grief. I, having been entreated by the truly worshipfull Sir John Salisbury (who had not an ordinary skill in the knowledge of the plants, and in performing chirurgicall cures), took a view of the young Gentle-man. After mature deliberation I told Sir John and the young mans friends that there was much quittour in the Tumor which must be discharged, and that the event of the curation would be uncertain if the matter were let out, for the reasons above specified. At the

¹ See *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. xl, p. 1.

² Gunther, p. 238 sq.

³ Denbigh.

entreaty of Sir John Salusbury and the young mans parents and friends, I opened the Aposteme . . . and although no meanes were omitted which seemed unto us effectuall for the recovery of the young mans health . . . yet he fell into a Marasmus or extenuation of the body, being otherwise a proper and valiant young gentleman; and so ended his life before age called for his dissolution, to the great grief of his parents, having no other Sonne but him, and the commiseration of the worthy Knight.”¹

Another Denbigh man, who suffered from the same complaint as Sir John Salusbury’s retainer, was more fortunate.

“In Denbigh town there was one Richard Pryce, an Haberdasher, son to John Pryce, who kept the principall Inne of the town, who after he had been troubled with a chronicall disease, felt in his back, a little below the shoulder blades, a tumor still increasing in the outward parts, as he was eased in the inward, untill at last it grew to the bignesse of a penny loaf.” “I,” says Reid, “having been called unto it, by opening of the Aposteme and using methodicall instruments, cured the patient. This man (as I heare) having given over his trade, still keepeth the Inne which his father did.”²

Other patients mentioned are : a Welsh woman named Price, who was cured of phthisis by taking milk from the breast ; Mistress Ferne of Holt ; a young man of Chester named Fletcher, wounded in a duel, who died fourteen days after receiving the wound ; James Wilkinson, who lived near Reid in Chester ; and a “gentleman of the race of the Fittens”.

But Wales was soon to lose the services of the man who had so ably practised his profession amongst her people. In 1616 there appeared a small anatomical treatise entitled *Σωματογραφία ἀνθρωπινη*, Or “a description of the body of man”. This little book was the first work from Reid’s pen, and was probably to make him known to the world outside Wales, while it may have led eventually to his

¹ A Treatise of Ulcers, Lecture 29.

² *Ibid.*

migration to London. His brother Thomas at the Court doubtless found occasion to bring the doctor's name to the King's notice, for James was always ready to prefer his own countrymen. Another powerful ally would be the Lord Gerard, whose tailor had been operated upon with such skill.

Whatever the causes may have been, preferment came rapidly. On the 28th May, 1620, Alexander and Thomas Reid were both incorporated M.A. at Oxford, while on the following day the former was created doctor of physic by Letters Patent from James I.

It is possible that Reid's departure from Wales coincided with these academic distinctions, for it was about this time that he was enrolled as a foreign brother of the Barber-Surgeons' Hall. Moreover, in 1621, he became a candidate for election to the Royal College of Physicians of London and was admitted a Fellow of that body on 3rd March, 1623/4. Finally, on 7th July in the same year, he was incorporated in his medical degree at Cambridge.

It may be assumed that the recommendation of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir and other prominent Welshmen brought Reid to the notice of their fellow countrymen occupying high positions in London, amongst whom the most distinguished was John Williams, Archbishop of York, who, in 1621, was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and Bishop of Lincoln. Williams was a near kinsman to Sir John Wynn. Dr. Matthew Gwynne, to whom we have already referred, was practising in London, and it has been suggested that he was instrumental in obtaining for Reid the appointment as lecturer in anatomy at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall. In any case, it may be inferred from Reid's works that he was associated professionally with Dr. Gwynne on more than one occasion.

Reid began to lecture at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall on 28th December, 1632, and held the post until 1634. The lectures were delivered on Tuesdays throughout the year, at an annual stipend of £20.

The manner in which the anatomy lectures of the period were conducted has been fully described in Young's "Annals of the Barber-Surgeons' Company", and in other works. The "Manual of Anatomy", published by Reid in 1634, contains a frontispiece showing Dr. Reid lecturing, while in front of him the body lies in the usual manner ready for dissection, his demonstrators standing on either side, holding scalpels, ready to expose the parts described by the lecturer.

While Reid was lecturing at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall, William Harvey was delivering the Lumneian Lectures at the Royal College of Physicians. It is not clear whether Reid was ignorant of Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, or whether he definitely refused to accept the new teaching. Harvey's *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis* had appeared six years before the publication of Reid's *Manual of Anatomy*, and it is therefore unlikely that he would not have been acquainted with the theories propounded by Harvey. Reid followed the traditional teaching as to the functions of the heart.

On the termination of his lectures in 1634 Reid continued to practice in London. He appears to have resided in Little Britain, lodging (for a time at least) "within the signe of the Naked Boy, a little below the Fleet-Conduit."

Reid numbered amongst his patients men like Sir Ralph Freeman, Lord Mayor of London in 1633, who suffered from "an ulcer of the tongue", and Thomas Harriott, the eminent mathematician and astronomer, who had "a cancerous ulcer of the mouth." Harriott had

long suffered from ill-health. In 1606 he complained to Kepler that he was unable to write or think accurately upon any subject, which would account for his failure to complete his discoveries. Henry, Earl of Northumberland, had such a high opinion of his learning, says the author of the article in the "Dictionary of National Biography", that he allowed him an annual pension of £300 for the rest of his life. In 1607 Harriott, at the Earl's invitation, went to live at Sion House, in Isleworth, Middlesex, where he remained until his death on 2nd July, 1621.

That Reid visited Wales from time to time before his appointment as lecturer at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall seems highly probable. It would be only natural on the part of many of his old patients to solicit his services in the treatment of their maladies. Sir Thomas Salusbury, the second baronet, grandson of that Sir John to whom we have already referred, succeeded his father, Sir Henry, in August, 1632. A letter dated from Chester in October of the same year, written by Sir Thomas Salusbury's bailiff to his master in London, would seem to indicate that Reid was staying in or near that city: "I was desired by Mr. Rede the Chirurgion, to bringe your worship in mind of your promise to him att Lleweny of two Lancetts, for a memoriall of his office done there; he sayeth it was your worships owne motion and not any request of his, which putts him to a more hope of performance. I find him most willing to doe me good . . .".¹

We have no intimate details concerning the last seven years of Reid's life. He appears, however, to have devoted such leisure as the demands of a large practice would allow to the publication of his numerous works. We have already referred to the *Σωματογραφία ἀνθρωπινη*, Or "a description of the body of man" which had ap-

¹ National Library of Wales. Llewenny Paper, No. 3. 15.

peared in 1616. This work was re-issued (in 1634) with some additions on the practice of surgery and the use of fifty-three instruments. The "Manuall of Anatomy" appeared in the same year, containing the substance of Reid's lectures on anatomy. His surgical lectures were the next to appear; the "Chirurgicall Lectures on Wounds" in 1634, and the "Chirurgicall Lectures of tumors and ulcers" in 1635. Reid devotes 11 lectures to tumours, 29 to ulcers, 34 to wounds, and 31 to the muscles of the body. His works, unlike those of many of his contemporaries, are written in English, and his style is clear and concise. In his opinion the *pericardium* is the "swadler" because it envelopes the heart, while the carotid arteries are the "soporall vessels" because, upon their obstruction, "death doth immediately follow".

The "Chirurgorum Comes" which was Reid's posthumous work, was completed and published in 1687, by "A Member of the College of Physitians in London". In the preface to this work we are told that "if any would have been at the pains and charge of translating Reid into Latin, I question not but ere this he had obtained the suffrages of the learned to have been one of the best Chirurgeons that ever writ, so all our English Chirurgeons of any note since him have subscribed their testimony of his great abilities. But his lectures in English being very scarce, it was judged that an edition of them would not be unacceptable". The writer also compares Reid's works with those of Van Horne¹ who divided surgery, we are told, "into parts according to its operations". He suspects that the Dutchman copied Reid in this respect because, as he says, "I have heard that Reid's Lectures were translated into a Foreign Tongue which very likely

¹ John van Hoorne, a distinguished anatomist and physician, born at Amsterdam in 1621; he died 1670. He is the author of many works on anatomy.

Van Horne may have perused if he did not understand them in English ”.

It would appear as though this anonymous author, writing at a date when Harvey's teaching had become universally accepted, was well aware of his author's weak points, for he cautiously observes that Reid's works, “ though learned, were capable of improvement ”.

It is natural to find Reid the Surgeon affirming that “ the use of Chirurgery is by reason of absolute necessity more often required than the ministrations of medicaments ”. He does not, indeed, appear to have had much faith in drugs. In one of his letters to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, he counsels the baronet not to charge “ his neshe constitution ” with a “ chaos of medicaments ”. It is also interesting to learn Reid's views on Paracelsus,¹ for whom he has nothing but scorn. “ If anyone would mispend good hours ”, he says, “ let him read Paracelsus, his great and little chirurgery, which are like clouds without rain ”.

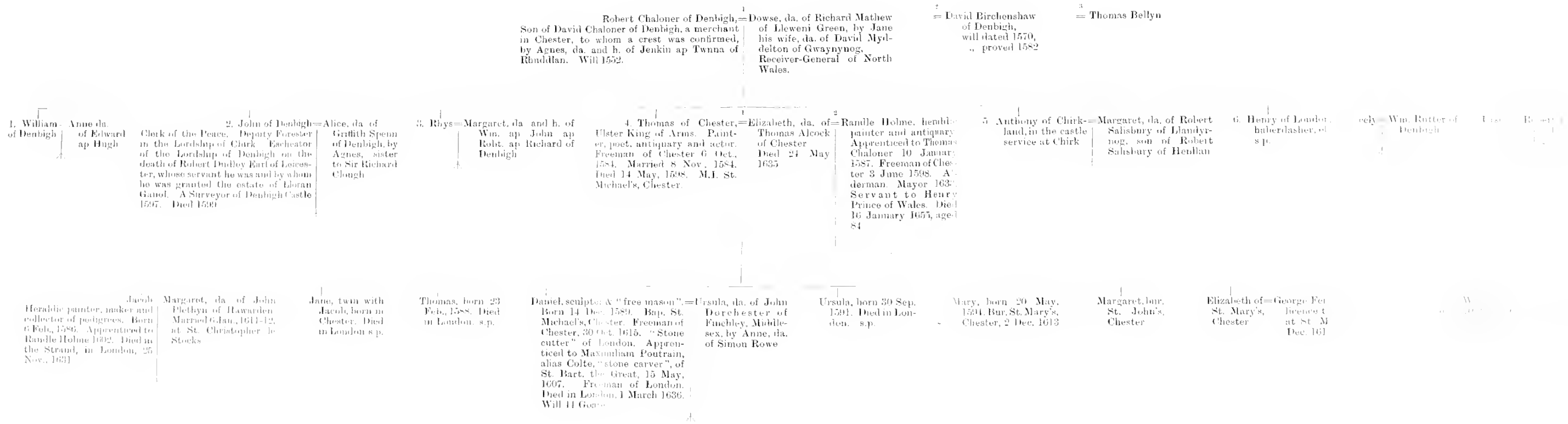
Reid died in October, 1641. His will, dated 1st February, 1630/40, has been published and shows him to have been a wealthy man.² It is to be supposed that he never married. During his lifetime he gave the sum of £110 to found Bursaries in his old College at Aberdeen, to which he bequeathed other sums, as well as his collection of books. The Royal College of Physicians in Amen Corner also benefited to the amount of £100, which was bequeathed by Reid for the decoration of the Anatomy Theatre there.

It is to be hoped that some day further particulars will come to light concerning the career of this Scottish Sur-

¹ Paracelsus, 1490-1541, an erratic revolutionary genius, who emphasized the value of practical experience in medicine as opposed to dogma and theory. Professor at Basle.

² Fasti. Acad. Mariscall. Aberdeen, II, p. 231-5.

geon, whose life would, indeed, seem to convey a message and a warning to future generations of scientists. "It is the safest course to persist in the footsteps of the ancients", he remarks in one of his works, "for their way is safe and easie", a maxim which would seem to explain the reason of his own failure to achieve immortality.



Two Welsh Heraldic Pedigrees, with Notes on Thomas Chaloner of Denbigh and Chester, Ulster King of Arms.

By W. J. HEMP, F.S.A.,

Secretary to the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (Wales).

THE two Elizabethan pedigrees which form the subject of this paper are cast in a somewhat unusual form, technically called a "target". Both deal with families dwelling on the border land of North Wales, and, although written and painted by different hands, it is likely that both represent the work of Thomas Chaloner of Chester, whose immediate ancestry one of them records.

This Thomas Chaloner was the fourth son of Robert Chaloner of Denbigh by Dowce his wife, daughter of Richard Mathew of Lleweni Green. The family had long been settled in North Wales, although it probably took its origin and name from some Cheshire maker of or dealer in linen quilts or coverlets, known as "shalloons"; "Roger the Chaloner" of Chester occurs in 1288.

In Elizabethan times, however, the claim was made that this family descended from Madoc Crwm, who was said to have flourished in the thirteenth century and to have been called "Chaloner" as a result of residence at Chalons in France; although his descent was Welsh, he being the great-grandson of the founder of the seventh tribe of North Wales, Maelog Crwm of Nanteonway, "Lord of Llechwedd isaf and Creuddyn", who himself

is described as "4th son of Greddyf ap Kwnnws ddu ap Killingad the 13th son in lineal descent from Kynedda Wledic King of North Wales".¹

Among Maelog Crwm's ancestors was Helig ap Glannog, the foundations of whose long submerged home are said to be still traceable in the sea between the mouth of the Conway and Ynys Lannog (Puffin Island).

Improbable as this tale of the Welsh sojourner in France may be, in view of the frequency of the name Chaloner at that period, it is a fact that in 1301 the Public Records tell of "William de Chalons, burgess of Conway who bought land at Conway from the King and subsequently lent money to the King's workmen employed at Conway".

The name of Chaloner often occurs among the early records connected with Cheshire and the adjoining parts of Lancashire.

Several members of the family were students of heraldry and genealogy, and our Thomas Chaloner was employed as an agent by the College of Heralds for some years under the designation of "Deputy to the Office of Arms", before he was created Ulster King of Arms. This appointment he only received on the day of his death, 14th May, 1598, as recorded on his monument in St. Michael's Church, Chester (fig. 3).² He also took advantage of his visitations and travels in North Wales and

¹ Nat. Lib. Wales, Kimmel MS. No. 5.

² See Appendix. He is described on the monument in St. Mary's Church, Chester, commemorating Randle Holme the Second, as "de eadem civitate quandoque Ulster regis armorum pro Hiberniæ regno." There is considerable mystery about Chaloner's appointment, as Haydn's Book of Dignities records the appointment of Christopher Ussher as Ulster, by Letters Patent dated 30 June, 1588, and Mr. T. U. Sadleir, Registrar of the Office of Arms, Dublin Castle (Ulster's office) tells me that Ussher "was buried 2 June, 1597. According to our records Daniel Molyneux was then appointed and continued in office till 1633." According to Haydn Molyneux's

Cheshire to make antiquarian and heraldic notes, which are now of great value.¹ He became a Freeman of Chester on October 6th, 1584, and, as noted by Mr. J. P. Earwaker,² was a painter, poet and antiquary, as well as a member of Lord Derby's company of players.

On Nov. 8th, 1584, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Alcock, of Chester, and on Jan. 10th, 1587, he took as his apprentice one Randle Holme. After Chaloner's death, in 1598, Holme married his master's widow, and in 1602 apprenticed his stepson, Jacob Chaloner, to himself. Jacob became a well-known heraldic agent, painter and collector of pedigrees, and eventually moved to London, where he died in 1631. Randle Holme remained in Chester and built up the heraldic business which was to be carried on by his son, grandson and great-grandson, all bearing the same name, on the foundations laid by Chaloner's work. Randle III was the author of the well-known "Academy of Armory".

Ulster's great nephew, Captain Robert Chaloner, of Lloran, co. Denbigh, and Roundway, co. Wilts (1612-1675), was also a herald, being appointed Bluemantle Pursuivant in 1660, and Lancaster Herald in 1665.

But the members of the family best known to history were Ulster's second cousin, Sir Thomas Chaloner, the Elizabethan diplomatist and man of affairs, son of Roger of Denbigh and London, together with his son, another Sir Thomas, Chamberlain to Henry, Prince of Wales,

patent was dated 28 June, 1597. As Chaloner died 14 May, 1598, it would seem that there were two claimants for the post, since the statement on Randle Holme II's monument would not have been made without some warranty.

¹ According to Mr. Earwaker MS. Harley 2151 contains notes on monuments and windows in churches made by Thomas Chaloner and others and arranged by the third Randle Holme.

² The four Randle Holmes of Chester; Journ. Chester Arch. and Hist. Soc., n.s., iv. (1892).

and his grandson, a third Thomas, the regicide, whose brother James also sat in judgment on the King and was a noted antiquary and one of the earliest English topographers.

To balance the political record of these last, there was, in addition to their own Royalist brothers, the headmaster of Shrewsbury School, another Thomas Chaloner, a descendant of Ulster's brother John, who was expelled from his post on account of his Royalist sympathies, and after a long period of exile, during which he was a successful headmaster of Ruthin and other schools, was restored to his post at Shrewsbury when the King came to his own again. His diary still bears witness to the recording instincts of his family.¹

A brief reference may be made to the possible connection of Thomas Chaloner with Freemasonry. Mr. Earwaker, in the article already mentioned, refers to evidence proving that the Holmes were masons and quotes the third Randle's description of himself in 1688 as "a Member of that Society, called Free-Masons", pointing out that he was one of the earliest Freemasons whose name has come down to us. Thomas Chaloner's son Daniel is called "Freemason"—whatever that may connote in the case of a professional sculptor—and at the end of the Chaloner monumental inscription in St. Michael's is a symbol, a triangle point downwards surmounted by a ring, which also appears in some of the Harleian MSS., and may perhaps have been Chaloner's private mark (fig. 3).²

¹ One of his descendants is responsible for these notes, as he also was for an account of Denbigh Castle, published in the *Cymmrodor* in 1926, the last recorded survey of the castle having been made by John Chaloner, Ulster's brother, and his own ancestor.

² For further information on this subject see "A Short History of Freemasonry in Chester" by Henry Taylor and P. H. Lawson.



Fig. 1. The Chaloner Peat Bog.

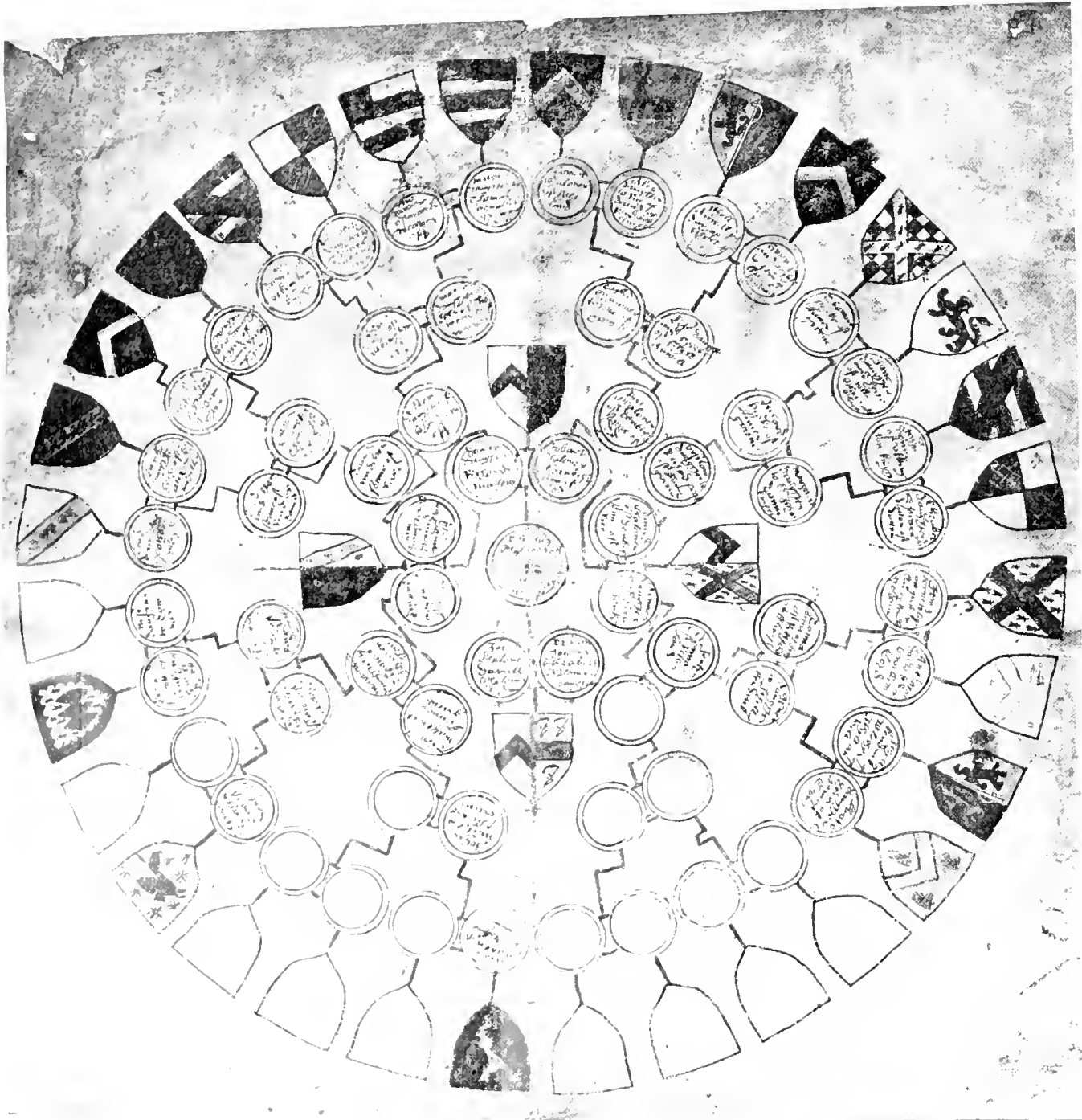


Fig. 1. The Chaloner Pedigree.

I.—THE CHALONER PEDIGREE.

This is an ingenious attempt to record in a compact form five generations of the ancestors of Thomas Chaloner, together with the arms they bore or which were attributed to them (fig. 1). The names appear in circles which are connected by lines indicating the descents, and the appropriate shield accompanies the name of each of the thirty-two great-great-great-grand parents on the outside circle. In addition, four impaled shields display the arms of Thomas Chaloner and those of his parents and grandparents. Nine of the shields are blank and one is in trick only, the rest are in their proper colours.

The design measures about $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. The drawing is poor, and the execution in general somewhat careless—in fact the document has the appearance of having been intended as a rough draft. The parchment has suffered from age and dirt and also from being folded. It is now preserved at Oxford in the Bodleian Library, its reference being MS. Jesus Coll. R.130.

The date is about 1590 to judge from the fact that four only of Thomas Chaloner's children are named, including Daniel who was born in 1589, but excluding Mary who was born in 1594 and survived until 1613, and her sister Elizabeth who married in 1613.

For convenience of identification and reference the circles containing names have been treated as four rings, lettered A, B, C and D (E being the central circle) and numbered clockwise. The outer ring of shields corresponds with ring A, but the four inmost shields are lettered a, b, c, d; the clockwise system has been departed from in this case only.

The following are the inscriptions in the circles with the corresponding coats of arms. Additions are indicated by square brackets. In the case of both the Chaloner

and the Broughton pedigrees no attempt has been made to expand or annotate the entries except by the addition to the blazons of the arms in each case the family name or that of the best known ancestor.

RING A.

- 1.—Howell Chaloner of Ritheland
Sa. a chev. between three cherubs or. [Chaloner]
- 2.—Ales daughter to Rice ap Daidid ap Kendrick of Weper
Vert a stag pass. regard. arg. [Cynwrig Fychan]
- 3.—Ithell Anwell ap Day ap Ithell of [blank, *recte* Northop]
Per pale or and gu. a hymmock arg. between two lions ramp. addorsed, counterchanged. [Ithel Anwyl]
- 4.—Gwenlyan daughter to Jem¹ ap Llin ap Kendrick
Sa. a chev. between three goat's heads erased or.
[Ithel Felyn]
- 5.—Thomas Peake of Lluney greene
Checky or and gu. a salt. erm. [Peake]
- 6.—Jane daughter and heire of Witr Clare als Clark
Arg. a lion pass. gu. [Clare or Clark]
- 7.—Sr John Donne of Vitkington knight
Barry of five az. and arg. on a bend gu. three arrows silver. [Done]
- 8.—Elizabeth daughter to Sr pears dutton of dutton
Quarterly arg. and gu., in the second and third quarters a fret or. [Dutton]
- 9.—Jem 3 sonne to Eigniō ap Griff ap llin ap Kendk ap Osbourn
Erm. a saltire gu. charged with a crescent or.
[Osborne Fitzgerald (Wyddel)]

¹ This name is clearly written Jem throughout, but is apparently intended for Jeuan (Evan), as in MS. Harley 1157, f. 61 b, this same man appears as "Juan ap Llewelin ap Kendrick."

- 10.—Angharat dar to dd ap Gwillim Lloyd
*(In trick) [Arg.] a chev. between three boar's heads
 couped [sa.]. [Ednowain Bendew (?)]*
- 11.—Ithell ap Kendrick ap Blethen ap Ithell anwell
Arms as No. 3. [Ithel Anwyl]
- 12.—Llueke daughter & heire of Jem ap Grono
Vert a chev. between three wolf's heads erased arg.
 [Rhiryd Flaidd]
- 13-16.—[Blank]
- 17.—Lewis Mathew of Llandaffe
Sa. a lion ramp. between three crosses croset arg.
 [Mathew]
- 18-20.—[Blank]
- 21.—Thomas Byrchenshaw of Denbighe¹
Arg. semy of estoiles a pegasus gu. [Birehenshaw]
- 22.—[Blank]
- 23.—Richard Pigott ap Jenkyn ap Howell Pigott
*Erm. three fusils conjoined in fess and a border en-
 grailed sa. [Pigott]*
- 24.—Nest daughter to Townas
 [Shield blank]
- 25.—Ririd ap David ap Pothan Vlayd
Arg. on a bend vert three wolf's heads erased silver.
 [Middleton (Pothan Flaidd)]
- 26.—Cecily daughter and heire of Sr. Alexandr
 Midelton
Gu. on a bend or three lions pass. sa. [Middleton]
- 27.—Gruffith ap Jenkyn ap gwalltr of Broughton
Sa. a chev. betw. three owls arg. [Broughton]
- 28.—Gwenhwver daughtr and heir of dauid vychan ap
 Jem
*Gu. three snakes nowed together arg. [Ednowain ap
 Bradwen]*

¹ Thomas Bwrchinshaw=Katrin v. ag aeres y Richard Pigot vichan (Dwun, II. 346 *sub* Llansannan).

- 29.—Sr John Donne of Vtkington knight
Arms as No. 7 [Done]
- 30.—Elizabeth daughter to Sr pears dutton of dutton
Arms as No. 8 [Dutton]
- 31.—Tho Weaver of Weaver als Weawer esq
Arg. two bars sa. on a canton of the last a garb or.
 [Weaver]
- 32.—Margaret daughter to Thomas Venables of
 Pownall
Az. two bars arg. [Venables]

RING B.

- 1.—David Chaloner sonne of Howell
- 2.—Rose daughter and heire of Ithwell Anwell
- 3.—Richard Peake of LLuney greene
- 4.—Margaret daughter to Sr John Donne knight
- 5.—Tonna sonne of Jem of Rithlād in flintsh
- 6.—Agnes daughter to Ithell ap Kendrick
- 7-8.—[Blank]
- 9.—John Mathew of Lluney greene
- 10.—[Blank]
- 11.—Thomas Byrchenshaw of Arloyd
- 12.—Kathren daughter & heire of Richard Pigott
- 13.—Ririd Midelton sonne of Ririd ap David
- 14.—Mary daughter & heir of Gruffith
- 15.—John Done of Vtkington esq
- 16.—Margaret daughter and heir of Tho Weaver of
 Weaver

RING C.

- 1.—Rice Chaloner of Denbigh sonne of Dd
- 2.—Urselaw daughter to Richard Peake of Llvny
 greene
- 3.—Jenkyn Tonna of Rithland

- 4.—[Blank]
- 5.—Thomas Mathew of Llynney greene
- 6.—Margaret daughter to Thomas Byrchenshaw
- 7.—Dauid Midelton sonne of Ririd
- 8.—Ellen daughter of John done esq

RING D.

- 1.—Robart Chaloner of Denbigh sonn of dd
- 2.—Dauid Chaloner of Denbigh sonne of Rice
- 3.—Agnes daughter and heir of Jenk̄y
- 4.—Urselaw Chaloner Elizabeth Chaloner 2 daughts
- 5.—Jacob Chaloner Daniell Chaloner 2 sons
- 6.—Richard Mathew of Llynney green
- 7.—Jane daughter of Dauid Midelton esq
- 8.—Dowce daughter of Richard Mathew

CENTRE, E.

Thomas Chaloner of Chester mared Elizabeth da to
William Allcock of Chester.

SHIELDS, INMOST RING.

- a. *Arg. on a chev. sa. three cherubs or.* [Chaloner], imp. *arg. a fess gu. betw. three scythes sa.; the fess charged with an escallop or for diff.* [Alcock]. (Corresponds with central circle.)
- b. Chaloner, as above (a), imp. *Sa. a lion ramp. betw. three crosses croset arg.* [Mathew]. (Corresponds with D.1 and D.8.)
- c. Chaloner, as above (a), imp. *Erm. a saltire gu. charged with a crescent or.* [Osborne Fitzgerald (Wyddel)]. (Corresponds with D.2 and D.3.)
- d. Mathew, as above (b), imp. *Arg on a bend vert three wolf's heads erased silver.* [Middleton]. (Corresponds with D.6 and D.7.)

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ABOVE SHIELDS.

N.B.—Except where noted all the coats are recorded by Papworth.

THE ARMS OF CHALONER.

Four different coats are assigned to the Denbighshire Chaloners. No. 1 is *Arg. a cross flory raguly between four choughs or crows sa.* This appears to be a variant of the Flintshire coat assigned to the descendants of Edwin of Tegeingle. It was used on occasion by several members of the clan, including Sir Thomas the elder, but eventually seems to have been abandoned for the other coats, No. 2, *Arg. on a chev. sa. three kneeling angels or*; 3, *Arg. on a chev. sa. three cherubs, faces ppr. wings or*; and 4, *Sa. a chev. betw. three cherubs or.*

No. 2 is assigned to Maelog Crwm, Lord of Ilechwedd isaf and Creuddyn, founder of the seventh tribe of North Wales, and Nos. 3 and 4 were used by various descendants of the Denbigh family; No. 4 is first attributed to Madoc Crwm, the first to take the name of Chaloner in the thirteenth century, the three previous generations being given *Arg. a chev. betw. three cranes sa.*

Thomas Chaloner in this pedigree gives No. 4 to his earliest ancestor recorded on it (shield A1), but adopts No. 3 in the case of himself and his father and grandfather (shields a, b and c). This coat also appears on his monument at Chester (fig. 3).

What must be intended for another variety of the arms appears on a monument in Ruthin Church, dated 1713, commemorating Thomas Roberts of "Bryne y neuadd in comitatu Arvonie Armiger" and his wife Katharine daughter of John Owen of "Varchwell in eodem comitatu Gen." An inescutcheon bears the coat *Az. a chev. betw. three kneeling angels or.*

The only explanation given of the origin of the arms is

to be found in B.M. Add. MS. 9861, where it is stated that "Trahairn de Chaloner . . . took the Lord of Chaloner prisoner in the wars in France and took possession of his lands and assumed his armorial bearings, viz., *Argent on a chevron sable three angels adoring or*", also that "Trahairn was the son of Gwiliu ap Madog ap Maelawg Cwm Lord of Llechwedd Isaf and Crenddyn in the time of David ap Owen, Prince of North Wales, 1175".

Sir Thomas Chaloner the younger, Ulster's contemporary, used the cross raguly between four birds, as did his father, and he also used the crest confirmed to his great uncle, David Chaloner of Denbigh, Ulster's grandfather; but on his monument in Chiswick church his quartered shield has the chevron between three cherubs in the first quarter and the cross and birds in the second.

A3.—The object between the two lions is a very rare charge; "hymmock" is the Welsh "humog" meaning a bat or racket. According to Kimmel MS. 4, in the National Library of Wales, it also figured in the arms of "Trahayarn Brenin Peter Aûr" *Vert a hymmocke arg. betw. three bezants*. The hymmock in this coat is recorded in Papworth as "a Greek phi" and elsewhere it is described as a "Roman P" (*Genealogist*, n.s. xix, 118). Yet another and probably more correct description is given by Mr. E. A. Ebbelwhite in "Flintshire Genealogical Notes", p. 85, where he says that "a hummock" was a sort of sling shaped like a P, or rather an instrument for the propulsion of a missile which was fixed in the loop at one end of it. The two sketches (fig. 2)¹ illustrate two methods of drawing the object: A is from a drawing in Add. MS. 129 c (p. 18) in the National Library of Wales, a book of arms formerly in the possession of Sir William

¹ See page 225.

Betham, Ulster; and B from Peniarth MS. 128 (p. 357) in the same collection.¹

A17.—Papworth has *Or a lion ramp. sa. betw. three crosses croset of the second* for “Mathew, Llewenny Green co. Denbigh; descended from Llandaff”. Mathew of Llandaff bore *Or a lion ramp. sa.* The entry here is altered and there is an illegible word struck out below.

A21.—The estoiles are omitted by Papworth, but Dwnn (II 346) has “*Argent so many molets Gules about the Pegus Gules pasant*”.

A23.—Papworth omits the border.

A26.—Not in Papworth.

A31.—Papworth gives the garb as *argent*.

II.—THE BROUGHTON PEDIGREE.

This pedigree (fig. 4) records the descent and marriage of Richard Broughton of Lower Broughton in the parish of Bishops Castle, a member of the Council of the Marches. He married Ann, daughter of Richard Bagot of Blithfield, on July 30th, 1577, and it is likely that this date is approximately that of the manuscript.

Dwnn also gives the pedigree of Richard “Brogdyn”² and mentions him as one of the aristocracy by whom he was permitted to see old records.³ He shows a single child, Robert, as the issue of the marriage, and it is to be noted that his accounts of the wives’ pedigrees vary on occasion from those given by the manuscript.

Ann Bagot was born 11th May, 1555, her mother being Mary daughter of William Saunders of Welford, Northants. Her father was born 8th December, 1529, and was buried at Blithfield 2nd February, 1596/7, where is his monumental inscription; her mother was buried in the

¹ See Arch Camb. 1895, p. 321.

² Vol. 1, p. 329.

³ Vol. 1, p. 7.

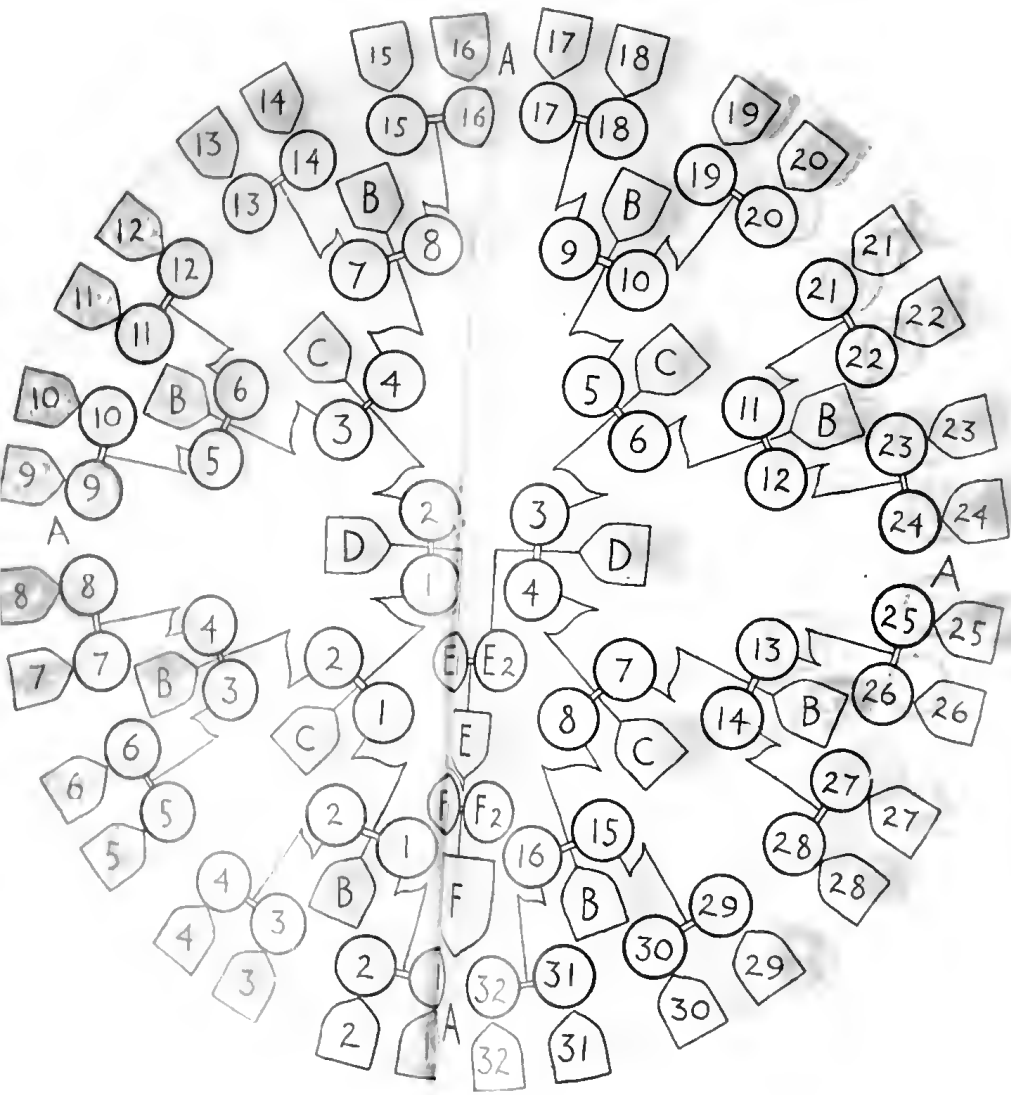


Fig. 4. The Broughton Pedigr.

same place 22nd March, 1608/9.¹ Ann Broughton's portrait and those of her parents are preserved at Blithfield.

As to the domicile of Richard Broughton's ancestors. Hurdley is 3 m. S.E. of Montgomery and 1½ m. E. of Church Stoke, while "oües" no doubt is the present Roveries ½ m. N.E. of Snead and 1 m. from Lower Broughton. The old form indicates the Anglo-Welsh derivation of the present name from "Yr Overies". Lower Broughton itself is 1 m. N.W. of Bishops Castle and ½ m. from it is Upper Broughton.

Since the design of the Broughton pedigree varies only slightly from that of Chaloner the same type of key is adopted. As before, shields and names are lettered and numbered in rings, but the description begins at the bottom of the outer ring with the name of the earliest Broughton ancestor.

The parchment is in good order, and the drawing of the shields is in most cases excellent for its date: in some instances they have been altered, and more than one hand can be traced in the lettering. The diameter of the design is about 16½ inches.

The following is a transcript: square brackets as before indicate additions.

RING A.

1.—leolinus fil Theodori fil Gruffini de hurdley f Th̄r f mađ f hođ f Rođti militis f Th̄r f madoc de oües f Eignon godris f Wiđi f Wm d etc

Sa. a chev. betw. three owls arg.

[Broughton of Lower Broughton]

2.—Alson fil Meredith fil Ade moile f gđm f řn f Theodor f cađ

¹ F. A. Crisp, Visitation of England and Wales Notes, Vol. 10, p. 140.

1 and 4, arg. three boar's heads coupéd sa. 2 and 3, gu. a lion ramp. regard. or. [Elystan Glodrydd]

[Above the shield is written "Elistan", and in the centre of the circle "Ithell" has been erased.]

3.—Jevan Gethin ap dd ap meredith ap dd ap Ris ap Juor hen

Or a lion ramp. az. [Bleddyn ap Cynfyn?]

[Above the shield is written "o lion R.B.".]

4.—Eua fil dd ap gr' ap owen ap dd ap Eignon [blank] distein

Arg. a cross engr. botonnée gu. betw. four choughs.

[No botonnée cross is recorded by Papworth—perhaps intended for Owain of Tegeingle.]

5.—meredith ap Jolin ap Ada vichan ap Jeuan ap Jerwerth voil

Arg. a lion pass. sa. the fore feet fettered or.

[Madoc ap Adda Foel]

6.—[Blank] filia madoci ap meredith ap Ada. v. ap Ada ap lln ap mað ap Jer'

Arg. a cross. flory engr. sa. betw. four choughs, on a chief' az. a boar's head coupéd silver. [Idnerth Benfras]

7.—dauid fil hoel. iscolhaig. i. Beau clerk. [blank] Judex aruistly

Az. a griffin arg. armed gu. [Painted over *Or a lion ramp. az.* for Bleddyn ap Cynfyn.]

[Above the shield is an erased and illegible word, no doubt connected with the alteration.]

8.—Agnes l^a triū fil et coher' Gruffini de Broughton f Jenkin f Joñ f w^{ri} f w^{ri} f w^{ri}

Sa. three owls arg. [Broughton of Upper Broughton]

9.—meredith ap hoff ap mer' ap ada ap madoc ap malgon ap Cadwallon ap Madoc ap Idnerth ap Cadogan ap Athlestā glodrith

Arms as no. 2.

10.—maud v'z Jenkin ap euan ap madoc ap Ririd ap holl ap Trahaiern ap Pasgen ap gwm ap gr' ap Beli

Sa. three horse's heads erased arg.

[Ysgythrog, Prince of Powys]

11.—madoc ap Evan goz ap mad' ap Einon ap holl ap Tud^r ap cadf' ap einon vichā ap einō ap euā ap grono ap Juor ap Jdnerth ap cad' ap A. gl.

Arms as no. 2.

12.—gwenhoiuar v'z dd ap cadogan ap ph dordy ap holl ap madoc ap Trahaiern ap gr' goz ap gr' velin ap grono ap gurgan ap hoedliu ap Cadogan ap A. glodr'.

Arms as no 2.

13.—Gruff Dewrwas ap meuric lloid ap m^c vichan ap Juir ap m^c ap mad' ap Cadogan ap Blethin

Arms as no 3.

14.—mallt fit Jeuan lloid ap Jeuā blayne ap Jeuan ap cadyuor [blank] Energlin

Sa. a spear head arg. embrued ppr. betw. three scaling ladders silver two and one, on a chief gu. a tower triple towered arg. [Cadifor ap Dyfnwal]

15.—David lloid ap dd ap Einon ap holl ap Theodor ap Eignon vichā ap Eignon ap Jeuā etc

Arms as no. 2.

16.—Gwenllian fit owini ap gr' ap Eignon ap gr' ap Eynon ap gwriad—Towin

Gu. a chev. betw. in chief two fleurs de lis and in base a lion ramp. or. [Rhys ap Meredydd of Towyn]
[Papworth gives the field az.]

17.—gr' ap euā ap madoc ap Gwenwis

Arms as no. 10.

18.—maud v'z gr' ap Ris ap euā vichan ap euan ap Ris ap llwdden ap Jorwerth ap Vchtrid ap Edwin

Gu. a griffin segreant or. [Llawdden?]

19.—Gruff de Broughton

Arms as no. 8.

20.—Gwenhoiuar v'z dd vichā ap euā ap dd goz ap Theodor vichan ap Tudr goz ap Tudor lloid ap Ednowen ap Bradwen

Gu. 3 snakes nowed arg. [redrawn]

[Ednowain ap Bradwen]

21.—Erward ap Einon ap gr' ap lln' ap kenf'c ap Robert ap osbert gwithel i hiñnic?

Erm. a saltire gu. charged with a crescent or.

[Osborne Fitzgerald (Wyddel)]

22.—Gwenllian filia kenfric ap Robt [blank] Tegiengle

Arg. a cross engr. flory sa. betw. four choughs.

[Edwin of Tegeingle]

[Painted over *Arg. a chev. sa. betw. three ?*]

23.—Gruff Dewrwas ap m^c lloid m^c vichan ap Juir ap m^c etc.

Arms as no. 3.

24.—mallt fil Jeuan lloid ap Jeuan blayne ap Jeuan ap Cadiuor [blank] De Energlin

Arms as no. 14.

25.—gr' vichan ap gr' ap Jeuā ap hilin ap Jeuā ap Adda [blank] De mochnant

Sa. on a bend or a lion pass. gu. [perhaps intended for Cynwrig Efell, *Gu. on a bend arg. a lion pass. sa.*]

26.—[Blank.]

27.—Dauid kiffin ap mad ap madoc goz kiffin ap Jeuaf ap kyhelin ap Run ap Einō Euellh

Arg. a chev. gu. betw. three pheons, the two in chief lying fesswise point to point and that in the base erect sa.

[Kyffyn]

28.—Kathina fil. morgā ap dd. ap morgan

Arg. semy of slips of broom vert, a lion ramp or.

[Sandde Hardd]

29.—Jeuā Blayne ap gr' ap lleñ vichan ap lleñ ap meilir gric ap gr' ap Jerwerth ap owen ap Rodri ap waeden

Arms as no. 10.

30.—Elen v'z llen ap dd ap Euā hloid ap llū ap Tudor ap Eimon ap Sitsilt arglwydd merionith

Arg. a lion pass guard. sa. betw. three fleurs de lis gu.

[Einion ap Sitsyllt]

31.—hoff ap meredith vichan [blank] or mais maur

Or a lion ramp. sa.

[? for Gwaethfoed—whose lion is usually regardant.]

32.—Kath' ap dd ap hoff ap cad^r ap hoff vichan ap hoff ap gr' ap hoff Sais ap hoff ap llision ap Ris vichā ap gr' ap Ris ap Theodor

Gu. a lion ramp. within a border indented or.

[Rhys ap Tudor]

RING B.

1-2.—Jeuā fit llū fil Theodor = Eua

1 imp. 3.

3-4.—leolinus Dithor = Rosa fil et heres

5 imp. 7.

5-6.—Jeuā ap meredith ap hoff = Jonet

9 imp. 11.

7-8.—gwiliam Dewrwas = Elen

13 imp. 14 (*Sic*, it should be 15).

9-10.—Gruff' vichan miles = Margreta vna triū fit & Coher'

17 imp. 19.

11-12.—Jenkin ap Erward ep Einion = Ellin

21 imp. 23.

13-14.—Jeuā ap gr' vichan = gwenhoiu'

25 imp. 27.

15-16.—gr' ap Jeuā Blayne = gwenllian

29 imp. 31.

RING C.

1-2.—Cad^r fil Jeuā fit lleñ de Broughton = Margreta fil et heres

1 imp. 5.

3-4.—John lloid ap euā = Margaret

9 imp. 13.

5-6.—Reignold ap Sir gr' = Maud 2^a vxor

17 imp. 21.

7-8.—dd lloid ap Jewan = Maud

25 imp. 29.

RING D.

1-2.—Johes fil Cad^r de Broughton = Elizabeth

17 imp. 25.

3-4.—John Win ap Reignold de Broughton = Elen

1 imp. 9.

RING E.

1-2.—Robertus Broughton = Jana

1 imp. 17.

RING F.

1-2.—Ricūs Broughton = Anna fit Ricī bagot

Broughton of Lower Broughton (A.1) quartering Madoc ap Adda Foel (A.5); Bleddyn ap Cynfyn (A.3); and Broughton of Upper Broughton (A.8): impaling Bagot, *arg. a chev. gu. between three martlets sa.* quartering Bagot, *Erm. three chev. az* [altered from *gu.*]; Stafford, *or a chev. gu.*; Malory, *or a lion ramp. double tailed gu.*; Blithfield, *Per pale indented arg. and sa.*; and Wastneys, *Sa. a lion ramp. double tailed arg. collared gu.*

Another target pedigree is preserved in Taunton museum, it is dated 1626 and records the names and heraldry of the ancestors of Edward Somerset, Marquess of Worcester (1601-1667) to the sixth generation. The outer ring contains 64 shields, twice as many as the two here described. (See *Somerset Archaeological and N. Hist.*



Fig. 3. *To face p. 225.*
The Chaloner Monument in St. Michael's Church, Chester.

Soc. Proceedings, vol. 62, p. lxxv. I owe this reference to Mr. H. St. George Gray.)

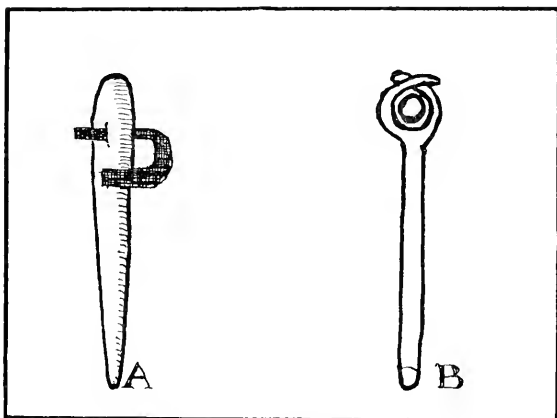


Fig. 2 (*see p. 217*).

APPENDIX.

The inscription on Thomas Chaloner's monument on the wall of the N. aisle in St. Michael's church, Chester (fig. 3) runs thus:—

HIC IACET CORPVS THOMÆ CHALONERI NVPER DE HAC
VRBE CIVIS, QVEM PATER PATRATVS A TRENTA IN BOREAM,
SIBI AD DIEM OBITVS 14^o MAIJ A^o 1598 SVRROGARAT QVO
MAGNO SVI DESIDERIO EXPIRAVIT.

which may be translated:—Here lies the body of Thomas Chaloner late citizen of this town, whom the chief herald from the Trent northwards¹ had appointed as his deputy on the day of his death 14 May 1598 [On attaining] this his great ambition he breathed his last.

¹ i.e., "Norroy Kinge of Armes, of the East, West, and North partes of ye realm of England from the river of Trent northwards," as Flower describes himself in a grant of arms dated 1575, printed in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* xviii, 121.

Notes on the Arms of Bishop Nicholas Robinson.

BY W. J. HEMP, F.S.A.

ARCHDEACON EVANS' paper on Nicholas Robinson in Vol. XXXIX of *Y Cymmrodor* throws light on an error of long standing in connection with the Bishop's arms. The late sixteenth century glass shield at Knebworth (No. 3, p. 149) correctly records his armorial achievement, namely, the arms of the See of Bangor impaling his paternal coat, together with that of his wife.

Bishop Robinson uses the arms of Norris:—*Quarterly arg. and gu. in the second and third quarters a fret or, over all a fess az. charged with a crescent for difference* (this difference recording the fact that he was a second son), impaling *Arg. two bars sa. with a crescent for difference*, the arms of Brereton (a branch descended from a second son); for, as shown by the pedigree on p. 195, he was fourth in direct descent from Sir William Norreys of Speke, being the second son of John Robins, and his wife was Jane daughter of Randal Brereton (p. 165).

We have here an interesting case of an English family of position resident in Wales, adopting the Welsh usage as regards its "surnames".

Modern books of reference, following a mistake which seems to have first appeared in so respectable an authority as Lewys Dwnn's "Heraldic Visitations of Wales", dated about 1616 (Vol. II, p. 13), give Bishop Robinson's arms as *Az. a chev. between 3 sheaves of arrows arg.*; actually this is the shield of the Conway family of

Brickdall, to which his mother belonged, she being Ellen daughter of William Brickdall (p. 152). Dwnn's entry is quoted in a footnote on p. 183 and fortunately it contains a clue to the origin of the error, as, following a somewhat muddled description of the Brickdall arms, assigned to "Nicholas Robins", it also gives those of the See, adding that "they are on his tomb to-day". The inference seems to be that the memorial stone, which bore an effigy or effigies together with shields and an inscription in brass, as recorded by Bliss's "Athenae Oxonienses", which the Archdeacon quotes on p. 182, had already lost one or more of its shields in Dwnn's time, and that of those remaining one bore the maternal arms of Brickdall, which Dwnn assumed to have been the Bishop's own, and another those of the See of Bangor. If, as is likely, there were at least four shields, one at each corner of the slab, one of the missing ones would have displayed the paternal coat of Norris.

Unfortunately this mistake of long standing has had a modern sequel, as Fig. 2 of the illustration opposite p. 149 shows the Brickdall arms as placed in 1913 in the college chapel at Winchester to commemorate the bishop's son Hugh, who was headmaster of the college from 1613 to 1627.

Bedford's "Blazon of Episcopacy", as well as giving Bishop Robinson the Brickdall arms on the authority of an illustration in Samuel Drake's edition of Archbishop Parker's "De Antiquitate Britanniae Ecclesiae" (1729) probably derived from Dwnn, also perpetuates another source of confusion, as it quotes from the Hon. R. H. Clive's History of Ludlow, in which book there occurs on p. 208 a statement (quoted as "contemporary evidence" from a MS. in the possession of John Mytton of Halston Hall in 1823) that among the arms and inscrip-

tions which once decorated the Council Chamber of the Council in the Marches of Wales in Ludlow Castle there existed the following :—“ Nych'as Robinson, l. bishop of Bangor. Thys byshop died the daye of December, Anno Domini 1585. Arms, *Gules a bend gutty de poix between two mullets pierced argent* ; impaled with quarterly 1 and 4 *argent a chevron between three eagles heads erased sable*, 2 and 3 *argent five bendlets gules* ”.

I have not traced any individual to whom these arms (which according to Papworth can only be Bewley of Kent quartering Talbot—assuming that they are accurately recorded) can be assigned, and it may be that in the course of one of the various refurbishings of the castle¹ the boards bearing some of the 256 coats of arms may have been taken apart and so re-assembled that the wrong impalement was set up with the bishop's name and the arms of his See.

It is, however, possible to suggest another explanation of the muddle, more interesting and perhaps more probable ; this rests on the fact that a well known branch of the Norris family of Speke, which was seated at Ockwells in the parish of Bray, Berks, adopted the arms of Ravenscroft, as a result of a marriage with the heiress of the Ravenscrofts of Cotton. One head of this family, Sir John Norris, who died in 1446, married Alice Merbrooke, heiress of Yattendon, co. Berks, and her arms were quartered by his descendants.²

Now these adopted arms of Ravenscroft were *Arg. a chev. between three ravens heads erased sa.* ; while the arms of Merbrooke were *Bendy of six az. and or a border gu.*

¹ See C. A. J. Skeel, “The Council of the Marches in Wales,” pp. 185-187.

² For the pedigree see C. Kerry, “The History and Antiquities of Bray,” 1862.

The brass in Ewelme Church, Oxon, commemorating Edward Norrys who died in 1529, includes a shield on which his arms are represented by Norris (Ravenscroft) quartering Merbrooke, and this quartered shield very closely resembles the arms assigned to Bishop Robinson. The suggestion I put forward is that the heraldic agent who was commissioned to erect the memorial arms to Bishop Robinson at Ludlow, being told that he used the Norris arms, jumped to the conclusion that they were those used by the well known family of Ockwells. The differences—eagles' heads instead of ravens' heads in the first and fourth quarters and the wrong colouring and absence of the border in the second and third quarters—could easily be explained by carelessness on the part of the recorder or possibly the painter of the arms. Similar instances of carelessness are only too familiar to the student of heraldry.

“Mamwys”.

TEXTUAL REFERENCES BY T. P. ELLIS, M.A.

IN 1926, I published two volumes on “Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages”, and among other subjects dealt with therein was that of “mamwys”, which was discussed at length and explained in Vol. I, pp. 70, 172, 186, 187, 188, 250, 262, 394, 427, 428, 455, and Vol. II, pp. 291, 305, 328, 353, 363, et seq.

The conclusion arrived at, after studying the various references to it, was that this “right of ‘mamwys’” was a right acquired by a man through his mother (mam), and it was pointed out, by reference to the authorities, how it arose, how it operated, and how it was enforced. The conclusion on these points was, in the main, in consonance with the conclusions of all who had hitherto studied the texts of the Welsh Laws.

Without considering either the texts or the nature of the right involved in “mamwys”, the Editor of a Welsh periodical, who claims to be a philological “expert”, condemned the extensive study of “mamwys” in those volumes in the following words, which I venture to translate into English:—

“Throughout the book, it is assumed that ‘mamwys’ is derived from ‘mam’; and some of the subject-matter is founded on this blunder. It is a mutation of ‘mabwys’, that is ‘mabwysiad’ (adoption)”.

That is a very serious allegation to make, namely, that simply on a misunderstanding of a word, an explanation of the institution was evolved, through some sort of misplaced ingenuity, which the textual authorities do not permit of.

The assertion is quite untrue, for the conclusions arrived at were based not on the word itself, nor on any possible derivation of it, but on a collation of all the sections in the Codes and Anon. Laws dealing with the subject.

To make such assertions is easy; to combat and disprove them requires a detailed array of all the facts.

Here I propose to deal with all the references there are to “*mamwys*” in the ancient Laws, from which it will, I think, be perfectly clear that the conclusions drawn in my volumes from the texts were correct, and that it is the philological “expert” who has fallen into error.

Let me begin by saying that, in full agreement with most Welsh scholars, I regard “*mamwys*” as a derivative from “*mam*”, not on any “philological” grounds, but—as I have said—on the grounds that the references to the subject in the Laws clearly indicate that that is so.

The word has, as I shall point out, a double implication in the Laws, but in both cases the word itself is referable to “*mam*” and not to “*mab*”. It will be found that it is expressed in Latin sometimes as “*ex parte matris*”, and sometimes in Welsh as “*o barth y fam*”, and frequently in juxtaposition with “*tadwys*” and “*tref tad*”. In its principal connotation, it implies a right derived from a cognatic relationship through the mother in contradistinction to a right derived from an agnatic relationship through the father: in its less frequent connotation it implies a previous generation in a pedigree table calculated maternally in contradistinction to “*tadwys*”, a prior generation calculated paternally.

It is, therefore, primarily a conception of relationship through the mother, with rights accruing from such relationship, and it has to be rendered, in modern phraseo-

logy, according to the context, at different times in different ways, exactly as the word “*cenedl*” which implies “kinship”, and “*tref tat*” which implies a paternal relationship and rights accruing therefrom, have to be rendered.

In early law we come across two things in the matter of descent, the one, rights acquired through the mother (identifiable with “*mamwys*”), and the other, rights acquired through “adoption”. “Adoption” is, however, nowhere practised, so far as I am aware, save where there is a failure of lineal male heirs: it is a religious or quasi-religious bond in its nature, and it is usually effected by means of a distinct ceremonial. It does not exist, as a legal institution conferring rights upon the “adoptee”, in a Christian country. It does not, and never has, existed in Welsh law, and to identify “*mamwys*” with “*mab-wysiad*”, as a legal conception, is an error. But rights acquired through the mother can exist under all systems of law, except a strictly agnatic one, and, it may be remarked, *passim*, that there is no evidence proving the existence of a society among civilised races which carries the “agnatic” basis to a full and complete logical conclusion. In societies with an agnatic bias (and such societies are numerous), it is nevertheless constantly in evidence, either as a possible survival from an older state of society or as a mitigation of the rigours of the agnatic rule, being brought into operation by means of a legal fiction in many instances, in others, as a simple rule of law, without a legal fiction: and as the texts, which I am proceeding to consider, establish, it did exist in early Wales. The “cognatic” conception has always struggled for recognition, even in the most pronounced “agnatic” societies.

I have already mentioned that the word “*mamwys*”

is used in the Welsh Laws with two separate implications. I shall start with the less frequent one first.

Now, it is remarkable that in the less frequent sense the word is used only in the Venedotian Code, and, in the main, only in the oldest MS. of that Code. This fact helps us to ascertain the primary philological derivation of the word.

As all conversant with the Welsh Laws are aware, minute rules are laid down therein for the levy or distribution of “*galanas*” or “*wergild*”. Part of the levy was imposed on the mother-kin, part on the father-kin.

In V.C. Bk III, c i, § 12, we have the following passage, dealing with the law of “*galanas*” :—

“*Pwybynnac auo llowrud galanas cubyl a dygyud arnaw. Ac ual hyn y rennyr galanas. . . . Or deuparth a a ary genedyl y trayan ar genedyl mam y llowrud ar deuparth ar genedyl y tat ac y uelly y cerda yr alanas o uamwys y uamwys hyt y seythuet (ach neur seithuet) uamwys.*”

Whoever be a murderer, the whole “*galanas*” falls on him. And the “*galanas*” is divided in this way. . . . Of the two parts which fall upon the kin, one-third upon the kin of the murderer’s mother, and two-thirds on the kin of the father, and so the “*galanas*” proceeds from “*mamwys*” to “*mamwys*”, right up to the seventh ascent in the pedigree or the seventh “*mamwys*”.

Here “*mamwys*” has to be rendered as the “*ascending degree calculated maternally*”, “*ach*” being confined to paternal ascent.

In the oldest MS. of the Code (Titus D.II.) the corresponding provision, § 20, is given thus :—

“*Ar deu parth a dygyud ar e kenedel. . . ac e uelly kemerent er hynafguyr or kenedloed a dottent ar uamwys traean ac ar taduys deuparth*”,

which is rendered thus :—

And two parts fall upon the kin. . . and so the oldest men of the kins are to take it and impose upon the mother-stock one-third, and upon the father-stock two-thirds.

The juxtaposition of “ *tadwys* ” with “ *mamwys* ” in this passage is noteworthy.

We find the same juxtaposition in two other passages in this, the most ancient, MS., one of which deals with the distribution of the “ *galanas* ” levy among the relatives of the slain, the other with the levy of what is called “ dispersed *galanas* ”. In § 22, we read :—

“ E deu parth etwa ranner en try thraean ar traean or deuparth hunnu aet ar kenedel e nam a guedy henne hynafgyr e kenedloed aent a thraeanhent huy trayan e *uamwys* a deuparth y *tadwys* ”.

And then the two parts are to be divided into three thirds, and one-third of the two parts shall go to the kin of the mother, and thereafter the oldest men of the kins shall go and divide into thirds the third of the mother-stock and the two-thirds of the father-stock ;

while in § 23 it is stated :—

“ Val hyn e rennyr *galanas* guasgarauc. . . . A honno ny rennyr na herwyd *mamwys* na herwyd *tadwys* ”.

Thus is dispersed “ *galanas* ” to be divided. . . . And it shall be divided neither according to mother-stock, nor according to father-stock,

the mode of levy being not by stock, but by heads.

Now if the word “ adoption ” or any derivate of “ *mab* ” be substituted in any one of these passages for the meaning assigned to “ *mamwys* ”, the passages will be utterly meaningless, with no bearing whatsoever on the well-known rules of levy and distribution of “ *galanas* ” ; for it may be remarked, *passim*, that in no case was a son ever responsible for “ *galanas* ” due on account of a murder by his father.

Before proceeding further we may note that this juxtaposition of “ *tadwys* ” and “ *mamwys* ” occurs in the Anon. Laws, in Bk X, c vii, § 20 (*vide infra*), and in Bk IX, c xxxviii, § 3, in connection with matters other than “ *galanas* ”.

The latter passage runs :—

“A oes vn dyn addylyo dyvot y tir heb *dadwys* heb *mamwys*, heb ystyn arglwyd? Oes. . . .”,

the quotation continuing with a subject of no import to the present point. This passage can be rendered thus:—

Is there any man entitled to come upon land without father-right, without mother-right, without investiture by the lord? There is. . . .

Turning to the more frequent sense of “*mamwys*”, the Welsh law provides that, in certain circumstances, a son was entitled to claim a share in his mother’s father’s property. Such circumstances arose when the son had no “*tref tad*” (paternal ancestral property) to which he could succeed as a free man, or where he had lost any such “*tref tad*” by an act which benefited his mother’s father’s family.

The former arose where a man (or his sons) married his daughter to an “*alltud*” (unfree foreigner); where she was violated by an “*alltud*” through lack of protection from her father; or similar cases where the father had not provided for his daughter, as he was expected to provide, a husband who was himself possessed of “*tref tad*” which he could transmit to his and her sons. If he failed in his duties to his daughter, her children were entitled to claim a share in their mother’s father’s “*tref tad*” *pari passu* with his male lineal heirs by virtue of the wrong done to their mother. The latter became a “*conduit*” passing on to her son a free man’s share to an estate in her own paternal family’s property.

That, in brief, is the law of “*mamwys*”; and if the texts establish that position, as they do, it is clear that “*mamwys*” is a derivative from “*mam*”.

We have in the Laws two important sets of references, the one dealing with the right itself, the other with the method of enforcing that right.

The most important references to the first set are to be found in the Venedotian Code.

(i). V.C. Bk. II, c. i, § 59.

“ Oderuyt roy Camaraes yalldut a bot plant meybyon vthunt e plant adele treftat *ouamuys*, eythir na deleant ran or tetyn breynaul hyd etredet dyn eythyr mab alldut o pennaet (a) humu adele (e) ran ocubel (yndiannot); meybyon ereu graget (hynny) e telyr guarthec devach onadunt ac e sef acaus egeluyr e guarthec hene en guarthec deuach canyd oes kenedel (e) tat ae talho amen kenedel eum ”.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate for our present purpose, that this passage contains the phrase “ guarthec devach ”, about the meaning of which there is some difficulty; so, in order to avoid entering into a complicated extraneous discussion, I render the words here simply as “ cattle devach ”.

With that proviso, the passage reads:—

If a Welshwoman be given to an “ alltud ” and they have sons, her children are entitled to “ treftad ” (i.e., rights in ancestral land) by virtue of “ mamwys ” (mother-right), but they are not entitled to share in the free homestead until the third generation, save the son of an “ alltud ” of chieftain rank, who is entitled to a share in everything forthwith; the sons of such women are to pay cattle “ devach ”, and the reason such cattle are called “ devach ” is that there is no kin of the father to pay them, but only kin of the mother.

Here again we get the juxtaposition of mother-kin and father-kin, and we have it clearly explained why a person is entitled to claim “ mamwys ”, viz., because of a wrong done to his mother.

(ii). V.C. Bk. II, c. i, § 61, which contains a fuller list of those entitled to rights through “ mamwys ”.

“ Teyr graget adele eu meybyon *ramuys* herwyd keureyth; mab Camraes arodher ealldut a mab grueye a gusteller egluat aghefyet okefyf vceykochy, ay gustellau hyten oy kenedel ay argluyt a greye edecko alldut treys (e) arney ”.

Three women whose sons are entitled to “ mamwys ” according to law; the son of a Welshwoman who has been given

to an “alltud”; the son of a woman given as a hostage to a foreign “patria”; if she become pregnant; and of a woman upon whom an “alltud” has committed violence.

In all of these three cases, it is the wrong done to the woman which gives her son a claim to a retributive share from his mother’s kin, that is, whatever claim he has comes through his mother.

(iii). This provision is expanded and explained more fully in V.C. Bk. II, c. xv, § 1-4.

“Herwyd gwyr Gwynedd ny dyly gwreic (caffel) trew tat, cany dyly deu ureynt o (r) un llau sew yn hynny trewtat y gur ar eydy ehun a chany dyly hy (thieu) trew tat ny dylyir y rody hytheu namyn yn (e) lle y dylyho y meybyon (hitheu kaffael) trew tat; (ac o rodwr y meibion a dyly cael *mamwys*.) Rey a dyweyt na dyly meybyon un wreic trewtat o *uamwys* namyn meybyon un wreic sew yn honno gwreic arodho y that ay brodyr (yn gyfreithawl) y alldut. Ereyll a dyweyt ket rodho y chenedyl hy (hy y alltud) onys ryd hynny odnyon na dyly y meybyon (hythaw) *trew tat*¹ (E keureyth eissyoës a dyweit bot teir gwaged a dyly eu meibyon treftat o *uamwys*) yn onadunt yu gwreic arodho y chenedyl yn gyureythyaull y alldut; yr eil yw gwreic adyco alldut treis y arney yn honneyt ac or dreys honno kael mab (o honei or alltud) y gyureyth adyweyt cany (or kan) colles hy y breynt na chyll y mab hytheu y dyllet o *uamwys*; trydyt yu gwreic arodho y chenedyl yguystyl (oryaeth y) alldudet ac ynyr ystlyryaeth honno kael mab o honey o alltud (o mab) hunnw a dyly trew tat o *uamwys*. Nyt oes un wreic ynteu a ymrodho ehun y alltud adylyo y meybyon *uamwys*”.

According to the men of Gwynedd no woman is to have “tref tad” (ancestral paternal property), because there should not be two privileges of (or from) one hand, that is, her husband’s “tref tad” (paternal ancestral property) and her own; and since she ought not to have “tref tad”, she should not be given (i.e., in marriage) save where her sons may obtain “tref tat”, and should she be given (otherwise) her sons are to have “mamwys”.

There are some who say that no sons of a woman should have “tref tad” through “mamwys” (mother-right), except the sons of one woman, and that is a woman whose father and brothers have given her (in a legal manner) to an alltud.

¹ The “Llyfr Teg” MS. reads “vamwys”, vice “treftad”.

There are others who say that should she be given to an “alltud” by her kin, other than those men, her sons ought not to have “tref tad”.

The law, however, says that there are three women whose sons should have “treftad” by virtue of “mamwys”; one of them is a woman whose kin has given her, in a legal manner, to an “alltud”; the second is a woman who has been notoriously violated by an “alltud”, and through that violation she has had a son by the “alltud”. The law says that because she has not lost her status (i.e., as a freewoman) her son has not lost that which is due to him by virtue of “mamwys”. The third is a woman whose kin has given her as a hostage in exile, and in that state of being hostage, has had a son by an “alltud”, that son ought to have “tref tad” by virtue of “mamwys”.

There is no woman, who has given herself to an “alltud”, whose sons are entitled to “mamwys”.

This last proviso is of value, because it shows clearly that it is the default in duty of the woman’s kin which makes her a “conduit” for her son to claim a share in her parental estate.

This concludes the references to “mamwys” in the Venedotian Code, with the exception of Bk. II, c. xv, § 7, which, by itself, throws no particular light on the meaning of “mamwys”. It runs:—

“No native of Powys is entitled to ‘mamwys’ in Gwynedd, nor (one) of Gwynedd in Powys, and likewise in Deheubarth”.

The Dimetian Code uses the word “mamwys” on one occasion only, in Bk. III, c. iii, § 26, which runs thus:—

“A oes un lle ydylyho mab bot yn arglwyd ar ytat o gyureith? Oes; or deruyd y uehelwr rodi y verch y alltut ehun, a bot plant meibon ydunt; a gwedy hynny marw yr uehelwr, a chaffel o veibon yr alltut *mamwys*—o tir euhentat, yrei hynny aydydant arglwydi aren tat”.

Is there any circumstance whereby a son is entitled, in law, to be lord over his father? There is. Should an “uehelwr” give his daughter to his own “alltud”, and there be sons to them, and thereafter the “uehelwr” dies, and the sons of the “alltud” obtain “mamwys” out of the land of their grandfather, they become lords over their father.

Here we have a clear case of rights acquired through the mother.

But, though this is the only passage in the Dimetian Code, in which the word “*mamwys*” is used, there are two passages dealing with the same facts as those quoted from the Venedotian Code, which substitute for “*mamwys*” the words “*tref y vam*” or “*cenedl eu mam*”, which shows beyond question that the compilers of the Codal survivals identified the right of “*mamwys*” with the “*mam*” and not with the “*mab*”.

These two passages are :—

(i). D.C. Bk. II, c. viii, § 21.

“(Teir gwraged a dyly eu meibon *tref eu mam*.) gwreic arother tros y that yggwystyl a chaffel mab o honei yny gwystloryaeth, a gwreic arother orod kenedyl y alltut, a gwreic a lather gwr oe chenedyl a dial oe mab (hitheu) hwnnw ny dylir y oedi am *tref y vam*”.

Three women whose sons are entitled to “*tref eu mam*” (their mother’s *tref* or settlement); a woman given as a hostage for her father; a woman given by gift of kin to an “*alltud*”; and a woman slain by a man of her kin and avenged by her son; he ought not to be delayed in obtaining “*tref y vam*”.

The last-mentioned cause in this quotation is very peculiar, and in itself raises an interesting point of law, which, however, this is not the place to deal with.

(ii). D.C. Bk. II, c. xxiii, § 36.

“Or dyry ryeni neu genedyl gwreic tlawt y alltut plant honno or alltut a gaffant rann otir (y) gan genedyl eu mam ac ny cheif vn ohonunt eistedua arbennic hyt y tryded ach”.

Should the “*parentes*” or kin give a poor woman to an “*alltud*”, her children by the “*alltud*” are to receive a share of land from the mother’s kin; but none of them is to have a chief homestead until the third generation.

The section then proceeds to deal with the question of “*gwarthec devach*”.

In the Gwentian Code (Bk. II, c. xxix, § 36) this provision is reproduced in the following terms :—

“O roddir Kymraes y alltut, y phlant a geiff ran o tref y that eithyr (yr) eissydyn arbenhic; hwnnw hagen nys caffant hyt y trydeach”.

Should a Welshwoman be given to an “alltud”, her sons are to get a share of the “tref” of her father, other than the chief homestead; that, however, they do not get until the third generation.

In the only other passage in the Gwentian Code (Bk. II, c. xxxix, § 1), touching on “mamwys” we get, as in the Dimetian Code, an identification of “mamwys” with “tref y vam” :—

“Teir gwraed ny dylir dadleu ac eu hetied am *tref eu mam*, y wreic arodher yg gwystyl dros tir a chaffel mab o honno tra no yg gwystloryaeth, ar wreic arodher o rod kenedyl y alltut, a mab gwreic a dialho gwr o genedyl y uam a cholli tref y dat o achos y gyflauan honno ny dylir dadleu ac ef am *tref y uam*”.

Three women whose lineal heirs' claim for “tref eu mam” should not be contested; the woman who is given as a hostage for land, and has a son while a hostage; and the woman who is given by gift of kin to an “alltud”, and the son of a woman who has avenged a man of his mother's kin, and loses his father's “tref” on account of that outrage; there should be no contest with him regarding his mother's “tref”.

Cf. with this Bk. ix, c. xxx, p. 1, *infra*, where “o parth ev mam” takes the place of “tref eu mam”.

The references to the same right in the maternal father's estate by virtue of “mamwys” in the Anon. Laws are as follows :—

(i). Bk. IV, c. i, § 32.

“Oderuyt roy Kamraes y alldut mab honno a dele ran (braut) o tref (y) tat”.

Should a Welshwoman be given to an “alltud”, her son should receive a brother's share (i.e., a share equal to the share of the mother's brother) of the “tref” of her father.

(ii). Bk. V, c. ii, §§ 123, 124.

“O deruyd dyuot alltut a gwrhau yr brenhin. . . y gorwyr. . . a vyd priodawr. . . O deruyd y gorwyr hwnnw gwedy hyany rodi y verch y alltut, mab y verch honno a dylly *mamwys* gyt a phlant y gorwyr hwnnw . . .”.

Should an “alltud” come and do homage to the king, his great-grandson will be a “priedawr” (i.e., having, in regard to land, the same status as a free-man). . . . Should that great-grandson thereafter give his daughter to an “alltud”, the son of that “alltud” is entitled to “mamwys” along with the children of that great-grandson.

(iii). Bk. X, c. vii, § 20.

“Teir gwraged a dyly eu meibon tir o *vamwys*; gwreic vonhedic a rodher orod kenedyl y alltut, a bot meibon idi o honaw ac ef yn alltut, y rei hynny a dyly rann o tir gyt (a) brodyr eu mam, eithyr hyt y bei breint . . . ymdanaw, o hwnnw. . . ny dylyant dim o rann ympen y petwargwr, gan vot neb o bleit *tadwys* ae dylyo. . . eil yw bei damweinhei vot morwyn ar vreint (y that ae) brodyr ae chenedyl ae threissaw o alltut, os mab a uei idi. . . hwnnw a dyly rann o tir gyt a brodyr y vam; trydydd yw bei damweinei rodi gwreic vonhedic ygwystyl y alltuded ae yno . . . a bot mab idi, hynnw a dyly rann o tir y gyt ae brodyr hi; a llyna y lle y dyly plant y wreic kyntaf (ran), kanys y brodyr hi a alltudawd y phlant pan y rodyssant hi y alltut, ac wrth hynny herwyd na dylynt rodi y chwaer namyn yr lle y caffi y phlant hitheu tir, y dyly y phlant hitheu tir o *vamwys*; a llyna yr achos y dyly plant yr eil wreic *vamwys*, kanys (hyd tra) vei hi ar vreint y brodyr ae chenedyl, hwynt a dylyant y chadw hitheu rae pob cam, ac wrth gaffel o honei hi y cam hwnnw ar y hardelw hwy, y dyly y meibon hitheu *vamwys*; a llyna yr achos y dyly plant y tryded wreic *vamwys*, canys a hi ar eu gwystloryaeth hwy y cauas hi y damwein hwnnw, wrth hynny y dyly y phlant hitheu *vamwys*”.

Three women whose sons are entitled to land by virtue of “mamwys”; a free-born woman given by gift of kin to an “alltud”, to whom there be sons by him and he an “alltud”, they are entitled to a share of land along with their mother’s brothers, except where there be a special status attached thereto, in which case they are not entitled to any share until the fourth generation, so long as there is anyone of “plaid *tadwys*” (i.e., of a group entitled to inheritance from a father, i.e., the agnatic group) who is entitled to it. . . . The second is, should it happen that there be a maid on the privilege of her father and her brothers and her kin, and she be violated by an “alltud”, and should there be a son to her, he is entitled to a share of land along with his mother’s brothers. The third is, should it happen that a freeborn woman be given as a hostage in exile and there . . . there should be a son to her, he is entitled to a share of land along with her brothers. And behold, why the children of the first woman are entitled to a share, because her brothers made “alltuds” of her

children, when they gave her to an "alltud", and hence, because they ought not to have given their sister except where her children would have had land, her children are entitled to land by virtue of "mamwys". And behold the cause the children of the second woman are entitled to "mamwys", because, so long as she was on the privilege of her brothers and her kin, they were bound to keep her from all ill, and because she suffered that ill while under their protection, her sons are entitled to "mamwys". And behold the reason why the children of the third woman are entitled to "mamwys", because she endured that happening while she was a hostage for them, therefore are her children entitled to "mamwys".

Anything more explicit than this it is difficult to conceive; and here we once more get it clearly stated that the right of children to "mamwys" springs from wrong done to their mother. It is not a right inherent in themselves.

(iv). Book XIV.

Excluding for the present references to the mode of enforcing the right of "mamwys", the references to "mamwys" in the XIVth Book are brief, but they are significant.

Book XIV, c. iii, § 15, says:—

"Tri meib ni cheiff y tyddyn breinyawl . . . mab gwreie a gaffo tir o *famwys*".

Three sons who do not get the free homestead. . . the son of a woman who gets land by virtue of "mamwys".

c. xvii, § 2, reads:—

"Tri char o *barth mam* a ran tir ae eu car . . . chefynderw . . . lle caffo dir o *famwys*".

Three relatives on the mother's side who share land with their relations . . . a nephew . . . where he has got land by virtue of "mamwys".

c. xvii, § 4, reads:—

"Tri mab a ddylly tir nys dylcei y dat cyn noe ef . . . mab a gaffo *mamwys*".

Three sons who are entitled to land which their father before was not entitled to . . . a son who gets "mamwys".

c. xxxi, § 1, reads :—

“*Mab a gaffo tir o famwys ny ddyly ef yr essayddyn pennaf*”.

A son . . . who gets land by virtue of “*mamwys*” is not entitled to the principal homestead.

In these four extracts, “*mamwys*” must be rendered “*mother-right*”.

The XIIIth Book, as is well known, is no authority in itself on matters of ancient Welsh law. It does, however, occasionally reproduce points of law found in the more ancient sources, and it is often of value in clearing up obscurities of language. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the references therein to “*mamwys*”. These references are in complete agreement with the ancient sources, except that, sometimes, the word “*aillt*” is used as synonymous with, and substituted for, “*alltud*”, a matter of no importance to the present point. The references are :—

(i). c. ii, § 115.

“*Tri rhyw wr y sydd . . . mab aillt mamwysawl, sev a vo ei vam yn Gymraes . . . ac eillion yn mraint mamwys a'u gelwir y cyvryw . . . ac y saiv braint brodwr . . . ar aillt o ramwys cynnwynawl*”.

There are three classes of men . . . an “*aillt*” having mother-right, that is one whose mother was a Welshwoman . . . and such are called “*aillts*” with the privilege of “*mamwys*” . . . and the status of a native rests . . . on an “*aillt*” by virtue of native mother-descent.

(ii). c. ii, § 116.

“*Tair gwraig y dylai eu meibion ramwys herwydd cyvraith; mab gwraig a rother i alltud o vodd ei chenedl; mab gwraig a wystler yn ngwlad anghyviaith, o beichioger hi yno, gan ei gwystlaw o'i chenedyl a'i harglwydd; a gwraig y dyco alltud drais erni; se y dylit i veibion y gwragedd hyny drev eu mamau ac nis dylit ei oedi . . . drev ei vam i un o'r meibion hyny*”.

Three women whose sons are entitled to “*mamwys*” according to law; the son of a woman given to an “*alltud*”

with consent of her kin; the son of a woman given as hostage in an alien land, should she become pregnant there, because she was made a hostage by her kin and her lord; and a woman upon whom an "alltud" commits violence; that is, the "tref" of their mother is due to the sons of these women, and the "tref" of his mother should not be withheld from any one of these sons.

(iii). c. ii, § 131.

Tri chyfredin cenedl . . . mab gwraig a rother o vodd cenedl i estron, sev y cafant . . . eu trwydded o ereidr y genedl . . . a'r mab yn mraint *mamwys*".

Three common to a kin . . . the son of a woman given with consent of kin to a stranger . . . that is, they get their fare from the ploughs of the kin . . . to the son under the privilege of "mamwys".

(iv). c. ii, § 142.

"Tri rhydd cenedl a'i heillion yn mraint *mamwys*".

Three things free to a kin and their "aillts" on the privilege of "mamwys".

(v). c. ii, § 215.

"I vab aillt yn mraint *mamwys* y bydd cyviawn nawdd pencenedl".

To an "aillt" on the privilege of "mamwys" there is the just protection of the chief of kin.

(vi). c. ii, § 224.

"Bedrorion alltudion yn mraint *mamwys*".

"Alltuds" in the fourth degree with the status of "mamwys".

(vii). c. ii, § 229.

"Veibion eillion cyn braint o *ramwys*".

"Aillts" before (obtaining) status through "mamwys".

The *Leges Wallace*, being in Latin, do not use the word "mamwys", but where the institution is referred to they render it as "ex parte matris".

(i). *I.L.W. Lib. II, c. xi, § 29.*

Nemo debet habere principalem sedem ex parte matris . . . nec dignitatem aliquam . . . si sit ex parte patris qui

debeat habere, licet aliqua pars terre ei concedatur *ex parte matris*; sed tamen dignius est quod aliquis *ex parte matris* habet ea quam aliquis alienus.

§ 31. Sciendum est quod si femina quedam prebeat sese uiro absque licencia gentis sue, non oportet quod proles eius habet partem hereditatis cum gente materna, nisi eorum gratia. . . .

§ 32. Si mulier indigena detur exuli, filii eius partem hereditatis habebunt, preter sedem principalem ,

and then follows the same provision as in the Welsh texts regarding “*gwarthee dynach*”.

(ii). In the B.M. Vespasian E.XI. MS. we have the following provisions (Lib. II, c. xxiii, §§ 38, 39) :—

“Si qua mulier absque parentele sue consilio se copulaverit, et ex eo prolem deduxerit, proles illa cum gente materna, nisi eorum gratia, partem hereditatis non capiat. Si mulierem indigenam cuidam alltut (exuli) parentes sui conjugem dederint, filii ex eis procreati cum gente materna partem capient hereditatis; nullus tamen eorum sedem habebit principalem”;

and § 50 :—

“Tres sunt femine que hereditatem matrum possunt habere; prima est illa que in pignore sit pro terra, et filium habeat dum sit pignus; ille filius debet habere hereditatem matris sue; secunda est illa que data sit a genere homini hereditatem non habenti, filius talis debet habere hereditatem sue matris; tertia est illa cuius filius amittet hereditatem suam, scilicet ex parte patris, pro ultione cognati sue matris”.

The identification in the earliest Latin texts of “*mamwys*” with mother-right (*ex parte matris*) is so explicit that it is difficult to understand how anyone could be led to imagine that “*mamwys*” = “*mabwys*” = “adoption”.

The references to the suit of “*mamwys*,” that is the method of enforcing the rights of “*mamwys*,” corroborate the other authorities. It is not mentioned, as a suit, in the Codes; but we find it mentioned, without further explanation of its character, in Anon. Laws, Bk. VII, c. i, § 9, Bk. IX, c. xxv, § 4, and Bk. XIII, c. ii,

§ 211, and, in addition, we have three fairly detailed accounts of procedure.

(i). Bk. VII, c. i, § 24, 25.

“Oderuyd y den holy tyr a dayar o *uamwys* deuot ar e tyr (ar dayar) en amser y bo agoret kyfreyth, a dywedyt y uot (ef) en uab y alltut o kymraes dyledauc; a dywedet ry rodi y uam ef oy chenedyl en kyureythaui yu tat ef, ac alltudan enteu . . . 'ac urth henne e dodaf uy ar e kyfreyth can alltudassant huy nyuy, deleu o hanaf uynheu deuot en tref tadauc attadunt huynteu”.

The pleadings are then detailed, and the possible defences indicated, including the following:—

“O deruyd e den holy tyr a dayar o *uamwys* a dyweduyt ry rody e uam ef en keureythyaul yu tat ef a bot y tat enteu en alltud ac enteu en menmu tref tat . . . ac yna ateb or amdyffynnur . . . 'Ef a holes *mamwys* eysyoes ene lle ar lle ac enteu ay cauas ly' . . . Onys guata . . . dyuarner en tragywydaul o *uamwys*”.

Should a person claim land and soil by virtue of “*mamwys*”, let him come on the land and soil at a time when law is open, and let him say that he is the son of an “*alltud*” by a free-born Welsh woman, and let him say that his mother was given, in a legal manner, to his father, and he himself was made an “*alltud*” . . . and because of that, I place myself upon the law, since they have made me an “*alltud*”, I am entitled to come upon their “*tref tadauc*” among them.

Should a person claim land and soil by virtue of “*mamwys*”, and say that his mother was given, in a legal manner, to his father, and that his father was an “*alltud*”, and he claim “*tref tat*” . . . and thereupon the defendant should answer . . . “He has claimed ‘*mamwys*’ already in such and such a place, and has obtained it’ . . . If he do not deny (this defence), let judgment be given excluding him for ever from “*mamwys*”.

Here we have it clearly pointed out again that the right to “*mamwys*” depends upon the marriage of the claimant’s mother to an “*alltud*”.

(ii). Bk. IX, c. xxx, §§ 1-15.

Val hyn y dyleyr holi *mamwys*.

§ 1. Tair merchet nydyleir datlev ay etyveth am tir o

parth ev mam ; (mab) gwraic vonedyc a rodo kenedyl y alltut ; a mab gwraic a roder y gwystyl dros genedl a chael o honay yn y gwstyl mab ; a mab a dyalo gwr o genedyl y vam a cholli tref y tat o achosygyfflavan hono.

§ 2. O myn mab gwraye a rather y alltut holy *mamws* val hyn y dily . . . erehy . . . yewn . . .

§ 3. Yna y dily y arglwyd dyvynv y genedl y attep ydaw, nyt angen brödyr y vam . . . kanys y ray hyny adily vot yn rodyayt arnay paŷs ar y tir wynt y daw mab ev kares os redant y alltvt. Kanys . . . ny ayll vn dyn ellwng neb y *ramwys* na trefftatv neb . . . heb dvhvtep (ynteu). . .

§ 5. (After binding of parties.). Dily yr howlor menegy y vot ef yn vab y alltut o Gymraes vonhedic . . . a henwet y gwr ay genedl rody y vam (ef) y alltvt . . . ay allvdo ynteu o tref y tat . . . 'ae ar y gyffraith y dodaf kan allvdydassoch ehwy vy vi o tref tat y dilyaf vynes tir o *parth ry mam*.

§ 6. . . . O fyna y braw ynteu ran a gaiff or (tir) gymyn ac vn o vrödyr y vam. . . .

§ 8. Os yramdiffynor a dywait tref tat ysyd y ty yn y lle ar lle . . . ar y kyfreith y dodaf no dily tref tadawe *ramwys*.

§ 13. O myn mab gwraic a wystyler holy *mamwys* val hyn y dily val y dywetbwyt uchot. . . . Yna y dily y man menegy pwy y gwr hwnw ay genedl . . . y vam ef y gwystyl drostvnt hwy yn anyledus, ae yn yrarwystyleyrieth hono dwyn trais o alltvt arnay ay gael ef or drais hono . . . 'ae ar y kyfreith y dodaf kan rodassach chwi vy mam y drossoch yn lle ny alloch ychadw rae trais y dilyaf vyneu ran o tir y genwch ehwi.

§ 15. . . . Offyna ybraw ran a gayff.

In this manner “*mamwys*” is to be claimed:

§ 1. Three girls with whose issue there ought not to be any contest regarding land (claimed) through their mother ; the son of a freewoman, given by her kin to an “*alltud*” ; and the son of a woman given as hostage on behalf of a kin, a son being had of her while a hostage ; and a son who avenges a man of his mother’s kin and loses (his own) “*tref tad*” because of that outrage.

§ 2. Should the son of a woman given to an “*alltud*” demand “*mamwys*”, thus should he do . . . demand . . . right. . . .

§ 3. Then the lord should summon the kin to answer him, that is, his mother’s brothers . . . since they should have been the givers away of her, and since it is upon their land the son of their kinswoman will come, if they have given her

to an "alltud" . . . for no one can admit a person to "mamwys", nor give anyone "tref tat" . . . without their consent.

§ 5. (After binding of parties.) The plaintiff ought to declare that he is the son of an "alltud" by a free-born Welshwoman . . . and name the man and kin who gave his mother to an "alltud" . . . and made him an "alltud" from "tref tad" (i.e., deprived him of the chance of a paternal inheritance). . . . "and I place myself upon the law, since you have made an 'alltud' of me from 'tref tad', I am entitled to obtain land through my mother".

§ 6. Should he have proof, he shall have a share of the land equal to that of one of his mother's brothers.

§ 8. Should the defendant say, "You have had 'tref tat' (i.e., a paternal inheritance) in such and such a place . . . and I place myself upon the law that one with 'tref tad' is not entitled to 'mamwys'".

§ 13. If the son of a woman given as a hostage demand "mamwys" he ought to do as has been stated above. . . . Thereupon the son ought to declare who that man and kin is . . . who gave her unlawfully as a hostage on their behalf, and while a hostage that she suffered violation from an "alltud", and through that violation she had a son . . . "and I place myself upon the law, since you gave my mother on your behalf in a place where you could not guard her from violation, I am entitled to obtain a share of land from you".

§ 15. . . Should he prove it, he is entitled to a share. . .

I would draw attention to the double identification in these passages of "mamwys" with "o parth vy mam" = "ex parte matris".

(iii). Bk. XIV, c. xlvi, § 1 et seq.

Am Famwys.

§ 1. O derfydd y ddyn holi tir o *famwys*, a dywedut dwyn ar y fam dreis o alltud, a hi yn gwystyl dros un oë chenedyl, a holi y tir o *famwys* or ffordd honno. . . . (the law provides that proof of violence must be by compurgation).

§ 5. . . . Nyf rheit atferwyr y dyngu hanfot dyn o *famwys* canys ehun ae praw.

§ 6. . . . Eill neb wadu y gilydd or a ddylo tref tat neu *famwys* gyt ac ef. . . .

§ 8. O derfydd y ddyn holi tir o *famwys* a dywedut o honaw ladd o honaw gelain yn dial gwr o genedyl y fam, a mynet y dir ynteu yn waetir. . . . "Can dieleis i gar fy mam y dylaf imneu ddyfot attoch yn dref tadawe am hynny".

§ 11. *Mal hynn y may am famwys, y holi yn gyfreithyawl . . . ar arglwydd a ddyly dyfynnu . . . brodyr y fam . . . a hwnnw addyly gwneuthur cyfreith’.*

Concerning “*Mamwys*”.

§ 1. Should a person seek land by virtue of “*mamwys*”, and say that his mother suffered violation by an “*alltud*”, while she was a hostage on behalf of her kin, and he seek his land by virtue of “*mamwys*” in that method . . . (the law provides that proof of violation must be by compurgation).

§ 5. There is no need for “finders” (that is, a kind of preliminary jury) to swear that a man comes into existence from “*mamwys*” (here the word means simply mother-origin), for he himself proves it (i.e., the very fact that he exists shows he had a mother; a very striking side-light on the connotation of “*mamwys*”).

§ 6. . . . No one can deny another who is entitled to “*tref tat*” or “*mamwys*” with him. (The quotation shows again the juxtaposition of “*tref tat*” and “*mamwys*”).

§ 8. Should a person claim land by virtue of “*mamwys*”, and say that he slew and made a corpse in revenge for a man of his mother’s kin, and his own land has gone as “*waed-tir*” (i.e., as blood-land, land given in payment of “*galanas*” or “*wergild*”) . . . “since I avenged my mother’s relation, I am entitled to come to you for ‘*tref tad*’ (ancestral inheritance), therefor . . . ”.

§ 11. Thus it is in regard to “*mamwys*”, to claim lawfully . . . and the lord ought to summon . . . his mother’s brothers . . . and such ought to do law . . . ”.

The only other reference to “*mamwys*” I have been able to trace in the Laws is in Bk. IX, c. xxxvi, § 8:—

“*Dav lle y dychon alltut ymryddhav drwy rannv . . . ae arglwyd . . . pan el yw mamwys*”.

There are two circumstances wherein an “*alltud*” may free himself, by sharing . . . with his lord . . . when he acquires “*mamwys*”.

This passage, in itself, throws no additional light on the matter.

I have given in full the references there are in the Laws to “*mamwys*”; and it seems clear and beyond question that, throughout, the significance of the word lies in its root “*mam*”. If the root “*mab*” be substi-

tuted for “mam”, then not a single quotation has the slightest meaning or legal relevancy attachable to it.

The philological derivation of “mamwys” is, in itself, of no importance whatsoever; that which is of importance is to understand the very interesting institution of “mamwys” in ancient Welsh society. That understanding can come not from a pre-conceived assumption as to its verbal derivation, but from a study of what the texts assert it was. Once that is understood its derivation, which is a secondary matter altogether, becomes apparent.

I venture to reassert that the explanation of that institution, as given in “Welsh Tribal Law”, is fully borne out by the texts, on which, indeed, it was entirely based. At any rate, that explanation was not due to any misinterpretation of the philological derivation of “mamwys”. That word, as used in the Laws, is unquestionably a derivative from “mam”. Every commentator of old, whether writing in Welsh or Latin, held that view, and they were cognizant of the working and the meaning of the institution which they were describing. The suggestion, or rather vehement assertion, that it is a derivative of “mab” is without any warrant in the Codal texts.

The "Mabinogion".¹

A REVIEW AND A CRITICISM.

BY PROFESSOR J. LLOYD-JONES, M.A., DUBLIN.

THESE two volumes have been beautifully produced, like all works printed at the University Press, Oxford, and there is, both in the rendered text and the notes, much that is commendable. It is much to be regretted however that the excellence of the printers' work and the enormous labour of the translators should have been marred by so many inaccuracies in the translation. The translators admit in their preface that there have been and are Welsh scholars far better equipped than they are to undertake the work, but that in the absence of any sign of the task being undertaken by any of them, a steadily growing desire, in scholastic and scholarly circles, for a version more accurate in details than Lady Guest's work of ninety years ago, has induced them to attempt to supply this need. In defence of Welsh scholars it may be stated that they have been conscious of the difficulties of the task, have been aware that so many points of language remain to be elucidated, that any translation claiming to be at all accurate was out of the question.

This new translation was not intended for dilettanti—the old translation was good enough for such—but for scholars, and for this reason it should be as accurate as it was humanly possible so to make it, and as faithful

¹ *The Mabinogion*. A new translation by T. P. Ellis, M.A. and John Lloyd, M.A. Two volumes. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1929.

to the original as the genius of the English language permitted. It ought to be at least a trustworthy representation of the present state of our knowledge of the meaning of the language of the ancient texts.

Some readers may possibly think that many of the errors indicated below are too insignificant to deserve notice, but one who has been engaged for many years in explaining the difficulties of Medieval Welsh prose to foreign students, may be pardoned for condemning even such minor inaccuracies as mistaking *y* "his" for *y* "to", and rendering *ohonaw* by "thereon" when it is really the idiomatic expression of the agent with the verb-noun. Furthermore, I hold that the conversational second person singular of the Welsh texts should have been preserved throughout, and that in address *unben(n)* "chieftain" is hardly translatable by the English "sir" in spite of the latter's development from *sire*. E.g., on p. 6, 5-6, "Sir", said he, "I know who you are, and I greet you not" is to me most incongruous. "Chieftain", said he, "I know who thou art, and I greet thee not" would be in far greater harmony with the age of the redaction, not to speak of any remoter period.

Some idea of the inexactitude of the translation may be obtained from the following corrections, a list by no means exhaustive, in the first twelve pages.

p. 4, 9-10, *to let loose the dogs in the wood to to set (release) his dogs under the trees*; 10, *the horn to his horn*; 13, *listening for to listening to*; p. 5, 1, *it was not the same cry to they had not the same cry (lit. they were not of the same cry)*; 8-9, *without pausing to without thinking (minding)*; 9-10, *and of all the hounds he had seen in the world to and of what he had seen of the world's hounds*; 11, *as these to as them*; 12-13, *whiteness redness to extreme whiteness extreme redness* (n.b. how *tywyllt* is cor-

rectly translated "extreme darkness", p. 35, 11); p. 6, 1-2, *hanging from his neck to about his neck* (rendered correctly p. 25, 3); 2-3, *dressed in hunting clothes of grey woollen to and a dress of greyish cloth upon him for a hunting-dress*; 12-13, *I never saw greater discourtesy in man to I have not seen greater discourtesy in (any) man*; p. 7, 7 and subsequently, *Annwn to Annwfn*; 10, *the man to a man*; 12, *by ridding me of that oppression to by removing that man's oppression from (upon) me* (cf. p. 10, 2, where *to free him of* may be improved to *to remove from* (or *take off*) *him*, and p. 20, 20, where *threw back* may be improved to *removed*); 8, 3-4, *that I myself am not you to that it is* (lit. *be*) *not I that thou art* (lit. *be*); 10-11, *and one stroke that you give him, he shall not survive to and do thou give him one blow. He will not survive it*; 13-14, *I gave him one, nevertheless to despite what I gave him*; p. 9, 1, *that you yourself are not I to that it is* (lit. *be*) *not thou that I am*; 2-3, *will I go yonder to and I will proceed*; 8-9, *who will not recognise you as me to who will not know thee*; p. 10, 5-6, *the retinue the most comely and the best equipped to and the fairest and best-equipped multitude*; p. 11, 3, *and they occupied themselves with to and they consumed* (*enjoyed*); 11, *morning to the morrow as in the next line*; p. 12, 2, *the dominions to his dominions*; 6, *both are claimants against the other to each of them is a claimant against* (lit. *on*) *the other*; 10-11, *and at the first thrust to and at the first onset*; 14-16, *and (so that) Hafgan was borne to ground, an arm's and a spear's length over his horse's crupper, and he received a mortal wound to and (so that) Hafgan was (borne) the length of his arm and spear over his horse's crupper to the ground, mortally wounded* (lit. *and a mortal wound in him*); p. 13, 2-3, *I may yet repent to I may be sorry for*; 5, *Death is my destiny* (f.n. *it is the appointed Death to me*) to *Death is fixed for me*; 6-7, *my condition is such that I can support*

you no more to there is no way for me to support you any more; 11 and 12, those who to him who; 13, them to him; 14, he received to he took (accepted); 15, to take possession of to to subdue; 22, omit to me and for whereof I have heard read I have heard (of) it; p. 14, 7, they felt no more novelty at his coming to and his coming was no more strange to them; 15, she meditated on it to and that (was) what she thought; 20, I have not spoken so much as this to that whose equal I have not spoken; 25, after said she, supply if, and in l. 27 for neither nor read either or; p. 15, 2, not to speak of anything else to much less what were more than that; 3, on that to and then; 3-4, I have found a man whose friendship was firm and faithful to a man whose friendship was strong and true have I found as a friend; 9, By God to whom I confess to I confess to God (lit. it is to God that I confess); 10-11, in respect of war, in temptations of the body, and in keeping faith with you to for having withstood the temptations of his body and kept faith with thee; 15, Then to and he; 17, the land to his dominion, and omit like; 24-25, delete " after you and emend what follows to read thus, and this is the story (of) how it has been", and Pwyll related it; p. 16, 2-3, I hope to an we know it ("ot gwnn" being stereotyped for the plural also); 12-13, he ceased to bear the name of Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, and was called to his (own) appellation ceased for (lit. failed to) Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, and he was called

It will be apparent to everyone that neither time nor space will permit any such detailed emendation of the whole of the tales, but the following are very necessary corrections in the remainder of the first tale:

p. 32, 19-21. Read *and let us lay the destruction of the boy against* (lit. upon) *her; and there will be no disputing* (with) *us six against her alone.*

p. 34, 20-21. Read 'Wife', said Teirnon, 'foolish are we every year to let our mare be in foal without securing one of them'.

p. 35, 28-36, 2. Read *I would bring women (to be) with me, and would say that I were pregnant.*

p. 37, 19. For *he was at leisure with his wife*, read *he found his wife in high spirits.*

p. 39, 4-5. Read *and how they, Teirnon and his wife, had claimed the boy.*

p. 39, 16. For *well becomes*, read *best becomes.*

p. 39, 17-18. Read 'whether his own name may not become him better'.

p. 39, 18-19. For *What name has he?* read *Where is the name?*

p. 40, 1-2. Read 'That is the most proper', said Pwyll, 'to take the boy's name from'

One turns instinctively to well-known pit-falls, and finds that they are not successfully rendered in this translation. E.g. *hyt nat oed un mwyn(y)ant a ellit o honunt* (R.B. 29, 6) is not quite "till there was no advantage or power in them"; rather is it "till there was no use that could be made of (lit. with) them". Cf. *ny ellir mwynyant a hi* (R.B. 124, 14) "no use can be made of it", and rendered "no profit can be got from it" (p. 207, 20); and *ny mwynhau* (R.B. 133, 12) "it will avail not", or "it will not be effective", and correctly rendered "it also will be of no avail" (p. 220, 9).

Yn y vhwyllyn y keueis yn diwaraunn wynt (R.B. 32, 13-14) cannot mean "and for a year I kept them ungrudgingly", but rather "and during the year I found them unobjectionable".

a(n)ghynnwys (R.B. 32, 16) is not "unkeepable", but "unwelcome".

ae tharaw gantaw allan (R.B. 33, 5) means "and thrust it out with him", rather than "and broke out through them", *pleit* being of course a singular noun.

a dyscu ieith idi (R.B. 34, 18) does not necessarily imply that the bird was taught "to speak", but "language, speech", i.e., to understand speech. As far as can be gathered from the context, there was no occasion for it "to speak", only to comprehend what was spoken to it, and if it had been taught "to speak", there would have been no occasion for the letter.

Nyt oed anesmwythach nac adnabot o vn ar y gilyd y uot yn hynny o amser no phan doethant yno (R.B. 42, 7-9) cannot mean "Recognition of one by the other was not more painful than when they came there". It can only mean either "It was not more unpleasant than that one saw by the other that it was that time (i.e., that that time had passed) than when they came there", or "It was not more unpleasant, nor did one see by the other". Possibly the former; it is but natural to suppose that time, although they were oblivious to its passing, did alter their appearance.

Ny hand(en)ei dim am danei (R.B. 85, 22) is translated "he could not rest at all because of her" (p. 140, 22). I am quite sure from the context here, and other instances of this verb, that the meaning is "he could think of nothing because of her".

It will be readily admitted by all Welsh students that the major portion of *Kulhwch* is the most difficult of all the so-called Mabinogion. There is much in it that we can only guess the meaning of, but our comprehension of it is far greater than might be gathered from the many errors perpetrated in this translation. The following corrections are but few of the emendations necessary in the first few pages of the tale.

aeth hitheu yg gwylltawc heb dygredu anhed (R.B. 100, 6-7) is wrongly interpreted "she roamed about madly, without trusting any dwelling" (170, 7-8). The form precludes the meaning "madly", and even translating "she went mad". Rather does it mean "to the wilds", and from some other examples of *dygredu*, one is inclined to render the last phrase "without frequenting (visiting) any habitation".

kennattau y mab a orucpwyt, a dyuot ac ef yr llys (R.B. 101, 27-28) is rendered very loosely "He sent messengers for his son; and they came with him to the court". Better were "the boy was sent for, and brought to the court".

kyuelin dogyn gwr o drwm (W.B. *drum*) *hyt awch* (R.B. 102, 16-17). In spite of its difficulty, one may be quite sure that this passage does not mean "as thick as the arm of a very heavy man up to the edge" (173, 10-11). The W.B. form *drum* makes it fairly certain that the latter portion is to be interpreted "from back to edge", and I am inclined to understand *kyuelin dogyn gwr* as "the measure of a man's forearm".

Pedeir tywarchen a ladei bedwar carn y gorwyd (R.B. 102, 27-28), not "The four sods of turf which the four hoofs of his steed cut", but "The four hoofs of the steed (would) cut four sods".

Ny chrymei vlaen blewyn y danaw (R.B. 103, 3-4) does not quite mean "a blade of grass bent not beneath him", but, much more forcibly, "the tip of a blade of grass did not bend beneath him", and even "a blade of grass" is not certain. It might equally well be interpreted "a hair". At all events, reference should have been made to the variant reading of W.B., *ny chwynei vlaen blewyn arnaw*, which might be interpreted "not the tip of a hair complained of him (or upon it)".

rac yscawnet tuth y gorwyd (R.B. 103, 4) has been very loosely rendered "by reason of the lightness of the touch of the steed". Read rather "by reason of the very light trot of the steed".

a thitheu ny bo teu dy benn byrr y (W.B. *py ry*) *kyuerchy di* (R.B. 103, 6-7) has been translated "and you, whose tongue is not silent, why do you accost me?", ignoring the subjunctive character of *bo* and interpreting *teu* "thy" as an impossible adjective from the stem of *tawaf*. This first portion most assuredly means "and thou, may not thy head be thine (i.e., may it be cut off)", and while admitting that the remainder might conceivably mean "why hast thou accosted (me)?", I am inclined to treat *py* as the oblique relative and to translate "by reason (of the manner that) thou hast addressed".

nyt wrth nef. nyt wrth dayar (R.B. 103, 11) cannot by any manner of means be interpreted "not upon the sky nor upon the earth" (174, 21-22). It is probably "not (pointing) to the sky or to the earth", and *ual maen treigyl* (174, 22) were better rendered "like a rolling stone" than "like a stone rolling". Similarly *ar lawr llys*, not "on the floor of the court", but "on the floor of a court".

Kylllell a edyw ym bwyt a llyn ym bual, ac amsathyr neuad arthur, namyn mab breuhin gwlat teithiawe, neu y gerdawr a dycko y gerd, ny atter y mywn, llith yth gwn ac [yt] yth ueirch . . . (R.B. 103, 13-17) is translated (174, 24-175, 3) "The knife is in the food, and the drink in the horn, and a throng in Arthur's court. Save the son of a King of a worthy land or a musician, who brings his art, none may enter. Food for your dogs and wheat for your horses", and the inexactitude of the rendering may be gathered from the following more or less literal translation: "A knife has gone into food, and drink into

horn, and thronged is Arthur's court; save the (fully) endowed son of a country's king or a craftsman who brings (or plies) his craft, none will be allowed in. Mash for thy dogs, and corn for thy steeds". To interpret *teithiawc* with *gwlat*, *cerdawr* and *cerd* as "musician" and "art", and *yt* (W.B. *yd*) as "wheat", are unpardonable errors.

Ymchoelawd (leg, *ymchoelawt*?) *eu kalloner yn wrth(t)rw m heint* (R.B. 104, 5; *heint* not in W.B., and with *gwrthtrwm* cf. *diwrth[t]rw m* R.B. 267, 12) has been translated "and the hearts of those (who are not pregnant) shall be turned into grievous plight", instead of "and those who are not pregnant, their wombs will be grievous(ly) disease(d) for them".

Ar sawl a edrych y goleu, ac a egyr y lygat, ac ae kae anghengaeth idaw. A gwassanaethet rei o vuelin (W.B. *a buelin*) *goreureit hyt pan vo parawt* (W.B. *goranhed*) *bwyt a llyn idaw* is thus rendered (177, 7-11), "And let those that look upon the light, and open and shut the eye, be in extreme bondage to him, and serve him, some with golden drinking horns till food and drink shall be ready for him". It will be noticed that the *goranhed* of W.B. is ignored entirely. This word is probably related to the stem of *maran(h)ed* "provisions, supplies", and means "plentiful". The footnote on *bondage* is as follows: "'*anghengaeth*', bondage. Anwyl renders the bondage as blindness". Neither makes any sense. I suggest the following translation: "and whoever (lit. the one who) looks upon the light, and opens his eye and shuts it, (let there be) an absolute injunction upon him (i.e., who looks upon the light, etc., not *Kullwch*). And let some serve him with (R.B. from) golden (or gilded) horns till food and drink be plentiful (R.B. ready) for him".

Of several other important corrections, I shall confine myself to two or three only.

Or tu draw y uor terwyn (R.B. 110, 12-13) "from across the raging sea" (185, 17-18). Very improbable, although "from across a raging sea" were possible. I suspect (and others may have suggested it also, although I have not seen it published) that *mor terwyn* represents *mare Tyrrhēnum*, and that the phrase means "from beyond the T. Sea".

Bronllech rud a oed yndaw (R.B. 111, 10-11). The rendering "he had a red breast-plate" (187, 1) is not only impossible, but meaningless. *Yndaw* "in him" makes it clear that, whatever it is, it is not "a red breast-plate". O. Ir. *brollach* "breast, bosom" is cognate with *bronllech*, perhaps borrowed from it, so that we can provisionally interpret the word as "bosom". *Bronllech rud(d)* "red bosom", may have been a term for some disease like diabetes; this would accord very well with his drinking proclivities.

kylt bei rwyf dec erydyr (W.B. *aradyr*) *ar hugeint yndi* (R.B. 111, 12-13). This is translated "if there were the harvests of thirty ploughs therein" (187, 3), and footnote 89 admits that there is no authority for Lady Guest's rendition "harvest", and proceeds thus: "The word 'rwyf' has three meanings—'ruler', 'need', 'oar', all meaningless in the context. What follows justifies the use of 'harvest'". The one meaning that might suit here, is unknown to the translators, namely "course, career, etc.". There are plenty of instances of its employment in this sense in the poetry, and it may be suggested that "the course of thirty ploughs" might imply the extent of the barn, just as well as the pure guess "harvests" does.

merch kynuelyn keudawt (W.B. *keudawc*) *prwyll hanner*

dyn (R.B. 112, 5-6) is thus rendered (188, 11-12), "the daughter of Cynfelyn, the guardian of Pwyll, the half-man". How came it that the translators mistook *keudawt* "mind, thought" for *keidwat* "guardian"? Even the W.B. *keudawc* might mean "minded", and their rendering is very far removed from the correct one which would be something approaching "the daughter of Cynfelyn, with the wit of a half-man".

keudawt pwyll [lit. "(the) mind of (the) wit"] *hanner dyn* is most certainly descriptive of Cynfelyn, not *hanner dyn* of an imaginary Pwyll.

No one can regret more than the writer of this review, the necessity for these seemingly ruthless emendations. No one would have welcomed an approximately correct translation more than he, and at the same time greeted new recruits to the field of Welsh research. Welsh scholars are not "dogs in the manger" who resent the arrival of additional collaborators in their work; rather are they fully aware of the immensity of the tasks which remain still to be done, and are glad of any addition to their number. New-comers to the field, however, must have this amount of regard for the treasures of their ancient literature, that they shall approach their elucidation with the cautious mind of scientific scholars, not with the precipitate recklessness of amateurs, however well-intentioned.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Having regard to the nature of the critical observations contained in the foregoing paper, and being aware that some time must necessarily elapse before they can be answered in another *Cymmrodor*, the Editor thought fit to submit a proof of the paper to the authors of the volume

under review. We insert at this point the answer supplied by the joint translators, Mr. T. P. Ellis and Mr. John Lloyd, not with the view of promoting disputation but in order to encourage learning.—*V.E.*

A RESPONSE BY THE TRANSLATORS.

THE Editor has very kindly sent us an advance copy of the above "review and criticism", asking us to make any observations on it we think proper, so that they may be included in the same number.

To reply to Professor Lloyd Jones in detail is manifestly impossible for want of time and space. Moreover, a reply is made more difficult by the fact that the article is neither a "review" nor a "criticism". It is merely a medley of somewhat minute suggestions of change, the great majority of which leave us quite unimpressed.

Professor Lloyd Jones suffers from the delusion that in translating, our object was to furnish the philological expert with a "literal crib". Our purpose was something quite different: we aimed at furnishing the ordinary public, and the scholastic public (children and teachers) with a more accurate presentation of the Welsh classic than any at present available. When we referred to the "scholarly public" we did not identify it with the "philological experts", but with that vast field interested in literature, folk-lore, mediæval manners and the like, which can fairly claim to be "scholarly". Consequently, as we explained, we attempted to balance, with due regard to the text and the English language, a literal translation with a literary one.

Professor Lloyd Jones in his "critique" illustrates the difference of outlook. His suggestion that the passage on p. 70 (R.B. 42, 7-9) should read "*It was not more*

unpleasant than that one saw by the other that it was that time than when they came there", may, in his view, furnish a literal rendering. For the honour of the Mabinogion, we beg leave to differ profoundly on the point : but in any case Professor Lloyd Jones' suggestion is neither literary nor intelligible English. We suggest that the "amateur" rendering is both, and, moreover, agrees with the text. The same applies to a number of his other suggestions in varying degrees. We may add that in practically every case we have behind us definite expert authority for our renderings.

Professor Lloyd Jones admits that a translation which will satisfy everyone is impossible. We are aware that there are as many possible renditions of difficult passages as there are "philological experts" : in fact more, for the philological expert is constantly changing his own views. We have been content to follow, in cases of difficulty, that rendering which appears to us most consonant with the original text.

In his last paragraph, Professor Lloyd Jones states that the professional experts are not "dogs in the manger". At no time have we ever hinted or said so ; the suggestion is Professor Lloyd Jones' own. Our experience, however, is that any request for advice or help from philologists is generally ignored, and we will leave it at that.

We are quite content also to leave our translation, together with such defects as we admit it may have, to future judgment, when possibly a little more generosity of outlook and fairness may be observable than to-day. We have given such services as we were able to give freely and without reward ; we are in no way perturbed by the onslaughts of the "experts", who indulge in similar attacks, one upon the other, whenever they happen to disagree. We recognise that a good deal of what the

"expert" writes is not intended to be taken seriously ; it is a mere mannerism unfortunately seemingly inseparable from philological pursuits.

T. P. ELLIS.

JOHN LLOYD.

The late Sir John Morris-Jones,
M.A., LL.D., D.Litt.

AN APPRECIATION

BY PROFESSOR J. LLOYD-JONES, M.A., DUBLIN.

WHEN the Cymmrodorion Medal was awarded to Sir Owen Morgan Edwards, Sir John Morris-Jones, and other eminent Welshmen, the Editor of the *Cymmrodor* prefaced his biographical notes upon the former with the words "in recognition of distinguished services to Wales as a devoted patriot, an inspired writer, and an enlightened teacher"; and upon the latter, "in recognition of distinguished services to Wales, in particular by the production of his *Welsh Grammar*, his contributions to Celtic Scholarship, and his unswerving devotion to the *Eisteddfod*, the Language, and the People of his Native Land" (*Transactions of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, 1919-20).

No country in the world has been served more faithfully and loyally than was Wales by the two distinguished scholars who were simultaneously honoured by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and among the illustrious Welshmen whose services have been thus recognized by the Society, none merited the distinction more than these two whom one's mind links instinctively together in appraising the progress of Welsh Literature during the last fifty years. To the one the honour was posthumous—death had claimed him in May, 1920,—and now we mourn the loss of the other. Friends from their Oxford years, they vied with each other in their

indefatigable and unremitting endeavours on behalf of their country's literary culture, the one by ministering to the nation's need of worthy periodicals and popular editions of its classics, and the other by jealously guarding the best traditions of its prose and its poetry, especially the latter, in purity of form and diction.

Without eliminating other factors which might ultimately have influenced our literature and assisted in its salvation, one wonders often what its fate would have been if those seven patriotic Welsh students had not foregathered around the late Sir John Rhys and founded the *Dafydd ap Gwilym Society*—"Y Dafydd" as it is affectionately known to its members and their friends—on the 6th of May, 1886. The vision of Owen Edwards and the zeal of John Morris-Jones could not possibly have been lost to Wales, but certain is it that the passionate love of their country's literature which found its expression in the establishment of the Society and its epitome in its name, was intensified and largely directed by the activities and the deliberations of its meetings.

One of Sir John Morris-Jones' claims to his country's gratitude is that he, more than anyone else, laboured for the redemption of the orthography of its language from its chaotic state since the completion of Dr. William Owen Pughe's Dictionary in 1803. Pughe's fallacies, it is true, did not prevail throughout the century, but although several attempts had been made to establish uniformity, the evils which his idiosyncrasies and fantastic theories concerning linguistic development had engendered, had persisted in the instability which characterised Welsh spelling even after three-quarters of a century had elapsed. The genius of Sir John Morris-Jones could not have failed ultimately to exert itself on

its behalf, but it was afforded its unique opportunity when the Dafydd ap Gwilym Society discussed the matter in the spring of 1888, and without disparaging one whit the contributions of the other members to the solution of the various problems at issue, it may be confidently assumed that they were guided by his unerring instinct for beauty and correctness of form. Although Owen Edwards embodied the new rules in his books and periodicals, it was John Morris-Jones' pen that indited them for the Press. It was he that elucidated them by his able articles, and became the Secretary of the Orthographical Committee of the Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language which published its Report in 1893, and when, nearly thirty-five years after, the University of Wales Board of Celtic Studies requested its Literature Committee to prepare a new Report on Welsh Orthography, it was but natural that he who had for forty years been recognised as its chief authority, should become the Chairman of this new Committee. The major burden in the preparation of this new Report was again undertaken by the Chairman, despite the incipient menace and shadow of his last illness, and all the other members of the Committee will readily accord him the greater portion of any meed of praise which its published Report may deserve.

In association always with a feeling for the beauty of the written word, but far transcending it in import, goes a passion for accurate diction, and no Welshman ever evinced this more intensely than Sir John Morris-Jones. In him it amounted almost to an obsession. This was not a product of his Oxford days, although it received its nurture there, because his love of his country's literature, of which this was but an expression, had already been fostered at his home in Tlanfair. In the brief sketch

of his career which was written at the Editor's request and published in the volume of the Transactions already mentioned, we are informed that during a year's enforced absence from school consequent upon his father's death on Christmas Day, 1879, he spent the time at home helping his mother and reading, along with other things, *Talhaiarn*, *Ceiriog*, and *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru*. He was then but fifteen years old, and the mere fact of a boy of that age reading the *Gorchestion*, and evidently enjoying the poems, for otherwise he would not have read them, betokened not only an affection for the literature but an innate capacity of comprehension. This boyhood acquaintance with the *Gorchestion* was the early manifestation of a life-long love of the poetry of the *Cywydd* period from Dafydd ap Gwilym to Wiliam Llŷn. It is true that while he was a student at Oxford, under Rhys' influence and guidance, he copied *Llyfr Ancr Llanddewifrefi*, which was published in 1894 and was followed in 1898 by a new edition of *Y Bardd Cwsc*, and that these contained for the first time exhaustive introductions and textual notes. Nevertheless, it was the poetry of the *Cywyddwyr* that claimed his heart and his mind, and if Goronwy Owen had a goodly share in them, it was not only because he was a poet of Anglesey, but because he revived the traditions of the poetry of earlier centuries. In this poetry he found his inspiration and his standards, and its diction furnished the criteria by which correct idiom should be judged. One need but glance at his *Welsh Grammar* to see how extensively he had gleaned his instances from it. It may be that the standards which he adopted were too static for prose, but there is no gainsaying the tremendous effect which his insistence upon them had upon the writers of Modern Welsh prose and poetry.

He possessed the sure instincts of a born grammarian, the greatest grammarian perhaps that Wales has ever seen, and in his methods he stood in the direct lineage of Dr. Griffith Roberts, Milan, and Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd. In the Preface to his *Welsh Grammar*, he wrote of the latter's grammar which was published in 1621: "The grammar represents the result of a careful study of the works of the bards", words that would serve very aptly to describe his own Grammar, of all his works the dearest to his heart and the one in which he took the greatest pride. In its original form, it seems that the Accidence had been completed and the Syntax more than half written by 1907. This was the second draft, and represented nearly seven years' work, irrespective of other years of garnering materials. Why, one wonders, was not the effort made to finish the Syntax, and the whole published in its original form? I was a student of Sir John Rhys and Dr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Wright at the time, and the latter, during one of my periodical visits to his house for his supervision of my work, referred to the Welsh Grammar as though it had been submitted for publication in the Series of Grammars which he was contemplating, but that he had found it far too voluminous and comprehensive for inclusion in the Series. If one can judge the size of the original work by that of the *Welsh Grammar* published in 1913, and if one compares this with the *Grammar of Old English* and the *Grammar of the Gothic Language*, Wright's reluctance becomes easily intelligible. But what a misfortune! If it had been found possible to issue the Grammar then, we should have had by its greatest master a work on the Syntax of the Welsh Language. His own account of what happened afterwards is most illuminating: "I found myself", he says in the Preface already mentioned,

“ in the Syntax quoting more and more from Mediæval prose. At last I was forced to the conclusion that the Mediæval period would have to be dealt with in the earlier portion. . . . In recasting the first portion I thought it would be well to bring together the laws by which Welsh sounds are derived from Keltic and Primitive Aryan. . . .” I cannot help thinking that Wright was partly responsible for this conversion of a *descriptive* Grammar of Welsh into a Welsh Grammar *Historical and Comparative*, but it must not be forgotten that in 1908 appeared the first volume of Pedersen’s *Vergleichende Grammatik der celtischen Sprachen*, and in 1909 Thurneysen’s *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, and it were perhaps better to believe that all three contributed to the change. At all events it is quite evident that the increase in size of the first portion, now termed Phonology and Accidence, and the additional labour of collecting, inventing and arranging the derivations, deprived us of the second portion altogether.

A great grammarian as Sir John was, it may be said without prejudicing the value of the *Welsh Grammar*, that he was not a great philologist. Like his teacher, Sir John Rhys, he was inclined to be too venturesome in many of the new derivations that he propounded. It has been frequently stated that he had the mathematical mind, and just as $1 + 6$ or $2 + 5$ or $3 + 4 = 7$, so he conceived Welsh words sometimes to be explicable by such permutations. *Andaw* was by metathesis from **adnaw* (regardless of its obvious connection with *taw*, *tewi*); *andwyo* from **adwyo* (despite its apparent relation to *mor-dwyo*, *cynor-thwyo*); and *dedwydd* from **do-tuiios* (instead of a reasonable development from **do-ate-uid-*). Brilliant, undoubtedly, but not philologically sound. Heaven forbid that I should appear to decry all the new

origins offered in the *Welsh Grammar*, only to say simply and with regret that by expending time and space upon these new extractions, the greatest master, teacher and exponent of Welsh Syntax was prevented from giving to Celtic scholars what he alone was qualified to give. The greater part of the philological element collected in the *Grammar* is assuredly valuable and above suspicion, and what is more, the vast number of instances of forms, and quotations, from poetry and prose will continue to make it indispensable to the student of Welsh Grammar.

As I have already stated, Sir John's soul found its greatest delight in Welsh poetry, in particular *Cerdd Dafod* or alliterative poetry in the strict metres, and when the history of the Welsh Literature of this century comes to be written, his name will be outstanding as that of the greatest influence in the renascence of romantic poetry at its beginning. It would be superfluous here to describe the state of Welsh poetry, especially strict metre poetry when he, from innate love and through the influence of the literary character of the topics of the Dafydd ap Gwilym Society, began to interest himself for its weal. Suffice it to say that it had reached its lowest ebb. The traditions of the golden age of *cynganedd* poetry and the twenty-four metres had been, if not forgotten, at least neglected, and poetry had been for a long time in thrall to the tyranny of uncultured critics and the barrenness of Eisteddfodic themes. The glory of the ancient *cywyddau* and the artistry of the old bards had vanished and Welsh bardism had lost its pristine beauty and romance. John Morris-Jones set out to master the principles of Welsh versification as practised by Dafydd ap Gwilym and his successors and expounded in the old bardic grammars, and his mastery of them was evidenced in his *Awdl Cymru Fu Cymru Fydd* which appeared in

Cymru, August 1892. This represented the beginning of a new spirit in Welsh poetry, the creation of a new romantic movement which found its first great expression in 1902, in T. Gwynn-Jones' *Ymadawiad Arthur*, the precursor of a series of Eisteddfodic odes of exquisite imagery and beauty.

At the same time as he was training himself to become a master of the rules of strict metre poetry, he was also learning the secrets of the lyric's charm and grace. The first-fruits of this were his translations from Heine which appeared in *Cymru Fydd* and *Cymru* from 1890 onwards, and from them emanated that lyrical harvest which blossomed forth in the *telynegion* of W. J. Gruffydd, R. Silyn Roberts, Eifion Wyn, R. Williams Parry and Wil Ifan, to name but a few of its many exponents.

John Morris-Jones may not himself have been a superlative poet, although some of his lyrics are perfect gems of their kind. The unique distinction of his own original poetry and his translations, as exemplified in his beautiful rendering of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyâm, was their perfection of form. They are masterpieces of artistic symmetry, betokening not so much the glowing passion of great poetic genius as the infinite care of a born grammarian who loved poetry for its beauty of workmanship and grandeur of language. But if he was not himself a creator of great poetry, he was the indirect instrument of its creation, and we are indebted to him, more than to anyone else, for having by precept and example initiated a new era of great poetic brilliance.

He excelled in his knowledge of the principles of strict versification, a knowledge which he imparted in several ways. In the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (1901) appeared his *Welsh Versification*; in the Transactions of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion (1908-9) was

printed his paper on Tudur Aled as one of the greatest of *cynghanedd* poets; and in 1925 was published his *Cerdd Dafod* which may be regarded as the final statement of the rules of *cynghanedd* and the analysis of the twenty-four metres. A future student may combat his theories upon their development, but none will ever deny their brilliance. Exposition of the rules of *cynghanedd* was also one of the features of his lectures in the College at Bangor, and it may be truly said that no bardic teacher ever had so many disciples as the hundreds of students that learnt the rudiments of *cynghanedd* at his feet. Will they ever forget the joy and the abandon with which he recited his favourite lines and couplets? By the majority of his countrymen, however, he will be remembered as the deliverer *par excellence* of the adjudication of the odes in the Chair competition of the National Eisteddfod. It was not because his voice was resonant or melodious that he enchanted the thousands, but because it possessed some indefinable charm of intonation, amounting almost to melliflence, that proclaimed its owner to be a thorough master of poetic diction and an ardent lover of alliterative poetry.

From the Eisteddfod at Llandudno in 1896 onwards, he served as chief adjudicator of the Chair odes at some eighteen National Eisteddfodau, and the standards of criticism which he had learnt from the old poetry and had already set in his own compositions, became a guarantee of the permanent poetic value of the successful ode. I do not suppose that he ever set any store by the "winning" of the Chair, but as the guardian of his country's poetry and inasmuch as the Eisteddfod competition was a natural outlet for its genius, he gave to the national festival unstinted and invaluable service.

His genuine affection for the ancient glory of Welsh

poetry made him rightly jealous of its honour and genuineness. This led him in the first instance to attack mercilessly the claims of the Gorsedd in a series of articles in *Cymru* 1896. It was not the Gorsedd *per se* that incurred his wrath but its spurious claims, the extreme futility of which can best be gathered from the fatuity of Morien's replies in the same volume of that periodical. It was this very love, too, that made him champion the genuineness of the historical poems of Taliesin and the other ancient bards in Vol. XXVIII of the *Cymmrodor*, and Welsh scholars will be for ever grateful that an impugnement of their genuineness evoked a reply that contained, not alone a wealth of information, but so much valuable guidance for subsequent elucidation of their linguistic difficulties. The arguments advanced in *Taliesin* are final and irrefutable, and the volume constitutes one of its author's chief contributions to the study of Old Welsh.

I have written of Sir John Morris-Jones' services to Wales and its literature, not of him as a man and a friend. It were possible to devote pages to describe his artistic and mechanical skill, his simple character and unsophisticated nature, and of his kind hospitality, for in his home at Llanfair, Lady Morris-Jones and he preserved the best traditions of true Welsh culture, and in the genuine Welsh atmosphere of that home-life he was the perfect *gwr bonheddig Cymreig*.

My own indebtedness to him as my teacher and mentor cannot be set down in words. Well I remember my first interview with him in registering as a student in the old College at Bangor, how I was filled with admiration for one whom I had already learnt to respect even in my boyhood days. This admiration became intensified with the passing of years, and I recollect the pride which I felt on being invited by Sir John Rhys to lunch at the Principal's

Lodgings in Jesus College and meet my old Professor and Sir Henry Jones. What joy it was to listen afterwards to their conversation upstairs in the library! And twenty years later in the spring of 1927, when the National University of Ireland conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.Litt. Celt., I took a personal pride in the honour which he had so well merited.

In the death of Sir John Morris-Jones, Welsh scholarship has lost its pre-eminent figure, Welsh literature its supreme champion, and Welsh culture its paramount exemplar.

Llaw Dduw a fu'n lladd awen,
Lladd enaid holl ddwned hen!
Saer nid oes. eisiau'r un dyn,
Ar goed awdl na'r gwawdodyn
Bwrw brawdwr y gerddwriaeth,
Beth a wŷr neb eithr a wnaeth?

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Y Cymmrodor

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